VOLUME 76 • NUMBER 2 • APRIL 1971

The American Historical Review

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

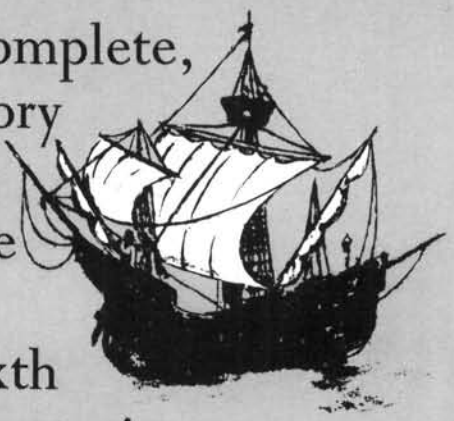


PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON

author of THE OXFORD HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

sets forth the complete, documented story of the mariners who crossed the North Atlantic between the sixth and sixteenth centuries



THE EUROPEAN DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

The Northern Voyages

"A wonderfully readable narrative, written with magisterial authority by a scholar and a stylist who knows the sea, ships, and the great accounts of the early explorers. . . . His volume is both highly informative and entertaining."

—LOUIS B. WRIGHT

"What a wonderful book it is! I have enjoyed it tremendously and learned a lot, too. . . . [Admiral Morison] disposes of myths, imaginings, and all that stuff, pulls no punches, lets no sea mists nor hopeful imaginings cloud his story . . . no one else could have done it."—ALAN VILLIERS

Profusely illustrated with 210 halftones and 17 maps
700 pages • $15.00 at all bookstores

A BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB SELECTION

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS / New York

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME 76 • NUMBER 2 • APRIL 1971

The American Historical Review

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Cover illustration. Recruiting dance of Hussars *(Verbunkos).* Handcolored copper engraving by Joseph Heinbucher Bikkessy and Karl Beyer. First published in 1816. Photograph: Magyar Nemzeti Muzeum, Történelmi Képcsarnok (Budapest, Hungary). (See George Barany, "Hoping against Hope: The Enlightened Age in Hungary," pp. 319–57.)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The *American Historical Review* appears in February, April, June, October, and December of each year. It is published by the American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D. C. 20003, and is printed and mailed by the William Byrd Press, 2901 Byrdhill Road, Richmond, Virginia 23228.

The *AHR* is sent to members of the American Historical Association and to institutions holding subscriptions. Information concerning membership is contained in the announcement of the American Historical Association, which follows the last page of text in each issue. Information concerning subscriptions, the ordering of back issues, and the submission of manuscripts will be found on the page immediately preceding the advertisements.

Notice of nonreceipt of an issue must be sent to the Business Office of the Association within three months of the date of publication of the issue. Changes of address should be sent to the Business Office by the tenth of the month preceding the month of publication. The Association is not responsible for copies lost because of failure to report a change of address in time for mailing.

The *AHR* disclaims responsibility for statements, either of fact or opinion, made by contributors.

© THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION 1971
All rights reserved
Second-class postage paid at Richmond, Virginia

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME 76 • NUMBER 2 • APRIL 1971

The American Historical Review

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Managing Editor: R. K. Webb

Associate Editor: Nancy Lane

Assistant Editors: John T. Appleby, Sally Banks, Ann Hofstra

Assistant Editor–Bibliographer: Edward C. Papenfuse, Jr.

Editorial Assistants: Harriet Hardee, Paulette Todd

Advertising Manager: Louise M. Douglas

Board of Editors

Albert Feuerwerker
University of Michigan

Kenneth S. Lynn
Johns Hopkins University

Lacey Baldwin Smith
Northwestern University

Peter Gay
Yale University

Bryce Lyon
Brown University

George B. Tindall
University of North Carolina

Tom B. Jones
University of Minnesota

Edmund S. Morgan
Yale University

Gordon Wright
Stanford University

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Contributors:

GEORGE BARANY, professor of history at the University of Denver, Colorado, is author of *Stephen Széchenyi and the Awakening of Hungarian Nationalism, 1791–1841* (Princeton, 1968). He studied with S. Harrison Thomson at the University of Colorado, in Boulder, Colorado. His major field of interest is modern Central European history and United States relations with the area. On leave at present with a grant from the ACLS, he is working on the second part of a political biography of Stephen Széchenyi and on a study of Hungarian administrative history to be published in a forthcoming history of the Habsburg monarchy (1848–1918) by the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

EDWIN J. VAN KLEY is particularly interested in what Europeans learned about East Asia as a consequence of the voyages of discovery and how that new information affected European culture. He draws his evidence mostly from the seventeenth-century Dutch provinces. A professor of history at Calvin College, Mr. Van Kley received his Ph.D. in 1964 from the University of Chicago, where he studied with Donald F. Lach.

WILLIAM R. HUTCHISON is Charles Warren Professor of the History of Religion in America at Harvard University, author of *The Transcendentalist Ministers: Church Reform in the New England Renaissance* (New Haven, 1959; Boston, 1965), and editor of an anthology, *American Protestant Thought: The Liberal Era* (New York, 1968). He studied with Ralph H. Gabriel at Yale University and received the Ph.D. there in 1956.

WALTER GOFFART, associate professor of history and academic secretary, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto, is author of *The Le Mans Forgeries* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966). He obtained the Ph.D. from Harvard in 1961, and in 1967–68 was a member of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, where he began his current research in late Roman tax law and its economic implications.

STANLEY COBEN, currently visiting professor at the University of California, Berkeley, and professor of history at the University of California, Los Angeles, specializes in twentieth-century United States history. Material for Mr. Coben's article was collected while he was doing research for his forthcoming book on American culture in the 1920s. Mr. Coben studied at Columbia University under William E. Leuchtenburg, and received the Ph.D. degree there in 1961. He is the author of *A. Mitchell Palmer* (New York, 1963).

R. M. HARTWELL, an Oxford Ph.D. whose major field of interest is the Industrial Revolution in England and elsewhere, is a reader in recent social and economic history and Professorial Fellow of Nuffield College, University of Oxford. Born and educated in Australia, Mr. Hartwell is the author of many publications on Australian and English history.

ROBERT HIGGS is assistant professor of economics at the University of Washington, Seattle, and author of *The Transformation of the American Economy, 1865–1914: An Essay in Interpretation,* which is scheduled for publication in 1971. Mr. Higgs specializes in the application of economic theory and statistical methods to the study of history. He received his Ph.D. in economics in 1968 at The Johns Hopkins University, where he was a student of Edwin S. Mills and H. Louis Stettler, III.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Contents

VOLUME 76 • NUMBER 2 • APRIL 1971

Articles

Hoping against Hope: The Enlightened Age in Hungary, BY GEORGE BARANY 319

Europe's "Discovery" of China and the Writing of World History, BY EDWIN J. VAN KLEY 358

Cultural Strain and Protestant Liberalism, BY WILLIAM R. HUTCHISON 386

Zosimus, The First Historian of Rome's Fall, BY WALTER GOFFART 412

The Scientific Establishment and the Transmission of Quantum Mechanics to the United States, 1919–32, BY STANLEY COBEN 442

Review Article

Good Old Economic History, BY R. M. HARTWELL and ROBERT HIGGS 467

DAVID S. LANDES. The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reviews of Books

GENERAL

B. I. MARUSHKIN. *Istoriia i politika: Amerikanskaia burzhuaznaia istoriografiia sovetskogo obshchestva.* By Robert V. Allen 475

MILADA BLEKASTAD. *Comenius: Versuch eines Umrisses von Leben, Werk und Schicksal des Jan Amos Komenský.* By Otakar Odlozilik 475

GIORGIO TAGLIACOZZO, ed. *Giambattista Vico: An International Symposium.* Co-editor, HAYDEN V. WHITE; consulting editors, ISAIAH BERLIN *et al.* By Emiliana P. Noether 476

ROBERT E. SCHOFIELD. *Mechanism and Materialism: British Natural Philosophy in an Age of Reason.* By Brooke Hindle 479

SEYMOUR DRESCHER. *Dilemmas of Democracy: Tocqueville and Modernization.* By Leo A. Loubère 480

CARL H. SCHEELE. *A Short History of the Mail Service.* By Howard Robinson 480

THORKILD HANSEN. *The Way to Hudson Bay: The Life and Times of Jens Munk.* Tr. by JAMES MCFARLANE and JOHN LYNCH. By Herman R. Friis 481

CHRISTINE BOLT. *The Anti-Slavery Movement and Reconstruction: A Study in Anglo-American Co-Operation, 1833–77;* ADELAIDE WEINBERG. *John Elliot Cairnes and the American Civil War: A Study in Anglo-American Relations.* By Tilden G. Edelstein 482

EDMUND IONS. *James Bryce and American Democracy, 1870–1922.* By Stephen R. Graubard 483

JOHN B. BLAKE, ed. *Safeguarding the Public: Historical Aspects of Medicinal Drug Control.* By Morris W. Garber 483

DANIEL R. BEAVER, ed. *Some Pathways in Twentieth-Century History: Essays in Honor of Reginald Charles McGrane.* By Daniel M. Smith 484

ANGUS MADDISON. *Economic Growth in Japan and the USSR.* By Jerome B. Cohen 485

GEOFFREY BENNETT. *Naval Battles of the First World War;* ROBERT M. GRANT. *U-Boat Intelligence, 1914–1918.* By Paul Guinn 486

JOHN MCVICKAR HAIGHT, JR. *American Aid to France, 1938–1940.* By Richard M. Leighton 486

JOHN STRAWSON. *The Battle for North Africa.* By Alvin D. Coox 487

JOHN NEWHOUSE. *De Gaulle and the Anglo-Saxons.* By D. B. Goldey 488

ANCIENT

G. S. KIRK. *Myth: Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures.* By Paul Mackendrick 488

J. J. WILKES. *Dalmatia.* By Morton Smith 489

MEDIEVAL

GEORGE GALAVARIS. *Bread and the Liturgy: The Symbolism of Early Christian and Byzantine Bread Stamps.* By John P. Cavarnos 490

RUPERT VON DEUTZ. De Victoria Verbi Dei. Edited by RHABAN HAACKE. By Bernard S. Smith 490

FRITZ WERNLI. *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Verfassungsgeschichte.* Vol. 1, *Die mittelalterliche Bauernfreiheit;* Vol. 5, *Die Talgenossenschaften der Innerschweiz: Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Hundertschaften und Markgenossenschaften.* By J. M. Bak 491

STEVEN RUNCIMAN. *The Last Byzantine Renaissance.* By Peter Charanis 492

MODERN EUROPE

MIROSLAV HROCH. *Die Vorkämpfer der nationalen Bewegung bei den kleinen Volkern Europas: Eine vergleichende Analyse zur gesellschaftlichen Schichtung der patriotischen Gruppen.* By Edgar Anderson 492

P. A. ZHILIN. *Gibel' Napoleonovskoi armii v Rossii.* By L. Jay Oliva 493

ANGELO FILIPUZZI, ed. *Le relazioni diplomatiche fra l'Austria e il Granducato di Toscana.* 3d ser., 1848–1860. Vol. 5 *(19 maggio 1856–12 maggio 1859).* By R. John Rath 494

WOLFGANG V. GROTTE and URSULA V. GERSDORFF, eds. *Entscheidung 1870: Der deutschfranzösische Krieg.* By Andreas Dorpalen 494

ROBERT A. KANN, ed. *Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach—Dr. Josef Breuer: Ein Briefwechsel, 1889–1916.* By Rudolph Binion 495

MARTHA BYRD HOYLE. *A World in Flames: A History of World War II.* By George O. Kent 495

RICHARD HEMMIG MEYER. *Bankers' Diplomacy: Monetary Stabilization in the Twenties.* By Jeanette P. Nichols 496

WHITNEY R. D. JONES. *The Tudor Commonwealth, 1529–1559: A Study of the Impact of the Social and Economic Developments of Mid-Tudor England upon Contemporary Concepts of the Nature and Duties of the Commonwealth.* By John H. Gleason 497

WILLIAM P. HAUGAARD. *Elizabeth and the English Reformation: The Struggle for a Stable Settlement of Religion;* CLAIRE CROSS. *The Royal Supremacy in the Elizabethan Church.* By Joseph M. Levine 497

ROBERT W. KENNY. *Elizabeth's Admiral: The Political Career of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, 1536–1624.* By W. J. Jones 498

R. W. KETTON-CREMER. *Norfolk in the Civil War: A Portrait of a Society in Conflict.* By Thomas G. Barnes 499

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DONALD W. HANSON. *From Kingdom to Commonwealth: The Development of Civic Consciousness in English Political Thought.*
By J. G. A. Pocock 500

GEOFFREY HOLMES, ed. *Britain after the Glorious Revolution, 1689–1714.* By Sheila Biddle 501

BARRY SUPPLE. *The Royal Exchange Assurance: A History of British Insurance, 1720–1970.*
By Richard A. Rempel 501

CLIFFORD MUSGRAVE. *Life in Brighton: From the Earliest Times to the Present.*
By George Woodbridge 502

P. J. MARSHALL and JOHN A. WOODS, eds. *The Correspondence of Edmund Burke.* Vol. 7, *January 1792–August 1794.* By W. R. Ward 503

WINIFRED GÉRIN. *Horatia Nelson.*
By Mary B. Wickwire 503

A. ASPINALL, ed. *The Correspondence of George, Prince of Wales 1770–1812.* Vol. 5, *1804–1806.*
By George B. Cooper 504

A. ASPINALL, ed. *The Later Correspondence of George III.* Vol. 5, *January 1808 to December 1810.*
By Donald Grove Barnes 504

RHODES BOYSON. *The Ashworth Cotton Enterprise: The Rise and Fall of a Family Firm, 1818–1880.*
By Peter D'A. Jones 505

GEORGE FEAVER. *From Status to Contract: A Biography of Sir Henry Maine 1822–1888.*
By J. W. Burrow 506

C. J. BARTLETT, ed. *Britain Pre-eminent: Studies of British World Influence in the Nineteenth Century.* By Bernard Semmel 507

L. K. YOUNG. *British Policy in China, 1895–1902.*
By Zara Steiner 507

S. W. ROSKILL, ed. *Documents Relating to the Naval Air Service.* Vol. 1, *1908–1918.*
By Robin Higham 508

Vignobles et vins d'Aquitaine: Histoire—économie—art. By Charles K. Warner 509

CLAUDE BELLANGER *et al,* published under the direction of. *Histoire générale de la presse française.* Vol. 1, *Des origines à 1814;* Vol. 2, *De 1815 à 1871.* By Elizabeth L. Eisenstein 510

GEORGE HUPPERT. *The Idea of Perfect History: Historical Erudition and Historical Philosophy in Renaissance France.* By J. H. M. Salmon 511

MADELEINE FOISIL. *La révolte des Nu-Pieds et les révoltes normandes de 1639.* By Louise A. Tilly 512

JEAN SAREIL. *Les Tencin: Histoire d'une famille au dix-huitième siècle d'après de nombreux documents inédits.* By Gerald J. Cavanaugh 513

MICHEL MOLLAT, prepared under the direction of. *Les origines de la navigation à vapeur.*
By George Fasel 514

HARVEY G. SIMMONS. *French Socialists in Search of a Role, 1956–1967.* By Joel Colton 514

DAVID R. RINGROSE. *Transportation and Economic Stagnation in Spain, 1750–1850.*
By Gerald H. Meaker 515

ANTOINE DE LUSY. *Le journal d'un bourgeois de Mons, 1505–1536.* Edited by ARMAND LOUANT.
By J. Michael Hayden 515

De Vrije Kunstenaar *1941–1945: Facsimilé herdruk van alle tijdens de bezetting verschenen afleveringen.* By Werner Warmbrunn 516

WERNER SCHOCHOW. *Deutsch-jüdische Geschichtswissenschaft: Eine Geschichte ihrer Organisationsformen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Fachbibliographie.* By Raul Hilberg 517

KLAUS WERNECKE. *Der Wille zur Weltgeltung: Aussenpolitik und Öffentlichkeit im Kaiserreich am Vorabend des Ersten Weltkrieges.*
By D. E. Emerson 517

SUSANNE MILLER, compiler. *Die Regierung der Volksbeauftragten 1918/19,* 2 vols.
By Frederick Dumin 518

HSI-HUEY LIANG. *The Berlin Police Force in the Weimar Republic.* By Thomas A. Knapp 519

HELMUT GÄTSCH. *Die Freien Gewerkschaften in Bremen 1919–1933.* By Kenneth R. Calkins 520

SERGIO PISTONE. *Federico Meinecke e la crisi dello stato nazionale tedesco.* By Robert Kochl 520

GEORGE SCHWAB. *The Challenge of the Exception: An Introduction to the Political Ideas of Carl Schmitt between 1921 and 1936.*
By Robert Lougee 521

Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik, 1918–1945, aus dem Archiv des deutschen Auswärtigen Amts. Ser. D: 1937–1941, vol. 12, *Die Kriegsjahre,* 2 pts.; ser. E: 1941–1945, vol. 1, *12. Dezember 1941 bis 28. Februar 1942.*
By Donald S. Detwiler 522

HERMANN WEBER. *Von der SBZ zur DDR, 1945–1968.* By Gordon R. Mork 522

LINO MARINI. *Il Mezzogiorno d'Italia di fronte a Vienne e a Roma: E altri studi di storia meridionale.* By George R. F. Baker 523

SALVO MASTELLONE. *Francesco d'Andrea, Politico e Giurista (1648–1698): L'Ascesa del Ceto Civile.*
By Donald A. Limoli 524

ANDREA CAIZZI. *Terra, vigneto e uomini nelle colline novaresi durante l'ultimo secolo.*
By Victor B. Sullam 524

B. R. LOPUKHOV. *Fashizm i rabochee dvizhenie v Italii, 1919–1929 gg.* By Robert Wohl 525

S. B. VESELOVSKII. *Issledovaniia po istorii klassa sluzhilykh zemlevladel'tseev.*
By Mary Kilbourne Matossian 525

JOHN D. BERGAMINI. *The Tragic Dynasty: A History of the Romanovs.* By Sergei Pushkarev 526

PRINCE M. M. SHCHERBATOV. *On the Corruption of Morals in Russia.* Edited and translated by A. LENTIN. By Max J. Okenfuss 527

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TAMARA TALBOT RICE. *Elizabeth, Empress of Russia.* By John T. Alexander 527

ALAN W. FISHER. *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea, 1772–1783.* By Firuz Kazemzadeh 528

MARGARETE WOLTERS. *Aussenpolitische Fragen vor der Vierten Duma: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des russischen Parteiwesens in der konstitutionellen Monarchie, insbesondere der Stellung zur Aussenpolitik während des Ersten Weltkrieges.* By Edward C. Thaden 529

LIONEL KOCHAN, ed. *The Jews in Soviet Russia since 1917;* G. P. MAKAROVA. *Osushchestvlenie Leninskoi Natsional'noi Politiki v Pervye Gody Sovetskoi Vlasti (1917–1920 gg.)* By Zvi Gitelman 529

P. I. ERSHOV *et al.*, eds. *Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR.* Vol. 14, *1 ianvaria–31 dekabria 1931 G.* By William B. Ballis 531

NEAR EAST

IRA M. LAPIDUS, ed. *Middle Eastern Cities: A Symposium on Ancient, Islamic, and Contemporary Middle Eastern Urbanism.* By John B. Christopher 532

AFRICA

JOHN WATERBURY. *The Commander of the Faithful: The Moroccan Political Elite—A Study in Segmented Politics.* By Richard M. Brace 533

NEHEMIA LEVTZION. *Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa: A Study of Islam in the Middle Volta Basin in the Pre-Colonial Period.* By Louis Brenner 533

J. B. WEBSTER and A. A. BOAHEN. *History of West Africa: The Revolutionary Years—1815 to Independence.* By Hollis R. Lynch 534

OBARO IKIMĘ. *Niger Delta Rivalry: Itsękiri-Urhobo Relations and the European Presence 1884–1936.* By J. E. Flint 535

JOHN PETERSON. *Province of Freedom: A History of Sierra Leone, 1787–1870;* JOHNSON U. J. ASIEGBU. *Slavery and the Politics of Liberation 1787–1861: A Study of Liberated African Emigration and British Anti-Slavery Policy.* By J. F. Ade Ajayi 536

RICHARD GRAY and DAVID BIRMINGHAM, eds. *Pre-Colonial African Trade: Essays on Trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900.* By Margaret L. Bates 537

ASIA AND THE EAST

PARSHOTAM MEHRA. *The Younghusband Expedition: An Interpretation;* DOROTHY WOODMAN. *Himalayan Frontiers: A Political Review of British, Chinese, Indian and Russian Rivalries.* By Robert I. Crane 538

MILTON E. OSBORNE. *The French Presence in Cochinchina and Cambodia: Rule and Response (1859–1905).* By Minton F. Goldman 538

DONALD C. LORD. *Mo Bradley and Thailand;* DAVID K. WYATT. *The Politics of Reform in Thailand: Education in the Reign of King Chulalongkorn.* By Neon Snidvongs 539

AMERICAS

PHILIP L. BARBOUR. *Pocahontas and Her World: A Chronicle of America's First Settlement, in which Is Related the Story of the Indians and the Englishmen—Particularly Captain John Smith, Captain Samuel Argall, and Master John Rolfe.* By J. Leitch Wright, Jr. 540

MAYNARD GEIGER, O.F.M. *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 1769–1848: A Biographical Dictionary.* By John L. Kessell 541

MARTIN H. BUSH. *Revolutionary Enigma: A Re-Appraisal of General Philip Schuyler of New York.* By Eugene F. Kramer 541

GEORGE ATHAN BILLIAS, ed. *George Washington's Opponents: British Generals and Admirals in the American Revolution.* By Willard M. Wallace 542

ROBERT J. TAYLOR, ed. *The Susquehannah Company Papers.* Vols. 7–9. By S. K. Stevens 543

PAUL S. CLARKSON and R. SAMUEL JETT. *Luther Martin of Maryland.* By Aubrey C. Land 544

CHARLES A. MILLER. *The Supreme Court and the Uses of History;* RICHARD CLAUDE. *The Supreme Court and the Electoral Process.* By Paul L. Murphy 545

GERALD STOURZH. *Alexander Hamilton and the Idea of Republican Government.* By Gordon S. Wood 546

LINDA K. KERBER. *Federalists in Dissent: Imagery and Ideology in Jeffersonian America.* By Noble E. Cunningham, Jr. 547

MERRILL D. PETERSON. *Thomas Jefferson and the New Nation: A Biography.* By Jackson Turner Main 548

IRVING BRANT. *The Fourth President: A Life of James Madison.* By Donald O. Dewey 549

JOHN W. CHRISTIE and DWIGHT L. DUMOND. *George Bourne and* The Book and Slavery Irreconcilable; STEPHEN B. OATES. *To Purge This Land with Blood: A Biography of John Brown.* By Richard H. Sewell 549

CARLETON MABEE. *Black Freedom: The Nonviolent Abolitionists from 1830 through the Civil War;* DAVID BRION DAVIS. *The Slave Power Conspiracy and the Paranoid Style;* LEONARD L. RICHARDS. *"Gentlemen of Property and Standing": Anti-Abolition Mobs in Jacksonian America.* By William H. Pease 551

HENRY D. SHAPIRO and ZANE L. MILLER, eds. *Physician to the West: Selected Writings of Daniel Drake on Science & Society.* By Robert W. McCluggage 552

HARRY E. KELSEY, JR. *Frontier Capitalist: The Life of John Evans.* By Seymour V. Connor 553

JOHN F. STOVER. *The Life and Decline of the American Railroad.* By Robert L. Peterson 553

GEORGE W. KNEPPER. *New Lamps for Old: One Hundred Years of Urban Higher Education at the University of Akron;* ROBERT N. MANLEY. *Centennial History of the University of Nebraska.* Vol. 1, *Frontier University (1869–1919);* MANUEL P. SERVÍN

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and IRIS HIGBIE WILSON. *Southern California and Its University: A History of USC, 1880–1964;* W. WAYNE DEDMAN. *Cherishing This Heritage: The Centennial History of the State University College at Brockport, New York;* HOWARD D. WILLIAMS. *A History of Colgate University, 1819–1969;* JOHN C. CRIGHTON. *Stephens: A Story of Educational Innovation;* BURTON R. CLARK. *The Distinctive College: Antioch, Reed & Swarthmore.*
By Theodore R. Crane 554

MERRILL J. MATTES. *The Great Platte River Road: The Covered Wagon Mainline via Fort Kearny to Fort Laramie.* By Donald J. Berthrong 556

ERROL T. ELLIOTT. *Quakers on the American Frontier: A History of the Westward Migrations, Settlements, and Developments of Friends on the American Continent;* EDWIN B. BRONNER, ed. *An English View of American Quakerism: The Journal of Walter Robson (1842–1929) Written during the Fall of 1877, While Traveling among American Friends.* By Mario S. De Pillis 557

CONRAD WRIGHT. *The Liberal Christians: Essays on American Unitarian History;* DWIGHT W. HOOVER. *Henry James, Sr. and the Religion of Community;* CARL E. HATCH. *The Charles A. Briggs Heresy Trial: Prologue to Twentieth-Century Liberal Protestantism.* By Clifford E. Clark, Jr. 557

THOMAS L. KARNES. *William Gilpin: Western Nationalist.* By Richard A. Bartlett 558

CLARK C. SPENCE. *Mining Engineers & the American West: The Lace-Boot Brigade, 1849–1933.*
By William S. Greever 559

JAMES A. RAWLEY. *Race & Politics: "Bleeding Kansas" and the Coming of the Civil War;* ERIC FONER. *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War.*
By John L. Thomas 560

J. CUTLER ANDREWS. *The South Reports the Civil War.* By Ludwell H. Johnson III 561

CAROL K. ROTHROCK BLESER. *The Promised Land: The History of the South Carolina Land Commission, 1869–1890.* By Allen J. Going 562

RICHARD J. WRIGHT. *Freshwater Whales: A History of the American Ship Building Company and Its Predecessors.* By Edward C. Kirkland 562

WILLIAM J. POMEROY. *American Neo-Colonialism: Its Emergence in the Philippines and Asia;* PAOLO E. COLETTA, ed. *Threshold to American Internationalism: Essays on the Foreign Policies of William McKinley.* By Peter W. Stanley 563

JOHN J. CONDER. *A Formula of His Own: Henry Adams's Literary Experiment;* MELVIN LYON. *Symbol and Idea in Henry Adams.*
By Annette K. Baxter 564

DARNELL RUCKER. *The Chicago Pragmatists.*
By Charles Frankel 565

DONALD C. SWAIN. *Wilderness Defender: Horace M. Albright and Conservation.*
By George T. Morgan, Jr. 565

DAVID M. KENNEDY. *Birth Control in America: The Career of Margaret Sanger;* EMILY TAFT DOUGLAS. *Margaret Sanger: Pioneer of the Future.*
By Paul S. Boyer 566

PAOLO E. COLETTA. *William Jennings Bryan.* Vol. 3, *Political Puritan, 1915–1925.*
By J. Rogers Hollingsworth 567

ROY LUBOVE. *Twentieth-Century Pittsburgh: Government, Business, and Environmental Change.*
By Bruce M. Stave 568

WILLIAM D. ROWLEY. *M. L. Wilson and the Campaign for the Domestic Allotment;* DON F. HADWIGER. *Federal Wheat Commodity Programs;* LOUIS CANTOR. *A Prologue to the Protest Movement: The Missouri Sharecropper Roadside Demonstration of 1939;* MICHAEL P. MALONE. *C. Ben Ross and the New Deal in Idaho;* FRANCIS W. SCHRUBEN. *Kansas in Turmoil, 1930–1936.* By Gilbert C. Fite 568

DAVIS R. B. ROSS. *Preparing for Ulysses: Politics and Veterans during World War II.*
By Robert E. Burke 570

Foreign Relations of the United States, 1946. Vol. 7, *The Near East and Africa.*
By Mitchell William Kerr 571

NUMAN V. BARTLEY. *The Rise of Massive Resistance: Race and Politics in the South during the 1950's.*
By Richard M. Dalfiume 571

Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States. Lyndon B. Johnson. Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and Statements of the President, 1968–69. Books 1 and 2.
By Barton J. Bernstein 572

LESLIE B. ROUT, JR. *Politics of the Chaco Peace Conference, 1935–1939.*
By Russell H. Fitzgibbon 573

Communications 575
Festschriften and Miscellanies 584
Other Books Received 585
Recent Deaths 591
Index of Advertisers 97(a)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hoping against Hope: The Enlightened Age in Hungary

GEORGE BARANY

Underdeveloped nations are frequently faced with the need to compress into the lifetime of a single generation diverse trends for the unfolding of which more advanced societies have had more time. Hungary's effort to absorb the dynamic forces generated by the Enlightenment in Western Europe in the late eighteenth century is a case in point, as the poetic *oeuvre* of Michael Vitéz Csokonai (1773–1805) illustrates. In the last 150 years poetry, reflecting Magyardom's tribulations and dreams, has been the leading political genre in Hungarian literature. Csokonai's work, which anticipates this trend, above all suggests an impressive expansion of the Hungarian intellectual horizon in the age of Enlightenment.

Csokonai has been rightly called the "truest Hungarian rococo poet" and "the highpoint of the poetry of the Hungarian Enlightenment."[1] Of humble birth, he studied at the Calvinist College in Debrecen, where he became founder of the school's literary society. By 1793 he was entrusted with the teaching of undergraduates, but in 1795 the talented yet Bohemian youth was expelled from college because of his disrespect for authority and discipline. In the same year he went to Pest to find a publisher for his poems; and on that occasion he witnessed the execution of the ringleaders of the Hungarian Jacobin conspiracy, the implications of which will be considered later. During the Diet of Pressburg in 1796 Csokonai started a versified newspaper but, when the public showed little interest, he gave up the attempt after publication of the eleventh issue. Unable to get a permanent job, he

An abridged version of this article was presented at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Washington, D. C., Dec. 30, 1969. I am indebted to Professors Peter Gay, of Yale University, J. Robert Vignery, of the University of Arizona, and Theodore R. Crane, of the University of Denver, for their benevolent criticism of my essay. I alone, however, am responsible for any shortcomings. I also wish to express my special thanks to the Historical Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, for its efficient assistance in obtaining and providing some exquisite illustrative material from several institutions in Hungary.

[1] János Horváth, *Csokonai. Csokonai költő barátai. Földi és Fazekas.* (Csokonai. Csokonai's Poet Friends: Földi and Fazekas) (Budapest, 1936), 9, 14; József Waldapfel, *A magyar irodalom a felvilágosodás korában* (Hungarian Literature in the Age of Enlightenment) (2d ed.; Budapest, 1957), 325. For a short essay on Csokonai in English, see Joseph Reményi, *Three Hungarian Poets, Bálint Balassa, Miklós Zrinyi, Mihály Csokonai Vitéz* (Washington, 1955), 47–64.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

toured the country looking for support, visiting with friends and noble patrons. The girl with whom he fell in love was married off to a well-to-do merchant; only once, in 1799, was Hungary's itinerant genius hired, for less than a year, as a substitute teacher in a small town in western Hungary. In the spring of 1800 he returned to his home town, Debrecen, to spend the remainder of his life in poverty. While delivering an obituary poem at the funeral of the wife of one of his aristocratic patrons in 1804, the tubercular poet caught pneumonia, which killed him a few months later at the age of thirty-one.

It is difficult if not impossible to force a creative person in the niche of any one artistic style or school. Great writers and thinkers have a way of learning



Fig. 1. Togati (graduate students) at the Calvinist College of Debrecen in the 1770s. (Student on left is striking fire with flint stone.) Water color by Joseph Csokonai, the poet's father (1779). Photograph: Déri Muzeum (Debrecen, Hungary).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from each other through the ages; unfettered by time and space, Csokonai belongs to this fraternity. Yet his life, which spans a period beginning with political ferment and ending with reaction and apathy, is also a mirror of the conditions of Hungarian society at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries.

Trained in the classics, Csokonai concentrated on Italian poetry in the students' literary circle in Debrecen. He was also acquainted with contemporary German, Swiss, French, and English literature. His interest in esthetics, the theory of literary genres, and the art of versification is indicated by his philological essays, explanatory notes, letters, and remarks on the nature and educational significance of poetry, which show him to be Hungary's foremost *poeta doctus* prior to the mid-nineteenth-century classic poet John Arany.[2] Enamored of the beauties of the Magyar idiom as spoken by the common folk, he was the first to include, in his play *Tempefői* (1793), the text of a true Hungarian folk tale.[3] In accordance with the program of enlightened literati he strove consciously to enrich the vernacular with translations, mainly from German and Italian but also from English, French, Latin, and Greek. His translations were often "adjusted" to the Hungarian milieu; in a note to one of his own poems he justified the incorporation of a metaphor from Voltaire's *Henriade* by saying that it had been "dressed in new clothes and Magyarized."[4] Influenced by the travesties of the popular Viennese ex-Jesuit poet Blumauer,[5] the then eighteen year-old Csokonai adapted the *Batrachomiomachia,* attributed to Homer at the time, "to the present" by making the congregating mice speak according to the procedures of the Hungarian Diet and by describing the club of the frogs as though it were a French revolutionary assembly; in fact, the whole poem is permeated with a robust sense of humor and social criticism reminiscent of the Hungarian scene.

Couleur locale and present-mindedness, however, did not imply provincialism, as can be judged by the cosmopolitan aspects of Csokonai's poetry. Italian songs, French minuets, Polish mazurkas, German and Hungarian dances, Arab and Persian meters were rendered marvelously by his rhythms.[6] The multiple roots and sophistication have been pointed out in a

[2] Horváth, *Csokonai,* 15–20; G. F. Cushing, "Books and Readers in 18th Century Hungary," *Slavonic and East European Review,* 47 (1969): 61.

[3] József Turóczi-Trostler, *Magyar irodalom, világirodalom* (Hungarian Literature, World Literature) (Budapest, 1961), 95–97, 259–60, 414, 423.

[4] "A nemes magyarságnak felülésére" (On the Rise of Noble Magyardom), *Csokonai Vitéz Mihály Összes Versei* (The Complete Poems of Michael Vitéz Csokonai) (hereafter *CsÖV*) (Budapest, 1956), 1: 458 n.9. See also Csokonai's foreword to his translation of Ewald Kleist's "Frühling," in *ibid.,* 2: 589–96.

[5] For Blumauer's influence on Csokonai, see Elemér Császár, *A német költészet hatása a magyarra a XVIII. században* (The Influence of German Poetry on the Hungarian in the 18th Century) (Budapest, 1913), 65–67. For his popularity in Hungary and other parts of East-Central Europe, see also Fritz Valjavec, *Geschichte der deutschen Kulturbeziehungen zu Südosteuropa* (Munich, 1953–65), 3: 208–09.

[6] See the description of dances in his comic epopee "Dorottya," *CsÖV,* 1: 612–16.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

recent article that claims that Csokonai's interest in Asiatic poetry was inspired by the Latin work of a British orientalist, Sir William Jones, who in turn drew upon the Latin translation of the Persian poet Hāfiz by a Hungarian friend, the scholarly Count Charles Reviczky, Habsburg ambassador in London.[7]

According to the preface to his comic epos "Dorottya" Csokonai held that poetry must not only entertain but also edify.[8] Consequently he ridiculed "national luxury and degeneration" and condemned the "mischievous revelry" of the youth in the poem. Stressing that he preferred a mediocre but original work to a first-rate translation,[9] he dissented from most contemporary literati who thought it more important to have good translations than to write original works.[10] The great organizer of Hungarian literary life, Francis Kazinczy, regarded it as the main task of his life to transplant the flowers of European literature to Hungarian soil. Following this enlightened principle he published nine volumes of collected works containing translations alone.[11] But Csokonai's poetry is most original, despite his many adaptations and translations from foreign languages.

At a time when writers had a low status even in the German lands[12] Csokonai dreamed of living by his pen alone. Yet he knew that it was easier to produce a Homer or Vergil than find a Maecenas in his fatherland;[13] in an early drama, written when he was twenty, he said that "he who wishes to become a poet in Hungary, is a fool. . . ."[14] In a belated echo of the French Declaration of 1789, Csokonai still insisted in one great poem that he wanted to live as "a man and citizen," although he conceded that in his country he could do it only in Rousseauian seclusion, in the corner of an island.[15] "Made wiser by nature through intelligence," he intended to sing

[7] Géza Képes, "Hāfiz et Csokonai," in *Littérature Hongroise – Littérature Européenne* (Budapest, 1964), 287–303. It is noteworthy from the point of view of the Central European Enlightenment that Reviczky, who was Maria Theresa's envoy to Warsaw in 1772–79, was also a mediator in the exchange between Jones and Prince Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski. Jan Reychman, "Kulturális érdeklődés Magyarország iránt a XVIII századi Lengyelországban" (Cultural Interest in 18th Century Poland toward Hungary), in *Tanulmányok a lengyel–magyar irodalmi kapcsolatok köréből* (Studies on Polish-Hungarian Literary Connections) (Budapest, 1969), 319–20.

[8] The view that poetry must be morally useful and edifying was widely held in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, as can be seen from a lady's comments on Csokonai's "Dorottya" in 1804 and a letter of George Bessenyei to the poet Paul Ányos. See Zsolt Alszeghy, "A könyv és olvasója" (The Book and Its Reader), in Sándor Domanovszky *et al.*, *Magyar művelődéstörténet* (Hungarian Cultural History) (Budapest, n.d.), 4: 485–86.

[9] *CsÖV*, 1: 591, 593.

[10] Antal Szerb, *Magyar irodalomtörténet* (Hungarian Literary History) (Budapest, 1943), 216.

[11] János Hankiss, *Európa és a magyar irodalom* (Europe and the Hungarian Literature) (Budapest, [1939]), 165–76. See Joseph Reményi, *Hungarian Writers and Literature*, ed. and introduction by August J. Molnar (New Brunswick, 1964), 48–49.

[12] Gordon A. Craig, "German Intellectuals and Politics, 1789–1815: The Case of Heinrich Von Kleist," *Central European History*, 2 (1969): 4.

[13] "Sint Maecenates, feret Hungaria terra Marones, Virgiliumque tibi vel tua rura dabunt," *CsÖV*, 2: 246. See also "Pesten, május 9. Csokonai Bathyány József hercegprimásnak e versezettel udvarolt" (In Pest, on May 9, Csokonai Paid Hommage to Prince Primate Joseph Batthyány with This Poem), *ibid.*, 298.

[14] Hankiss, *Európa és a magyar irodalom*, 208.

[15] "A tihanyi ekhóhoz" (To the Echo of Tihany), *CsÖV*, 2: 170; see also "A füredi parton" (On the Shores of Füred), *ibid.*, 1: 543–44.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for "a happier age," the twentieth century, as he put it elsewhere, when the land of the Magyar would bask in bright sunshine and the mournful dark would be banned to a hapless past.[16]

An optimist by temperament, Csokonai abhorred the symbols of melancholy and sadness[17] and eulogized the "civic minded patriot" (*közhasznu hazafi*), whom he described as an enlightened fighter against superstition who acts in harmony with the "eternal law of nature." Knowing that he would not live to see the bright daylight of a benevolent world in which upon the command of reason "the curtains of darkness would immediately crack, the heart would burst its obsolete crusts, the treasurehouse of blessed mankind open, the wounds of its sons heal, the soul of love fill the earth, and man would again embrace his fellow man," the poet was nevertheless longing for that "late century" and "happy age" when he, too, would be remembered "at least once."[18] To promote the cause of "blessed mankind, science, and the fatherland" was the charge set forth by Csokonai in a poetic farewell address to his students.[19] Yearning for a time when there would be a school in faraway Somogy county for Magyar peasant children, he bemoaned this "poor country of ours, this poor fatherland, deprived of liberty, and under yoke," downtrodden by German and exploited by Serb.[20] He thereby anticipated the imagery, ambivalent patriotism, and bitter clairvoyance of the greatest and most desperate Magyars of ages yet to come, the statesman Stephen Széchenyi or the twentieth-century poet Andrew Ady.

Csokonai was favorably impressed by the progressive aspects of the reforms enacted under Maria Theresa and Joseph II.[21] He also believed in the universal brotherhood of men. Yet he was not entirely above the naive and xenophobic Magyar nationalism characteristic of the conservative author of the first Hungarian bestseller, Andrew Dugonics, whom Csokonai praised highly.[22] By 1794 he was dismayed by the reign of terror in France, as were

[16] "Magyar! Hajnal hasad!" (Magyar! The Day is Breaking!), *ibid.*, 1: 377–78. See also Csokonai to Joseph Márton: "Even if I keep on writing, since I cannot sustain my existence without [writing], I write for a happier progeny, for the 20th or 21st century, for that age in which the Magyar will be either truly Magyar, or nothing indeed.—I do as [does] George Bessenyei, foremost among our Magyar literati according to both rank and merit, of whom those in the know cannot determine when he was greater: when he was shining in Vienna on the public display of honor and patriotism, or now, when he watches in Bakonyszeg the darkening of our horizon as the sun turning below the globe of our earth yet still continuing to create. . . ." Cited in László Vajthó, *Bessenyei* (Budapest, 1947), 55. For Bessenyei, see below.

[17] "A vidám természetü poéta" (The Good Natured Poet), *CsÖV*, 1: 140–42. See also "Az én poézisom természete" (The Nature of My Poetry), *ibid.*, 2: 123–25.

[18] "Broughton religiói lexiconára" (On Broughton's Religious Dictionary), "Konstancinápoly" (Constantinople), *ibid.*, 1: 186–88, 264–67. See also "Dr. Földi sirhalma felett" (On the Grave of Dr. Földi), *ibid.*, 2: 65.

[19] "Tanitványaitól bucsuzik" (Farewell to His Students), *ibid.*, 1: 391–92.

[20] "Jövendölés az első oskoláról a Somogyban" (Prophecy of the First School in Somogy), "Oh, szegény országunk" (Oh, Our Poor Country), *ibid.*, 1: 680–83.

[21] "A haza templomának örömnapja" (The Day of Joy of the Temple of the Fatherland), "Az 1741-diki diéta" (The Diet of 1741), *ibid.*, 1: 428–32, 435, 437–38, 547, 549.

[22] "A Dugonics oszlopa" (The Dugonics Monument), "A pesti dicsőség" (The Glory of Pest), "A nemes magyarságnak felülésére," *ibid.*, 1: 379–85, 460. For Dugonics (and others), see George Barany, "The Awakening of Magyar Nationalism before 1848," *Austrian History Yearbook*, 2 (1966): 29.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more radical intellectuals, some of whom were subsequently imprisoned and even executed along with prominent Hungarian Jacobins.[23] Although Csokonai's involvement in the conspiracy is unclear he must have been as intimidated as other men of letters and former supporters of liberal reform after the regime declared, as we shall see, an open season on suspect persons. Csokonai was no revolutionary; there is no reason to doubt that he sincerely abhorred the "stench of fanaticism that took possession of the heart of peoples usurping the sword of justice." He repudiated the "haughty soul of France" that proclaimed war against the whole world, made the tree of liberty barren, and equated equality with a red cap while plundering other countries and trampling under foot the rights of men and nations.[24]

The poet's deepest disillusionment was attributable to the personal factors already mentioned. Tired of petitioning aristocratic benefactors for a job or donation, he began to doubt whether the new nineteenth century was to witness the first gathering of Hungarian scholars as so many literati of the "philosophical" eighteenth had hoped.[25] Still he greeted with enthusiasm the foundation of the Hungarian National Museum and Library by Count Francis Széchenyi in 1802. Csokonai hoped to obtain a position there as librarian,[26] but this hope, like so many others in his life, failed to materialize. The master of Anacreontic lyrics and the idyllic pastoral turned increasingly inward. The translator of Schikaneder's *Magic Flute,* which also fascinated Mozart, concludes that "man is poetry's foremost subject" and the inquiry to be pursued by the "daring mortal and animated mud" ought to be formulated in the Biblical question of *"who are you, what is your purpose, where do you reside? on whose command do you stir? and, finally, what will you become?"*[27] Expressions of enlightened doubts, serene tolerance, and searching Christian faith alternated in the philosophical obituary poem delivered at the funeral that sealed his fate, too. Characteristically, Csokonai prefaced the poem with a motto from Rousseau: instead of arguing or trying to convince, he wished to expose only what he believed in the simplicity of his heart. The main theme of the powerful poem, inspired by Alexander Pope, dealt with the immortality of the soul.[28]

Clearly Csokonai's poetic world reveals many dimensions. Still in the familiar tradition of the classics and the patterns set by the late baroque and

[23] Viktor Julow, "Talányos Csokonai" (Enigmatic Csokonai), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények,* 71 (1967): 182–83.

[24] "Az igazság diadalma" (The Triumph of Justice), *CsÖV,* 1: 684.

[25] Preface to Kleist's "Frühling," *ibid.,* 1: 591–92.

[26] "A nagymélt. gróf Széchenyi Ferenc ö excellenciája nemzeti könyvtárjára" (On the National Library of His Excellency Count Francis Széchenyi), *ibid.,* 2: 74–77. For Francis Széchenyi, and the National Museum, see George Barany, *Stephen Széchenyi and the Awakening of Hungarian Nationalism, 1791–1841* (Princeton, 1968), 36, *passim.*

[27] "Az ember, a poézis elsö tárgya" (Man, the Foremost Subject of Poetry), *CsÖV,* 2: 48–49 (emphasis in original).

[28] "Halotti versek" (Funeral Orations), *ibid.,* 2: 180–214. For the influence of Pope's "The Dying Christian to His Soul," perhaps via German mediation, see Császár, *A német költészet hatása,* 134–35.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rococo, it reflects a conscious effort to explore the dynamics of the Hungarian folk song and the oriental poetry of Hāfiz, to fight the battle of the illuminati against spiritual darkness and write an epopee on the founder of the Hungarian national dynasty, Árpád, and to probe the limits of human knowledge through comparing religious systems or marveling at the flowery mysteries of a botanical garden. Csokonai's delicate rococo art is a mirror of enlightened and romantic endeavors, many of which unfolded only in the activities of later, if not always happier, representatives of the Hungarian national renaissance of the nineteenth century.

Any serious analysis of Csokonai's *oeuvre* would go far beyond this attempted brief sketch of some of its aspects. The promises inherent in his poetic efforts were incomplete because of his untimely death and the adverse circumstances in which the promises had to be realized. Still his poetic efforts are suggestive of the many facets of intellectual life and concern in late eighteenth-century Hungary. Indeed the period of change and stress in which he lived was brought about by powerful forces that had been at work since the reconquest of the country from the Turk and, more particularly, since the defeat of the anti-Habsburg fight of Francis II Rákóczi (1711), but their cumulative effect became visible only toward the end of the century. After two centuries of Turkish, dynastic, religious, and civil wars the population of devastated Hungary, estimated at about 4.1 million in 1720, more than doubled. The country was still underdeveloped, with fewer than a half million inhabitants in sixty-one chartered royal cities, the largest of which was Debrecen, with a population of just under thirty thousand. With the exception of Pressburg (Pozsony, Bratislava), which became the capital after the Ottoman occupation of Buda, some mining centers of Upper Hungary, Kolozsvár (Klausenburg, Cluj), and a few "Saxon" towns in Transylvania, Hungarian cities were large villages with hardly any stone or brick buildings in them. The repopulation of the country after the Ottoman withdrawal also changed Hungary's ethnic composition in favor of the non-Magyars who probably constituted well over half of its people on the eve of the national awakening of East-Central Europe.[29]

The demographic changes, along with the reforms of the army and administration led to a gradual shift of the economy from the periphery toward the center; the creation of semimodern government agencies generated centralizing and modernizing trends that resulted in an awakening of all segments of society and a re-evaluation of their respective social and political

[29] For a concise characterization of cities in eighteenth-century Hungary, see Albert Gárdonyi, "A vármegye és a város társadalma" (County and City Society), in *Magyar művelődéstörténet*, 4: 333–42. For population figures, see the references in Barany, *Stephen Széchenyi*, 147, nn. 47–48. A recent analysis of the political, economic, social, and cultural conditions and the international situation of the entire multinational Habsburg monarchy in the eighteenth century can be found in the first section of C. A. Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire, 1790–1918* (New York, 1969), 1–112.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

functions. An agrarian boom stimulated by the dynasty's recurrent foreign wars and the permanent stationing of troops in a country where an increase in population was not accompanied by industrialization contributed to the worsening of the serf's condition and to Vienna's colonial policy toward Hungary. The agrarian question and a tariff policy giving preferential treatment to the German-Slavic hereditary provinces were closely interrelated through the Hungarian nobility's successful resistence to taxation. Benevolent protection of the peasant by the absolutist regime for humanitarian reasons as well as for purposes of increasing state revenue was not only an irritating interference with Hungarian public and private law;[30] it also appealed to those in favor of enlightened reform, from Csokonai's contemporary, the economist Gregory Berzeviczy, to Stephen Széchenyi and Nicholas Wesselényi, leaders of the liberal movement in the 1830s.

In the absence of large urban centers and a significant middle class, which it would have liked but could not further as a counterbalance to the nobility, enlightened absolutism in Hungary focused on the peasant.[31] This pro-peasant policy rather than important constitutional grievances and national resentment catalyzed the feudal revolt that gathered momentum toward the end of Joseph II's reign. The feudal revolt was also supported by an increasing number of Protestant noblemen, originally favorably disposed to the emperor who abolished religious discrimination and admitted them to the civil service. In fact, opposition to the Habsburgs seems to have centered in the northern and eastern counties of Hungary and Transylvania, where the overwhelmingly Protestant masses of the gentry and lesser nobility felt threatened economically. The loss of Silesia by the Habsburgs, a stricter customs policy, the burdens of the military campaigns, and the first partitioning of Poland tended to have a disruptive effect on Hungarian foreign trade, and this had a particularly adverse impact in an area where the exportation of wines to Prussia and Poland was an important source of income. Fear of losing their tax exemption was particularly acute among the impoverished parts of the privileged classes whereas the upper strata, often educated in Western countries and familiar with enlightened ideas of government, also resented the growing arbitrariness of the Josephinian state.[32]

[30] Béla K. Király, *Hungary in the Late Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1949), 5–10, 54–56, 77–81, 90–110, 129–47; Győző Ember, "Zur Klassenpolitik des Habsburger-Absolutismus in Ungarn in den sechziger Jahren des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Nouvelles études historiques* (Budapest, 1965), 1: 391–400.

[31] Ember, "Zur Klassenpolitik," 404–12. In the eighteenth century burghers were reluctant to get involved in public affairs. See Elemér Mályusz, "A magyarországi polgárság a francia forradalom korában" (The Hungarian Bourgeoisie in the Age of the French Revolution), *Jahrbuch des Wiener ungarischen historischen Instituts*, 1 (1931): 225–82, *passim*. See also Kálmán Benda, ed., *A magyar jakobinus mozgalom iratai* (Documents of the Hungarian Jacobin Movement) (Budapest, 1952–57), 1: XVI–XXI.

[32] Éva H. Balázs, *Berzeviczy Gergely, a reformpolitikus, 1763–1795* (Gregory Berzeviczy, the Reform Politician) (Budapest, 1967), 8–10; Gábor Tolnai's review of Balázs' book, in *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 71 (1967): 492–97; Király, *Hungary in the Late Eighteenth Century*, 174–77.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To be sure, many aspects of the Austrian version of enlightened absolutism—dubbed Josephinism because of its perhaps somewhat overemphasized association with the reign of the "revolutionary emperor"—were far from unpopular in Hungary initially. Progressive members of the nobility, the intelligentsia, and the embryonic middle classes favored the secularization and modernization of the country's administration and educational system, religious tolerance, the lessening of the peasant's burden (if not complete emancipation), and greater opportunities for non-nobles in the state service. Some young aristocrats, too, were under the influence of Josephinian legal theories, which stated, *inter alia*, that the state had the right not only to change outdated feudal institutions but also to control the Church. Francis Széchenyi, the founder of the Hungarian National Museum and a patron of art and literature in both Austria and Hungary, to mention one example, was a student of Karl Anton Martini and Joseph Sonnenfels in the college for the aristocratic elite, the Vienna Theresianum. Martini and Sonnenfels, scholars who made significant contributions to the formulation of Josephinian state philosophy, were the authors of legal textbooks that were also used in Hungary; they, along with the works of Rousseau, prepared the soil for the popularization of the theory of the social contract in a country where legalistic thinking was almost a way of life of the privileged classes.[33]

By the end of his reign, however, Joseph II lost much of his support in Hungary. Most members of the nobility resented his efforts to replace the Hungarian municipal constitution with a centralized, German-speaking bureaucracy; many of the socioeconomic changes brought about by state action, despite good intentions, tended to have a disruptive effect even on strata that would have benefited from them in the long run. At the time of Joseph II's death in 1790, when Hungary was virtually in a state of rebellion, some leaders of the nobility thought of inviting a member of the Prussian or English ruling house to the throne. The nobility's bid for power was supported by the masses of lesser noblemen, but the leadership came from the well-to-do gentry, who justified their constitutional demands by a characteristic use of the phraseology of Rousseau and the Enlightenment.

Faced with a dangerous situation caused by the French Revolution, a war with Turkey, an uprising in the Austrian Netherlands, Prussian pressure, and a feudal revolt in Hungary, the new Habsburg monarch, Leopold II, reached an agreement with Prussia in mid-1790, thereby outmaneuvering his domestic opposition. True, national feeling still ran high in the Diets of the early 1790s. Segments of the nobility kept pressing for reforms, an indication that although Hungarians were resentful of the authoritarian trends of Josephinism, many of their endeavors nevertheless were its spiritual children

[33] For Sonnenfels, see Robert A. Kann, *A Study in Austrian Intellectual History* (New York, 1960), 146–258. For the importance of Martini's *De lege naturali* in fighting against "fanaticism and superstition" in Hungary, see Sándor Eckhardt, *A francia forradalom eszméi Magyarországon* (The Ideas of the French Revolution in Hungary) (Budapest, n.d.), 81. For Francis Széchenyi, see Barany, *Stephen Széchenyi*, 13, *passim*.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reflecting the impact of enlightened ideas. Aside from this, the feudal classes were forced into a compromise that stabilized political conditions in Hungary for the lifetime of the next generation. The essence of the compromise was a retreat of enlightened absolutism to the status quo of pre-Josephine days and the reaffirmation of the domination of Hungary's internal affairs by the nobility.[34]

Among the factors motivating the acceptance of the compromise with the dynasty, fear of a peasant revolution loomed very large. With memories of the violent peasant outbursts of the eighties in Hungary and Transylvania still fresh, the enthusiasm of the Hungarian estates for French revolutionary ideas diminished after events in France took a sharp turn to the left. Hungarian nobles were mindful of the radical pamphlets circulating among their serfs; some pamphlets were written with the approval of Leopold II, who intended to use the controlled unrest of the lower classes as a counterbalance to the unruly nobility and also to continue subtly his older brother's work of enlightened reform. But the discovery of the so-called Martinovics conspiracy and its cruel suppression in 1794–95 ended all plans for reform and silenced all potential political opposition in Hungary.

The Hungarian Jacobin movement was directed by Ignatius Martinovics, a highly educated but utterly ambitious and unstable man. A member of the Franciscan Order, which he abandoned under Joseph II to become professor of physics at the University of Lemberg (Lvov), he was widely traveled and familiar with the English and French philosophical and political literature of his time. He enthusiastically supported the reforms of Joseph II, while hoping to implement his own anticlerical and democratic political ideas under Leopold II, whom he regularly informed about the activities of the secret societies of the illuminati, Jesuits, and patriots in Hungary. Spurred on by a combination of wounded vanity and resentment against court reaction under Leopold's son and successor, Francis, and perhaps also by a sincere desire for social progress, the former police agent decided to organize two societies. One of them, the Association of Reformers, was destined for the nobility, the other, the Association of Liberty and Equality, for the radical intelligentsia. The noble reformers were kept ignorant of the existence of the more radical society, which was to use members of the first group as its tools only to eliminate them after the success of the first phase of the planned insurrection. Thus Martinovics attempted to exploit the radicals' longing for social reform as well as the Hungarian national party's constitutional opposition to the court.

The conspirators, however, were unknown to the masses and had no public support. After a few weeks of watching, their organization was suppressed by the police in mid-1794; in the next spring a series of trials resulted in severe punishment that included seven death sentences. Among those arrested many were noblemen from "good families"; republican ideas were

[34] For the feudal revolt, see Király, *Hungary in the Late Eighteenth Century*, 177–239.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Fig. 2. Transylvanian peasants from the region of Sibiu (Hermannstadt, Nagyszeben) in winter and summer dress. Early eighteenth century. Photograph: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Bildarchiv (Vienna, Austria).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Fig. 3. Bleeding head of Ignatius Martinovics. Contemporary drawing by Joseph Oberfrank. Photograph: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Kézirattára (Budapest, Hungary).

popular among the instructors and students of the university at Pest and other institutions of learning. Especially important from the point of view of the further development of the Enlightenment in Hungary was the long imprisonment of many of the leading literati, including Kazinczy and the revolutionary poet John Bacsányi. In an atmosphere of suspicion and intimidation the slightest connection with the Martinovics circle, such as the reading of a declaration or the translation of a revolutionary poem or pamphlet, would be sufficient cause for detention.[35]

[35] The major modern source collection for the Martinovics movement is the three-volume work edited by Benda, *A magyar jakobinus mozgalom iratai*. For the international and domestic ramifications of the conspiracy, see Denis Silagi, *Jakobiner in der Habsburger-Monarchie*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The strange metamorphosis of Martinovics, although far from unique in the history of revolutionary movements, was not typical in Hungary. Nevertheless, the penetration of enlightened ideas tended to lead to a greater interest in new political concepts and experiments: the newly born Hungarian press adopted a vigorous tone, and hundreds of socially concerned pamphlets were published in the early 1790s.[36] The case of Joseph Hajnóczy, who was executed with Martinovics, appears to be more characteristic. Hajnóczy, former secretary and protégé of Francis Széchenyi, was certainly no adventurer. Of middle-class background like Martinovics, Hajnóczy, an outstanding legal scholar, took as his point of departure the theory of social contract in order to set forth, under the impact of British, French, and American political philosophy, the most systematic challenge presented to the Hungarian feudal constitution prior to 1848.[37] He started out as a Josephinian but was also responsive to the budding Magyar nationalism of the age; his constitutional projects were derived from the concepts of natural law, popular sovereignty, and, ultimately, republican egalitarianism.[38]

The catalytic agent that seems to have contributed most effectively to the incipient reshaping of Hungarian political and social attitudes was Freemasonry. Aristocrats and gentry rubbed shoulders with burghers and intellectuals of low birth in the Masonic lodges, whose bylaws often prescribed loyalty to the ideals of the American and French revolutions.[39] Ever since Maria Theresa's husband, Francis I, had been a Mason it was fashionable to belong to a Masonic order: Freemasonry served as an outlet for the Voltairian anticlericalism of many illuminati and also as a vehicle for ideas about the universal brotherhood of man, religious tolerance, and social progress. Commenting on his newly founded literary journal *Orpheus* to a writer-friend in 1790, Kazinczy, whose Masonic name was Orpheus, indicated that in his struggle against darkness and superstition he would use as a shield the ideas of Voltaire, Rousseau, Helvetius, and Freemasonry.[40] Thus, propagating the Enlightenment, Hungarian literature, and Masonry were intertwined. Furthermore, although the attitude of Joseph II toward Freemasonry was equivocal, to say the least, Masonic organizations continued to flourish; in fact, they were most instrumental in the diffusion of noble dis-

(Vienna, Munich, 1962), especially 128–201; for Transylvania, see Elemér Jancsó, *A felvilágosodástól a romantikáig* (Bucharest, 1966), 66–95; for further references, see Barany, *Stephen Széchenyi*, 19–21.

[36] For data, see Király, *Hungary in the Late Eighteenth Century*, 153–70.

[37] György Bónis, *Hajnóczy József* (Joseph Hajnóczy) (Budapest, 1954), 176, *passim*.

[38] See, for example, his suggestions concerning a Hungarian national army, *ibid.*, 262–66. For Hajnóczy, see also Benda, *A magyar jakobinusok*, 1: XXXVI–XL, XLV–XLVI, LV–LVI.

[39] A member of the Viennese lodge American-French-German Union was obliged, *inter alia*, "to defend with all my strength, in writing, orally and also with sword in hand the present condition of France and America against all despots" according to a report written by Martinovics in January 1792. Benda, *A magyar jakobinusok*, 1: XXI, LIV, *passim*; Eckhardt, *A francia forradalom eszméi*, 112–16.

[40] *Ibid.*, 210–12.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sent and the spirit of opposition in Hungary.[41] In 1791 Leopold II repeatedly warned his son, the Archduke Palatine Alexander Leopold, about Hajnóczy, Francis Széchenyi, four members of the related Festetich family, and other "dangerous persons," all of whom belonged to the "red American lodge" connected with the court of Prussia.[42] Yet Leopold II's attitude toward Freemasonry was, generally speaking, benevolent; he himself gave instructions for the creation of a secret association patterned after the Masonic organization to promote his reform plans. Actually Masonic lodges continued to operate legally until the liquidation of the Martinovics conspiracy, and the membership of the lodges included the noble and non-noble intellectual elite in Hungary.

One of the main features of the Josephinian state was the strong assertion of its prerogatives vis-à-vis the established Roman Catholic Church. The process began well before Joseph II but became more pronounced during his reign. The competition for man's mind between the secular state and spiritual authorities was of particular significance in the spheres of education and censorship. Maria Theresa transferred the control of book trade and publication to state agencies, leaving only the censorship of ecclesiastic works in the hands of the Church; under Joseph II the relaxation of censorship, especially in regard to newspapers and periodicals, opened up new channels for the penetration of enlightened ideas into Hungary and other parts of the Habsburg realm.[43] To be sure, censorship was again tightened toward the end of Joseph II's reign as a consequence of the Transylvanian peasant uprising, the unrest in the Low Countries, and the Turkish war. Still, relative freedom of the press, compared to what went before and came after the Josephinian decade, was one of the major factors, even during the first phase of the French Revolution, that helped the emergence of more radical trends on the Hungarian scene.[44]

[41] For a survey of Freemasonry in the Habsburg monarchy, the order of the illuminati, and Joseph II's patent regulating Masonry, see Silagi, *Jakobiner in der Habsburger-Monarchie*, 31–49. For Freemasonry as a catalyst in the intellectual-political ferment of late eighteenth-century Hungary, see Mályusz, "A magyarországi polgárság," 231–32, *passim;* Balázs, *Berzeviczy*, 18–20, *passim;* Windisch, "Kovachich," 99–102; Benda, *A magyar jakobinusok*, 1: XIII, XXII–XXIII. For Transylvanian Free Masons, see Jancsó, *A felvilágosodástól a romantikáig*, 19, 118–19; for Kazinczy and the *Orpheus*, see János Váczy, *Kazinczy Ferencz és kora* (Francis Kazinczy and His Times), 1 (Budapest, 1915): 111–23, *passim*.

[42] Elemér Mályusz, ed., *Sándor Lipót főherceg iratai, 1790–1795* (The Papers of Archduke-Palatine Alexander Leopold) (Budapest, 1926), 443, 455. For further references, see Barany, *Stephen Széchenyi*, 22.

[43] Regina Donáth, "A könyvcenzura az állam kezében—Mária Terézia és Barkóczy primás" (Censorship of Books in the Hands of the State—Maria Theresa and Primate Barkóczy), *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 83 (1967): 43–49; Béla Dezsényi, *A magyar hirlapirodalom első százada* (The First Century of Hungarian Journalism) (Budapest, 1941), and *idem*, *Az időszaki sajtó története a Dunatáj országaiban* (The History of the Periodical Press in the Countries of the Danubian Region) (Budapest, 1947), 13.

[44] György Kókay, "A pozsonyi ujságcenzura II. József korában" (Press Censorship in Pressburg in the Age of Joseph II), *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 84 (1968): 13–30; Eckhardt, *A francia forradalom eszméi*, 100–32. For details, see Oszkár Sashegyi, *Zensur und Geistesfreiheit unter Joseph II* (Budapest, 1958).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Fig. 4. Inauguration of the University of Buda in the royal castle on June 25, 1780. Contemporary wash drawing by J. M. Schmutzer. Photograph: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete (Budapest, Hungary).

As with censorship, basic change in the educational system was initiated under Maria Theresa. Whereas in Austria the reform was implemented under the supervision of Gottfried Van Swieten, president of the Studien-Hofkommission, which could be regarded as the first state department for education in Europe, its main guide lines for Hungary were drawn up by the director of the Hofbibliothek, Francis Adam Kollár, an intimate adviser of both Maria Theresa and Joseph II. Characteristically, Kollár, a prominent Slovak-Hungarian Jesuit scholar, had to remain behind the scenes, because in a book dealing with the origins of legislative power in Hungary he advocated royal absolutism and opposed the tax exemption of the nobility, with the result that his work was publicly burned by the executioner upon the order of the Diet.[45]

[45] Lajos J. Csóka, "A Ratio Educationis korszaka" (The Age of the Ratio Educationis), *Magyar Művelődéstörténet*, 4: 467–69; Ludwig v. Gogolák, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des slowakischen Volkes* (Munich, 1968–69), 1: 152. For Austria, see Hanns Leo Mikoletzky, *Österreich — Das grosse 18. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, Munich, 1967), 251–61; Charles H. O'Brien, *Ideas of Religious Toleration at the Time of Joseph II* (Philadelphia, 1969), 31–38.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The *Ratio educationis*, as the reform became known, was the first attempt to establish, under the auspices of the state, a nationwide comprehensive secular educational system responsive to the needs of all nationalities, religious denominations, and social strata of Hungary. Coming four years after the suppression of the Jesuits (1773) but before the dissolution of other monastic orders, the *Ratio*, in the spirit of enlightened utilitarianism, put the emphasis on secondary and higher education, whereas Joseph II was to stress elementary schools. Lack of textbooks and an inadequate number of trained teachers must have severely limited these educational reforms from the very beginning. Even so, they constitute a remarkable achievement of enlightened absolutism in Hungary, where nothing comparable has been attempted on a similar scale and with similar good will and impartiality. In 1788–89, when war and a bad harvest did not augur well for the Muses, 464 new elementary schools were opened in Hungary: 46 were "mixed" (interdenominational), 98 Catholic, 47 Uniate, 15 Lutheran, 7 Calvinist, 248 Greek Orthodox, and 3 Jewish. In 1789, at the end of his third year in office as royal superintendent of elementary schools in northeastern Hungary, Kazinczy, one of the two Protestants first appointed to the newly created position, reported the establishment of 124 new schools in his district: among them, 61 were Catholic, 5 "Russian" (that is, Orthodox), 25 Lutheran, 5 Calvinist, and 7 Jewish, 19 "common" and 2 "half common" (shared by several religious denominations). Sometimes defying the will of the parish or higher ecclesiastic authorities, the various denominations began, in a true ecumenical spirit, to use each other's churches for educational purposes. Indeed these timid first steps toward a pluralistic society and not the Jacobin conspiracy or even the revival of Magyar national literature might have turned out to be the most impressive results of the Enlightenment in Hungary had they not been obliterated by the years of political reaction after 1794 and during the Napoleonic wars. Small wonder that in the debate over the first bill for elementary education introduced in the revolutionary parliament of 1848, when the issue of religion seemed to cast a shadow over liberal intentions, some older representatives recalled with nostalgia the spirit of the "Josephinian" school reform.[46]

The *Ratio educationis* promoted the educational ideal of a sober and practical citizen useful for the state. It tried to further both vocational (especially agricultural) and religious-humanistic education that tended to stress, in a somewhat unrealistic way, encyclopedic knowledge. Although it made the study of Hungarian history compulsory, it treated Magyars as only one of the many equal nations of the kingdom, suggested the teaching of all subjects in all the vernaculars at the elementary level, and promoted the use of German only for utilitarian-pragmatic reasons. To be sure, Protestants, suspicious of the *Ratio*'s directives on the basis of past experience, first tried to main-

[46] Moritz v. Kármán, *Ungarisches Bildungswesen* (Budapest, 1915), 55–83; Julius Kornis, *Ungarische Kulturideale* (Leipzig, 1930), 3–17; Váczy, *Kazinczy*, 1: 152–95, 362–72.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tain their independent school systems by insisting on the principle of academic freedom, a right granted to them along with freedom of religion in the Edict of Tolerance in 1781. But as the years went by they gradually adjusted their curricula to the *Ratio*,[47] the guidelines of which could be studied with some benefit even by twentieth-century educators—and not only in Central Europe.

Maria Theresa's *Ratio educationis*, then, served as an important "transmission belt" of enlightened ideas in Hungary. It stimulated the modernization and unification of Hungary's antiquated and fragmented school system in order to increase the number of productive and useful citizens in the eastern half of the Habsburg state. One of its byproducts was, as intimated above, a greater accommodation of Protestant schools to the official educational guidelines. Indeed some of the Protestant churches and educational institutions—Debrecen is a good example—developed a certain clerical orthodoxy by the end of the century that was in part the result of a split between secular and ecclesiastical Protestant leaders and that signalized not only adjustment to the requirements of the Josephinian state but an endeavor to perpetuate conformity to an established hierarchy.[48] Csokonai, no model of a well-behaved student, was not the only one who rebelled against the stifling atmosphere of rigid Calvinist discipline. Other talented contemporaries such as the poet Daniel Berzsenyi and the playwright Charles Kisfaludy were also expelled from their Lutheran and Catholic high schools respectively.

Hungary's religious affairs must not be overlooked in any analysis of the interlocking concepts of Josephinism, education, and Enlightenment. It has been claimed that "Josephinism was named after Joseph II but it actually began with Joseph I and the spread of Jansenism in Austria. It was Jansenism that prepared the road for Josephinian ecclesiastic law."[49] As to Hungary, the theory that the "apostolic king" had a right to supervise the activities of the Church independently from Rome had been formulated by the all-powerful minister of Leopold I, Cardinal Kollonics, and by the mid-eighteenth century, state control of theological seminaries helped not only the modernization of the training of the Catholic clergy but also the spread of Gallican, Jansenist, and Febronian ideas.[50] Moreover, the beginning of the eighteenth century was marked by the anti-Habsburg fight led by a champion of complete equality between Catholics and Protestants, the devoutly Catholic Francis II Rákóczi, whose thought reflected the influence of Port-Royal.[51] But

[47] Johann Lipták, *Geschichte des evangelischen Lyzeums A.B. in Kesmark* (Kežmarok, 1933), 92.

[48] Emeric Révész, "Esquisse de l'histoire de la politique religieuse hongroise entre 1705 et 1860," *Etudes historiques* (Budapest, 1960), 1: 712–15.

[49] Heinrich Benedikt, "Der Josephinismus vor Joseph II," 183, *passim*, in *Österreich und Europa, Festgabe für Hugo Hantsch zum 70. Geburtstag* (Vienna, 1956). See also Adam Wandruszka, "Maria Theresia und der österreichische Staatsgedanke," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 76 (1968): 182–83.

[50] Egyed Hermann, "A vallásos ember a barokk korban" (The Religious Man in the Age of the Baroque), in *Magyar művelődéstörténet*, 4: 422–23. For the Catholic Enlightenment and Jansenism in the Habsburg lands, see O'Brien, *Ideas of Religious Toleration*, 38–58.

[51] Révész, "Esquisse de l'histoire de la politique religieuse hongroise," 699–711.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his memoirs and "confession," written in exile, had no impact on the Hungarian public at the time. Still, all major centers of Catholic learning in eighteenth-century Hungary had collections of polemical works on Jansenism, and in many centers the Jansenist books prevailed. Hungarian Jansenists reveal in their writings the influence of Voltaire and Rousseau; one writer in 1771 translated Marmontel's enlightened and sentimental *Bélizaire* into Latin.[52] Traveling in northeastern Hungary and Transylvania in the late 1760s, a Belgian Jesuit was horrified by the penetration of "pernicious" French ideas and books in private, often ecclesiastical, libraries.[53]

Actually the Enlightenment in Hungary received its first religious and sentimental impulses from Protestant rather than Catholic quarters. Both sentimentalism and Enlightenment drew heavily upon Pietist thought in many parts of Northern and Eastern Europe.[54] In Hungary it penetrated the largely German-inhabited cities of the western and northern parts of the country through Lutheran schools and teachers: Matthias Bél, author of a monumental historico-geographical description of Hungary and perhaps the most nearly universal of eighteenth-century Hungarian-Slovak scholars, was a product of the universities of Halle and Leipzig and a devoted disciple of August Hermann Francke.[55] Characteristically, Bél described himself as being "Slavic by tongue, Hungarian by nationality, and German by erudition." There is, then, some justification for stressing the significance of these multiethnic areas during the early Enlightenment (*Frühaufklärung*) of the mid-seventeenth to mid-eighteenth century[56] in Hungary, just as there is enough evidence to suggest the importance of the German element in pioneering enlightened ideas—and some unenlightened ones—all over East-Central Europe.[57]

Of similar importance is the role played by the Principality of Transylvania. With its traditions of religious freedom, enjoyed by Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Unitarians (but not by Orthodox Romanians) since the sixteenth century, this Ottoman-protected counterbalance to Habsburg power maintained close connections with the Protestant West while also being part of the French alliance system in Eastern Europe until the end of the seventeenth century. West European Protestant, and French cultural influences were strong in Transylvania: the first to dream of a nationwide educational system and to promote the ideas of Descartes in Hungary, the Transylvanian John Apáczai Csere was educated in Utrecht, where he published a Magyar encyclopedia in 1653. At the same time the Czech pioneer

[52] Tibor Kardos, "Rapports européens de la littérature hongroise du sentimentalism," in *Littérature Hongroise – Littérature Européenne*, 238–40.

[53] G. F. Cushing, "Books and Readers in 18th-Century Hungary," *Slavonic Review*, 47 (1969): 64.

[54] Carl Hinrichs, "Der Hallische Pietismus als politisch-soziale Reformbewegung des 18. Jahrhunderts," in his *Preussen als historisches Problem* (Berlin, 1964), 172–84.

[55] Gogolák, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des slowakischen Volkes*, 1: 152–70.

[56] Eduard Winter, *Frühaufklärung* (Berlin, 1966), especially 193–213.

[57] Valjavec, *Deutsche Kulturbeziehungen*, 3: *passim*.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of modern education, John Amos Comenius taught for four years at the Calvinist college of Sárospatak.[58]

Whereas most of the Protestant theologians and college teachers in northern and western Hungary were German-trained in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, many of their counterparts in Debrecen, Sárospatak, and Transylvania got their education in Switzerland, Holland, and England. By the second half of the eighteenth century translations published in Transylvania of the works of Molière, Corneille, Voltaire, Marmontel, and other French writers numbered over one hundred, and more were circulated in manuscript form. Apparently French influence was not confined to the upper classes. In the introduction to his *Magyar Athenas* (1766), which listed some five hundred Hungarian writers, the Transylvanian Calvinist theologian Peter Bod sarcastically noted that henceforth even Romanian infants will start crying in French in their cradles.[59]

Besides politically motivated French sympathies, the foreign connections of Transylvanian Protestantism, including its strong ties with the English Puritans, must not be ignored in an area where religious toleration was an essential criterion of enlightened thought and behavior. Ironically it was a French professor, Isaac Basire, the exiled court chaplain of Charles I and a supporter of the restoration of the Stuarts, who fought the Puritans tooth and nail in Transylvania and it was the Transylvanian George Mártonfalvi Tóth, a prominent Hungarian Puritan teacher in Debrecen, who in 1670 condemned the institution of serfdom on religious grounds. He held that man's right to rule extended only to other creatures, not to his fellow human beings, and that "all men are equal by nature."[60]

Beyond the religious sphere, English writings on philosophy, the natural sciences, and constitutional law became increasingly popular among those interested in reform: John Locke was translated in the mid-eighteenth century and, somewhat later, several manuscripts discussed the writings of Thomas Paine. The Hungarian theater, established in Kolozsvár (Cluj) in 1792, started a veritable cult of Shakespeare, while students from the "Saxon" districts of Transylvania proved to be natural mediators of the literary and philosophical products of the German lands. The last decade of the century also witnessed the emergence of an Association for the Cultivation of the Magyar Idiom (Erdélyi Magyar Nyelvmivelő Társaság) in Marosvásárhely (Tîrgu Mureş). The Society's activities gradually included, besides literature and linguistics, history and the natural sciences; the main promoters of the Society, George Aranka and Samuel Gyarmathi, maintained

[58] Winter, *Frühaufklärung*, 216.

[59] Gábor Tolnai, *Régi magyar főurak* (Hungarian Aristocrats of Old) (Budapest [1939]), 100–06; Jancsó, *A felvilágosodástól a romantikáig*, 8, 24–28. For the impact of the Enlightenment on the Romanians, see Keith Hitchins, *The Rumanian National Movement in Transylvania, 1780–1849* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), 58–111.

[60] László Makkai, *A magyar puritánusok harca a feudalizmus ellen* (The Struggle of Hungarian Puritans against Feudalism) (Budapest, 1952), 160, 167–71, 179–85.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

close contact with Czech, Romanian, and even Russian scholars. Indeed one must assign a special place to the cultural traditions and European inspiration of Transylvania in the history of the Enlightenment in East-Central Europe. Small wonder that contemporary intellectuals had a soft spot in their hearts for this multicultural country. Csokonai was no exception. In one of his philosophical poems he described Marosvásárhely, seat of the scholarly Association and the Teleki Library, as a strong bastion of the Enlightenment in the struggle against obscurantism, a struggle whose outcome might, in his words, determine whether the nation can enter "the garden of humanity."[61]

It is no simple coincidence that almost all the writers of the Hungarian Noble Bodyguard were Transylvanians who had a French-oriented cultural background even before they went to Vienna.[62] Whereas young magnates were encouraged to study in the Theresianum, Maria Theresa established the Noble Bodyguard for sons of the Hungarian lesser nobility. Each county had the right to delegate two noble youths to the queen's bodyguard; court etiquette, theater, music, indeed the whole atmosphere of the imperial city were supposed to transform the young barbarians into civilized gentlemen. Yet while acquiring good manners and imbibing Western culture, some Hungarians formed their own literary society, the central figure of which was George Bessenyei.

A disciple of Voltaire and other enlightened luminaries, Bessenyei was a writer and philosopher whose early works, published in 1772, have been traditionally hailed as the harbingers of the revival of Hungarian literature and sometimes even as the decisive signs of the appearance of the Enlightenment in Hungary.[63] Both interpretations tend to be over-restrictive and ethnocentric, but there is an element of truth in them.[64] Along with his first dramas Bessenyei published a translation of Pope's "An Essay on Man" and it was through this translation that Csokonai got acquainted with the English poet.[65] Csokonai and many younger writers greatly respected Bessenyei because he linked social progress with the cultivation of the Magyar vernacular.[66] Even before the much resented language decrees of Joseph II, according to which Magyar was unsuitable as a cultural vehicle, Bessenyei insisted in his pamphlet *Magyarság* (Magyardom) (1778) that "no nation on the globe has ever acquired wisdom and depth before incorporating the

61 Jancsó, *A felvilágosodástól a romantikáig*, 9, 12–13, 40–42, 96–187, 211–17.

62 *Ibid.*, 53–54, *passim*.

63 Waldapfel, *A magyar irodalom a felvilágosodás korában*, 7–10, 179–81.

64 See the perceptive essay by József Szauder, "A XVIII. századi magyar irodalom és a felvilágosodás kutatásának feladatai" (The Tasks of Researching Eighteenth-Century Hungarian Literature and the Enlightenment) and the subsequent discussion, *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 73 (1969): 131–75.

65 See Horváth, *Csokonai*, 31. The influence of the English poet's "civilized religiosity," to use Peter Gay's term, can be seen in his great poem on the immortality of the soul. For Pope's significance in the enlightened philosophy of Bessenyei, see Ferenc Biró, "Érzékenység, természet, gondviselés (Bessenyei György indulása, I)" (Sensibility, Nature, Providence), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 73 (1969): 211–19.

66 For Csokonai's admiration for Bessenyei, see n. 16 above.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sciences into its own vernacular. Every nation has become knowledgeable by [using] its own and never a foreign language. . . ." A class-conscious nobleman, he nevertheless moved in the direction of enlarging the feudal concept of the noble *natio Hungarica* by suggesting that peasants would never talk to their wives in Greek, Hebrew, or Latin and visualizing, like Csokonai, the inclusion of the peasant in an enlightened cultural policy. In subsequent writings he took a strong stand against religious intolerance; he also advocated Magyarization and a scholarly association for the promotion of Magyar—an idea that eventually led to the foundation of the Hungarian Academy by Stephen Széchenyi in 1825.[67]

Recently dubbed a "chauvinist cosmopolitan," according to whom "Mankind and science have pulled us together in this part of the world to such an extent that when one refers to fatherland and patriotism, one must mean Europe," Bessenyei held, "The world is my fatherland, the human race is my nationality."[68] Still the literary-cultural revival in the last quarter of the eighteenth century resulted, under the impact of the twin stimuli of Enlightenment and Romanticism, in an identification of language and national character. The notion that each people must fulfill its peculiar destiny in its own vernacular coupled with the identification of enlightened progress with patriotism and of promotion of the vernacular with dissemination of knowledge were attitudes shared by all backward societies in East-Central Europe.[69] Motivated by the common drive to catch up with more advanced Western countries, a phenomenon familiar from post-Napoleonic Russian history, young Hungarian noblemen contaminated by sophisticated Vienna "returned home as conscience-stricken as their fathers had been when they came back from the battlefields of the West" at the end of the War of Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War.[70] Sometimes the military can be a civilizing force and, paradoxically, major wars often have cultural shock effects. As exemplified by Gretchen's brother Valentin in Goethe's *Faust,* being a professional soldier was still a way of life in the eighteenth century. However, for peasants impressed forcibly or through trickery, service in the army was tantamount to a life sentence.

Interpenetration of Enlightenment and national awakening was bound to lead to a clash of linguistic nationalisms. Bessenyei and his officer friends furthered enlightened ideas as well as Magyar literature, but they also reacted to the Germanizing trends of Josephinism. Soon Magyar cultural nationalism was used to justify the Magyarization of cultural and social life. The political resentment this caused among non-Magyars, who themselves underwent a similar experience, was not mitigated by the many Hun-

[67] Waldapfel, *A magyar irodalom a felvilágosodás korában,* 144–50.

[68] Citations in Vajthó, *Bessenyei,* 98.

[69] Valjavec, *Deutsche Kulturbeziehungen,* 3: 40–44, 67–68; Endre Arató, *A nemzetiségi kérdés története Magyarországon 1790–1848* (History of the Nationality Question in Hungary, 1790–1848) (Budapest, 1960), 1: 76–111; Hitchins, *The Rumanian National Movement,* 58, *passim.*

[70] Király, *Hungary in the Late Eighteenth Century,* 10–11.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

garian politicians of the 1790s who tried to defend the feudal constitution and Magyar supremacy with arguments borrowed from Montesquieu and Rousseau.[71]

Rousseau's egalitarian ideas, of course, were used by the Hungarian Jacobins to undermine the position of a nobility that tried to justify its constitutional privileges with them. Thus radicals and reformers alike were fascinated by Rousseau's view of man as a social being whose existence and *modus operandi* ought to be related to society as a whole. But poetic souls such as Csokonai, who called himself "Rousseau's man" and patterned his way of life, according to Kazinczy, after that of the "hermit of Ermenonville,"[72] were infatuated with the author of the *Nouvelle Héloïse,* whose emotional riches compensated a sensitive person rejected by a world unworthy of noble intentions.

As shown by the two-pronged influence of Rousseau, Enlightenment and sentimentalism were interrelated phenomena "that first began to break through the general apathy" preceding the literary-cultural revival in late eighteenth-century Hungary.[73] The former was not exclusively French, nor was the latter predominantly German, as is sometimes assumed. On the wider European scene, the spirit of both Enlightenment and sentimentalism spread from England and France to Germany.[74] As far as Hungary was concerned, there were twice as many Hungarian translations of French sentimental, often second-rate, novels as there were of German in the years 1770–90; it was only after that period that the number of translated German novels prevailed over translations from both French and English.[75] Moreover, for Hungary one of the important sources of both "French" Enlightenment and "German" sentimentalism was Switzerland. Between 1685 and 1794 there were 63 Hungarian students in Geneva; the number of Swiss stipends for Hungarians was 4 in Berne, 3 in Zurich, and 2 in Basel as late as 1791. These figures do not include students who had independent means or obtained financial help from Hungarian institutions; in Basel alone there were over 200 in the eighteenth century. Some of the best professors in Debrecen were graduates of the University of Basel, which was also a favorite school of Transylvanians. The informal gatherings of Hungarians in Basel around 1760, when three Teleki counts were enrolled, could be compared to the activities of the literary circle formed by Bessenyei a decade later in Vienna.[76]

71 Eckhardt, *A francia forradalom eszméi,* 22–40. For further references, see Barany, *Stephen Széchenyi,* 28–33.

72 Béla Dezsényi, *Magyarország és Svájc* (Hungary and Switzerland) (Budapest, 1946), 101.

73 G. F. Cushing, "The Birth of National Literature in Hungary," *The Slavonic and East European Review,* 38 (1960): 460.

74 Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism* (New York, 1961), 352–53; *idem, The Mind of Germany* (New York, 1965) 23.

75 Antal Wéber, "La prose Hongroise et l'influence de la littérature sentimentale d'Europe Occidentale," in *Littérature Hongroise – littérature Européenne,* 265.

76 Dezsényi, *Magyarország és Svájc,* 58–75; Alszeghy, "A könyv és olvasója," 500, 510. For the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Besides religious contacts dating back to the period of Reformation and the impact of enlightened political literature published in Switzerland the literary revival in Hungary, too, was stimulated by Swiss writers. Kazinczy, for example, began his career as a writer in the 1780s by translating the popular idylls of Solomon Gessner. The impact of Gessner on Hungarian writers, an influence that lasted well into the nineteenth century, can be seen from a remark made by Csokonai who spoke of the "Gessnerian century of Magyar poetry."[77] As Csokonai's lovely short novel *Kisses* and the delicate lacework of his entire poetry suggests, he, too, was under the influence of and contributed to the sentimental trend in literature.[78]

Susceptibility to the socially conscious philosophy of sentimentalism, promoted by both the Puritans and the Pietists, was further enhanced, paradoxically, by two opposing trends within the Roman Church, by Jansenism and by the Jesuit order, which was the champion of counter-reformation in Hungary, too. Without ignoring the difference between the antirational principles underlying Jansenism and the highly rational philosophy of the Jesuits one may say that denial of absolute papal supremacy by both Jansenists and Jesuits, the emphasis of the Jansenists on predestination and divine grace, their anticlericalism and inclination toward Gallicanism, the stoic heroism of Jesuit dramas that pointed to the inevitable injustices inherent in any worldly society, taken together, tended to propagate a sentimental fatalism and had points of contact with the endeavor of the age to assert the secular authority of the state over the institutional Church.[79]

Feeling and emotion in both Jansenist meditation and sentimental soliloquy have common psychological roots, as is revealed in the literary and historical writings of the German-Hungarian Jansenist Aurel Ignatius Fessler, whose works served as source material for a generation of Hungarian Romantic writers.[80] The cult of solitude manifested itself in Rousseau's popularity, as Csokonai's example demonstrates,[81] and the revival of interest in Petrarch, whose poems were rendered in lyric Magyar prose by Joseph Kármán, author of the best Hungarian sentimental novel *Fanni hagyományai* (Fanny's Papers) and editor of a short-lived journal for women, *Uránia*. Like Goethe's Werther and other sentimental heroes, Fanny is a sensitive soul

significance of the three Teleki brothers, Samuel, Joseph, and Adam, in spreading French civilization in Transylvania, see Jancsó, *A felvilágosodástól a romantikáig*, 7.

[77] Dezsényi, *Magyarország és Svájc*, 76–102.

[78] Antal Wéber, *A magyar regény kezdetei* (The Beginnings of the Hungarian Novel) (Budapest, 1959), 39–40; Kardos, "Rapports européens," 247–48.

[79] *Ibid.*, 219–24, 236–37.

[80] *Ibid.*, 240; István Sőtér, *Magyar-francia kapcsolatok* (Hungarian-French Connections) (Budapest, 1946), 88. See also Peter F. Barton, *Ignatius Aurelius Fessler* (Vienna, Cologne, Graz, 1969). This recent biography of one of the most complex and prolific writers of our period of concern (his years were 1756–1839) is a treasure house of information on the religious aspects of the Enlightenment and Romanticism in Central and Eastern Europe.

[81] For the multiple literary inspiration of Csokonai's predilection for the poetry of loneliness, see the stylistic analysis of Mihály Szegedy-Maszák, "Csokonai: A magánossághoz" (Csokonai: To Solitude), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 73 (1969): 281–90.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in conflict with the surrounding world. But the atmosphere of the novel is Hungarian and realistic: the central figure, a young woman, is crushed as much by her own emotional confusion generated by her love for a worthy man as by her father, a feudal tyrant. Hence Fanny's personal tragedy is a symbol of a larger conflict inherent in the very milieu in which she lives, a milieu depicted in rather harsh colors by Kármán in his essay *A nemzet csinosodása* (The Embellishment of the Nation), many suggestions of which anticipate cultural policies advocated by the next generation in the Age of Reforms. Sentimental and rational motifs are, then, intertwined in Kármán's *oeuvre* as they are in Csokonai's.[82]

The son of a Lutheran pastor, Kármán was a member of the new intelligentsia whose sentimentalism was a reflection of a longing for democracy and freedom of feeling and hence a supplement to and promoter of enlightened reform. The social and national awareness of such sentimental poets as Paul Ányos and Gabriel Dayka, one a Paulist monk who wrote a satirical poem directed against Joseph II, the "behatted king," and the other an ex-priest who ridiculed clerical reaction, not to mention Kazinczy or John Bacsányi, both of whom were involved in the Hungarian Jacobin conspiracy, support the thesis that the sentimental trend in Hungarian literature—just like the effort to renew the Magyar idiom (*nyelvujítás*) to make possible the expression of new ideas—was more than a literary fad; it was an endeavor to change cultural tastes, human attitudes, and social behavior, and as such it was an organic part of the Enlightenment. Even conservative authors like the most popular Hungarian sentimental poet, Alexander Kisfaludy, a one time French prisoner of war in the Provence, were well acquainted with the literature of the Italian and French Enlightenment; while rejecting its philosophy, they nevertheless drew upon its literary achievements in their own writings.

Sentimentalism, recently described by a Marxist literary historian as the obverse side of the Enlightenment, was in a sense the main trend of Hungarian literature between 1780 and 1830.[83] Among its German sources the Göttingen *Hainbund* and the *Musen-Almanach* may be mentioned; Csokonai, for example, learned a good deal from Gottfried August Bürger, whose famous ballads were inspired by folk poetry.[84] Even more influential were the sentimental heroic dramas and operas, many of them by Metastasio, that were shown by the Jesuits. In the Jesuit school of Buda alone, 108 dramas

[82] Hankiss, *Európa és a magyar irodalom*, 221–29; Wéber, "La prose hongroise," 261–63.

[83] József Szauder, "A magyar szentimentalizmus problémái" (Problems of Hungarian Sentimentalism), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 67 (1963): 405–21; Antal Wéber, "A szentimentális stilusirány elméleti és történeti kérdéseiről" (About the Theoretical and Historical Questions of the Sentimental Trend in Style), *ibid.*, 71 (1967): 125–39; Éva W. Windisch, "Klasszicizmus és szentimentalizmus a XIX század elején" (Classicism and Sentimentalism at the beginning of the 19th Century), *ibid.*, 381–408; Hankiss, *Európa és a magyar irodalom*, 148–49, 279–83; Kardos, "Rapports européens," 242–44, 248–50.

[84] Császár, *A német költészet hatása*, 46–52.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were performed between 1740 and 1772;[85] in the same period Metastasio was translated into both Latin and Hungarian. In 1794 and 1797 Csokonai translated three plays of Metastasio, and Kazinczy, too, kept himself busy in prison by translating the Italian author. As early as 1764 the pupils of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame, an institute for girls in Pressburg, performed a play by Metastasio in French.[86]

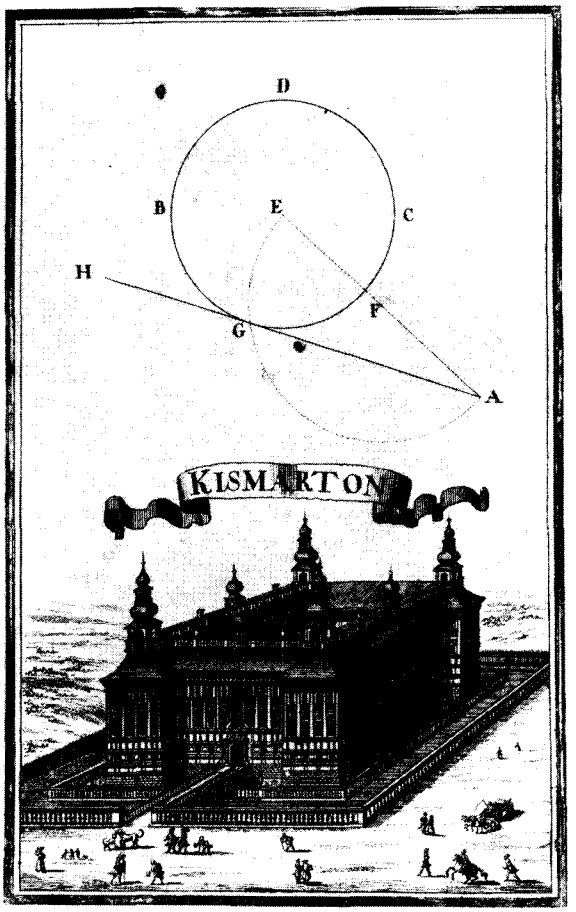


Fig. 5. Designed by Carlo Martino Carlone, the Kismarton (now Eisenstadt, Austria) castle of Prince Paul Esterházy is the first monument of Hungarian baroque architecture. In the 1760s it was the residence of the composer Joseph Haydn. Photograph: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Bildarchiv (Vienna, Austria).

Metastasio's significance reminds us of the importance of the Italian elements in the Central European, including Hungarian, Enlightenment. Ever since the end of the War of Spanish Succession the Habsburg dynasty was most prominent on the Italian peninsula. Among the legal scholars, the Viennese professor Martini was from the Trentino, and Beccaria taught in Milan; both were citizens of the Habsburg Empire.[87] Italian influence at

[85] Cushing, "Books and Readers," 59. For the role of the baroque, more specifically of the Jesuit theater in the educational process, see Tolnai, *Régi magyar főurak*, 138–59.
[86] Kardos, "Rapports européens," 240–41; Alszeghy, "A könyv és olvasója," 499.
[87] Wandruszka, "Maria Theresia und der österreichische Staatsgedanke," 186.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

court, in the fine arts, architecture, and literature had been strong in the Baroque, and Italian music and theater played a prominent part in the social life of the cosmopolitan aristocracy of the Habsburg realm. Italian, along with French and German, song, music, and verse had considerable influence in Hungary, on Csokonai as well as on many others.[88] The refined interplay between music and the spoken word, the striving for linguistic euphony, of which Csokonai was a past master, were characteristic for the neologists who wanted to enrich and embellish the Magyar idiom. Analogous efforts to reform the literary languages of the peoples of Eastern Europe by adapting them to modern requirements marked the dividing line between old and new and were significant aspects of the Enlightenment and Romanticism in the whole area.[89]

At the same time, as the Latin translations of Metastasio show, Latin continued to serve as the *lingua franca* of the educated. A Hungarian Jesuit's Latin translation of the moral philosophy written by Johann August Eberhardt, a Protestant follower of Christan Wolff in Halle, was used as a text for decades at the University of Pest and in Catholic academies in Hungary.[90] Similarly, Anton Bernolák and Nicholas Révai wrote their respective Slovak and Hungarian grammars in Latin in order to overcome the linguistic and cultural pluralism that Comenius and other foreign observers described as characteristic for Hungary in the second half of the seventeenth century. But even at that time Magyar ceased to be a vernacular used by the uneducated classes only and began to develop into an idiom capable of expressing involved theological arguments and feelings worthy of a more advanced literary style.[91] By the late eighteenth century the linguistic evolution reached a stage in which Greek and Latin meter could be incorporated into Magyar verse, thus opening the way to possibilities previously unavailable to poets—a phenomenon not unknown in other East European literatures.[92]

Shifts in the political and socioeconomic structure and changing educational, religious, and cultural patterns were paralleled by greater institutional flexibility, new social attitudes, and an amalgamation of ideas peculiar to the Hungarian scene. Even in the institutional Church, which opposed deism

[88] Alszeghy, "A könyv és olvasója," 504–08; Emil Haraszti, "A barokk zene" (Baroque Music) in *Magyar Művelődéstörténet*, 4: 611–12, 625–32. For Metastasio's "enlightened" influence on baroque music, see Fritz Valjavec, *Geschichte der abendländischen Aufklärung* (Vienna, 1961), 249–50.

[89] László Gáldi, "La néologie en Europe Centrale et Orientale," in *Littérature Hongroise – Littérature Européenne*, 275–85. For the interpenetration of foreign melodies and the domestic traditions of religious and folk songs, see Márta Mezei, "Dalköltészetünk a felvilágosodás korában" (Our Lyrical Poetry in the Age of Enlightenment), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 73 (1969): 220–42.

[90] Kornis, *Ungarische Kulturideale*, 4–6, 13 n.4. For Wolff, see Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation* (New York, 1968), 328–30.

[91] Jean Bérenger, "Latin et langues vernaculaires dans la Hongrie du XVII[e] siècle, "*Revue Historique*, 242 (1969): 5–28.

[92] Károly Horváth, "La signification des termes 'classicisme' et 'romantisme' dans les littératures hongroise et est-européennes," in *Littérature Hongroise – Littérature Européenne*, 311–13.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and materialistic skepticism, the spirit of Enlightenment and Josephinism seemed to have transformed the outlook of part of the clergy. As writers, scholars, teachers, and even censors, many Jesuits acted like other Hungarian patriots, promoting the cultivation of the Magyar vernacular, spreading new knowledge, and practicing religious tolerance at the time when official court policy attempted to rescind, with the connivance of the Catholic estates, Protestant privileges obtained in previous centuries. Whereas the Jesuits were influential among the upper strata of society, the Piarists, many of them educated in Rome, were more active among the lower classes, teaching in their schools the rationalistic principles of Bacon, Galilei, Descartes, Newton, and Leibniz and stressing in the curricula the natural sciences and practical skills in agriculture and commerce.[93]

Among the Protestant youth forced to go abroad to pursue their higher education, one of the signs of changing times was the rising prominence of the University of Göttingen during the latter half of the eighteenth century. This new center of learning gradually replaced in importance such traditional ones as Halle, Leipzig, or Jena. As a result of Hanover's dynastic ties with England the atmosphere in Göttingen was more liberal. Its student body consisted largely of scions of prominent families from all over Europe and Great Britain; in the curriculum, law and political science loomed larger than theology. One of the famous professors was August Ludwig Schlözer, the pioneer of Russian and East European studies. Some of his numerous Hungarian students such as Matthias Rát, founder of the first Magyar newspaper, the *Magyar Hirmondó* of Pozsony, wished to introduce in their native country Schlözer's method of unbiased investigation on the basis of primary sources.[94] Following in the footsteps of his teacher, Rát paid considerable attention to commerce and agriculture in his paper, first published in 1780. But unlike Schlözer he sympathized with the Americans in their war of independence against the British. His paper was one of the early focuses of Hungarian cultural life that propagated literature and scholarship in Magyar. Yet Rát belonged to that small minority of Hungarians who rejected the linguistic intolerance of Bessenyei and his followers and hoped that "none of the nations living in the two fatherlands [Hungary and Transylvania] will make here its idiom common [universal]. . . ." He also thought that Magyars and other East European peoples should learn from the past and share their experience and knowledge with each other to transform Hungary into a treasurehouse of European scholarship.[95]

[93] Kármán, *Ungarisches Bildungswesen*, 42–49; Bálint Hóman and Gyula Szekfü, *Magyar Történet* (Hungarian History) (2d ed.; Budapest, 1935–36), 5: 14–17; Eckhardt, *A francia forradalom eszméi*, 167–89; István Jelenits, "A latin nyelvü epigramma a tizennyolcadik századbeli piaristák költöi gyakorlatában" (The Latin Epigram in the Poetic Practice of 18th Century Piarists), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 73 (1969): 176–97; *idem*, "Conradi Norbert: Sic est, conscripsi versus . . . ," *ibid.*, 243–45.

[94] Valjavec, *Deutsche Kulturbeziehungen*, 3: 49–54; Dezső Dümmert, *Göttinga és a magyar szellemi élet* (Göttingen and Hungarian Intellectual Life), (Budapest, 1962). 1–25.

[95] György Kókay, "Göttinga, Rát Mátyás és felvilágosodás kori irodalmunk kezdetei" (Göttingen, Matthias Rát and the Beginnings of Our Literature in the Age of Enlightenment), *A*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rát's appreciation of the cultural values of all peoples living in Hungary was matched only by the most radical members of the Martinovics-led Jacobins and by Hungarian patriots as yet unaffected by Magyar linguistic nationalism.[96] In the latter category we find Schlözer's other disciple, the economic reformer Gregory Berzeviczy, who continued to write and publish in Latin or German. This widely traveled descendant of an old Hungarian Lutheran family was one of the few members of the gentry who understood the economic, social, and moral implications of serfdom. Like the two Széchenyis, Francis and, later, his son Stephen, Berzeviczy was deeply impressed by England's commerce and industry. He was particularly delighted to see the well-being of "that lower class of inhabitants whom we call peasants. This most numerous class of the people enjoys most happily all civil rights here flourishing to such an extent that it is no different in outward appearance from the privileged upper classes."[97] Convinced that the modification of the feudal system in England and Western Europe benefited society as a whole, Berzeviczy anticipated Stephen Széchenyi by proposing that the abolition of feudalism was the foremost task of reform in Hungary.[98] Cognizant of Hungary's multireligious composition, he claimed that Hungarians of different creeds ought to be human beings and citizens of one fatherland first. Perhaps reflecting on the Magyarizing tendencies of his compatriots in a multiethnic country, he stressed, in a letter written in 1808 to a former teacher in Göttingen, that "actually, we here in Hungary are not a nation. . . ."[99]

Although he himself sympathized with the cause of national resistance to Habsburg absolutism in the 1790s Berzeviczy's enlightened, "prenational" patriotism implied loyalty to the state and its ruler and dedication to the well-being of all peoples in the common fatherland. His sober attitude was shared by others anxious to improve conditions in Hungary, for example, by those Hungarians who in the eighteenth century planned to create an academy and scholarly association for the promotion of the sciences, arts, and letters along the lines of the German, Austrian, and Bohemian models. The novelty of Bessenyei's proposal, and subsequently the linguist Révai's, was that they visualized the Hungarian scholarly association as an agency whose exclusive task would be to cultivate the Magyar idiom, the assumption being that the development of the Magyar tongue would stimulate the evolution of all branches of scholarship. But even at a time when Magyar national

Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelv és Irodalomtudományok Osztályának Közleményei, 23 (1966): 131–35.

[96] Arató, *A nemzetiségi kérdés*, 1: 63–67; Benda, *A magyar jakobinusok*, 1: LXXII, LXXV–LXXVI; Béla Pukánszky, *Német polgárság magyar földön* (German Burghers on Magyar Soil) (Budapest, n.d.), 10–31.

[97] Cited in Latin by Balázs, *Berzeviczy*, 221.

[98] Ignácz Acsády, *A magyar jobbágyság története* (History of Serfdom in Hungary) (Budapest, 1908), 435.

[99] See Gábor Tolnai's citation in his review of Balázs' book on Berzeviczy, in *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 71 (1967): 496.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sentiment was on the rise as a reaction to Joseph II's policies the historian Martin Kovachich ignored the demands of Magyar linguistic predominance in his proposals for a Hungarian Historical Association and Institute in 1787–92. Inspired by the *Codex diplomaticus* (1758) of the Polish Mathias Dogiel, Kovachich used enlightened arguments, pointing to Czech and Polish initiatives in his own projects and emphasizing that Hungary must refute the charges of foreigners, according to whom she was to remain an uncivilized country forever.[100]

Eventually the less cosmopolitan and more nationalistically oriented plans for the academy prevailed. They focused on the humanities rather than on the natural sciences. The reasons for this are complex. There is some justification for the allegation that it was in the realm of literature that the "rich program of the Enlightenment" was able to survive, because literature was the medium capable of articulating Magyardom's right to its idiom, a right formulated in the Age of Enlightenment.[101] As early as 1790, the year in which he started his *Orpheus*, Kazinczy described literature as a nation-sustaining force. A supporter of the Josephinian school reforms, he was not afraid of using German in teaching to help the progress of civilization; yet he promoted Magyar as the "first and common" idiom, which German, Slovak, Serb, and Romanian children, too, ought to learn.[102] That Enlightenment and Magyar national pride must mutually strengthen each other was Bessenyei's working hypothesis; the same assumption lay at the heart of Kazinczy's literary activity and Csokonai's poetry as well. The identification of language with nationality and the predominance of Magyardom in spreading civilization in Hungary, however, implied that the triumph of Kazinczy's movement aimed at renovating the language, a movement that was apolitical per se, ultimately led to the prevalence of Magyar nationalistic trends over the more comprehensive Hungarian, essentially multilingual, erudition and territorial patriotism of a Berzeviczy or a Kovachich. Enlightened ideas were ingredients of both trends, and few contemporaries could see the difference between the two. Attention has traditionally been focused on the literary-cultural struggle won by Kazinczy for those who tended to identify the cause of national literature with that of the fatherland while narrowing down literature to the Magyar tongue alone. The gradual but purposeful abandonment of the "a-national" non-Magyar, chiefly but not exclusively Latin, legacy for the sake of the new Magyar "national" literature was a mutilation of the totality of the Hungarian cultural tradition.[103] Although replacement of Latin by the vernacular was one way of making Hungarian cultural life more democratic, the byproduct of the process was an ethno-

100 Windisch, "Kovachich," 92–116.

101 Szerb, *Magyar irodalomtörténet*, 192, 226.

102 Váczy, *Kazinczy*, 301, 310–11.

103 This was noted as early as 1924. See János Horváth, "A magyar irodalom fejlödéstörténete (Részletek) (Közli: Korompay János)" (History of the Evolution of Hungarian Literature. Excerpts. Published by János Korompay), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 73 (1969): 357–61, 364–67.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

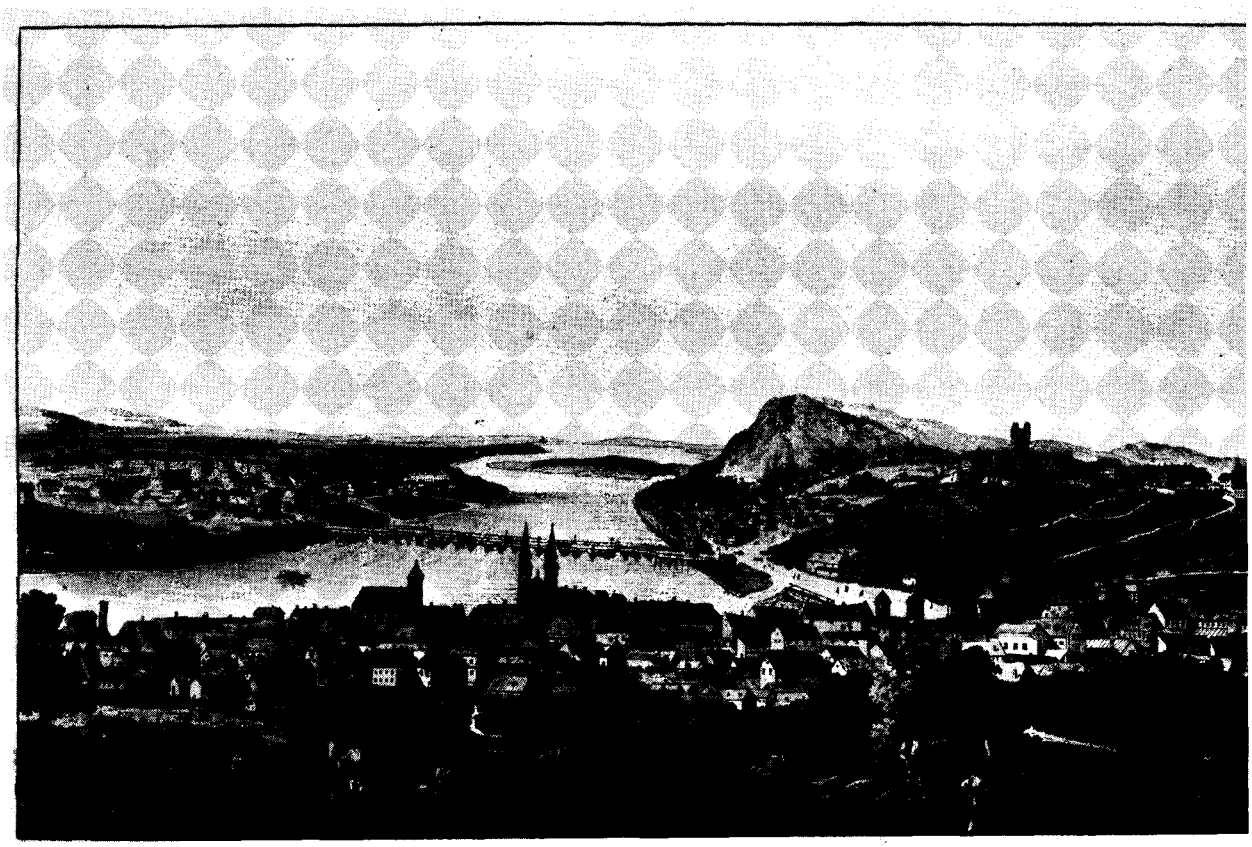


Fig. 6. View of the twin cities of Buda (right) and Pest (left) around 1800. Photograph: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Bildarchiv (Vienna, Austria).

centric provincialism characteristic of Magyardom's outlook until very recently.

The change in emphasis greatly contributed to the transformation of Hungarian, essentially pluralistic, patriotism into modern, or exclusive, Magyar nationalism. Referring to a study he wrote the previous year on "The Elevation of Magyar to the Stage of a Civil Idiom," Kazinczy stressed, in 1809, that the central idea of his work was "*nothing but Nationalism*. That is my idol, and not some petty consideration."[104] It should be noted again, however, that enlightened cosmopolitanism and national pride coexisted in the minds of most Hungarian pioneers of the Enlightenment, including Kazinczy; he refused to treat as sacrosanct the interpretation of nationalism that, as he put it, "abhors anything alien even though it may be beautiful."[105]

This interpenetration of old and new concepts, enlightened and romantic at the same time, was perhaps also a reflection of the appearance of new social forces. In this context one may refer to the development of the twin cities of Buda and Pest as new focuses of political and cultural life in Hun-

[104] *Ibid.*, 365 (emphasis in original).
[105] Sándor Süle, *A keszthelyi Georgikon* (The *Georgicon* of Keszthely) (Budapest, 1967), 216.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gary. The transfer of the former Jesuit University of Nagyszombat (Trnava), first to Buda and then, under Joseph II, to Pest, which was also the seat of the highest courts, and of important central government agencies including the Hungarian Lieutenancy (Consilium regium locumtenentiale Hungaricum) and the Hungarian Chamber—or financial administration—from Pressburg to Buda were steps toward transforming the twin cities into the capital of Hungary. Many members of both the incipient Hungarian bureaucracy, Josephinian by inspiration, and the academic community of the university favored enlightened reform; some of them were involved in the Martinovics movement.

Vienna, of course, continued to be the hub of political and cultural activities, whence modern ideas, in part transmitted from the West, in part generated in the imperial city itself, emanated toward Central Europe. But by the end of the century new centers of civilization began to play a role among the awakening nations of the Habsburg realm and the Balkans. One such center was Buda and Pest with its multiethnic population of Magyars, Serbs, Croats, Romanians, Greeks, Slovaks, Bulgarians, Jews, and, above all, Germans, all of whom were natural consumers and transmitters of the scholarly and literary works put out in many languages by the university print shop in Buda. Indeed the future capital of Hungary contributed significantly to the cultural enrichment of all the nationalities of the kingdom.[106]

Throughout the eighteenth century the number of libraries open to the public and of books printed and sold in Hungary continued to increase. To be sure, the quantitative growth did not always reflect improvement of the available reading material, and the taste of most readers may not have been very refined either. They cared but little for scholarship; what they yearned for was national grandeur. A case in point is the public's adverse reaction to the work of John Sajnovics, which appeared in 1770. In his book the Jesuit linguist-astronomer demonstrated that the language of the Hungarians and the Lapponians was identical (*Demonstratio idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum idem esse*) and his theory about the Finno-Ugric affinity of the Magyar tongue was supported by another pioneer of modern comparative linguistics, Samuel Gyarmathi, before the century was over. Yet the Hungarians felt insulted by Sajnovics's scholarly argument, and Dugonics, author of the popular novel *Etelka* (1788), flattered the aroused public by ridiculing Sajnovics. *Etelka*'s plot was inspired by numerous foreign literary sources but dealt with the conquest of Hungary by the Magyars, and this is what mattered. In the novel the heroes are Magyars and all the villains foreigners, mostly Slavs; the author went to great pains to explain that the Finns appearing in his book were not poor relatives smelling of fish but brave

[106] László Sziklay, "Rôle de Pest-Buda dans la formation des littératures Est-Européennes," in *Littérature Hongroise – Littérature Européenne*, 329–44, 354; Arató, *A nemzetiségi kérdés*, 1: 157–61; Dezsényi, *Az időszaki sajtó*, 23–25.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

people worthy of the friendship of Árpád's conquering heroes. This naive (but dangerous) ethnocentricism, not unique to Hungary alone, was also a sign of the crude literary taste of both Dugonics, a Piarist monk of southern Slav background, and his Magyar readers. According to a knowledgeable British analyst, however, eighteenth-century Hungarian literary taste "was probably little different from that of the English public at the time." The same writer correctly stresses that what was essential was the emergence of "a relatively large reading public, from the aristocracy who read both Hungarian and foreign books to the peasant with his almanacs and *ponyva* [chapbooks]." The existence of a large and growing reading public was a medium "for the diffusion of new ideas, and for experiment in language and literature";[107] it was also a guarantee that the clock could not be turned back entirely to pre-Josephinian days.

Another encouraging phenomenon was the incipient erosion, if not the outright crumbling, of rigid barriers separating the different segments of society. The practices of the Josephinian state promoted the process, but it was the spread of secular education and growing respect for the skills and talents generated by it that served as the common denominator for a new *honoratior* class in what still remained a feudal society for generations to come. Recognition of the social functions of education in an enlightened modern age made it both fashionable and patriotic for those aspiring to a useful if not leading role in society to widen their horizon, patronize fine arts and literature, and make distinctions among members of society on the basis of talent and erudition alone. Masonry proclaimed such lofty goals, and this in turn may have influenced the patriotic literati of the society founded by George Bessenyei. These men, all of them members of the Noble Bodyguard, treated each other as equals in their social contacts regardless of their military rank.[108]

The strengthening of the sentimental trend in both patriotism and literature added further momentum to the unfolding of a new kind of Magyar nationalism already mentioned before. The career of Count George Festetich, brother-in-law of Francis Széchenyi, is a good example of how the spirit of Enlightenment combined with nationalism to move Hungarian patriots. As a lieutenant colonel in 1790 he supported the negotiations of the "Party of Liberty" with the Prussians and signed a petition "to the honorable estates of the sublime fatherland," a statement demanding Hungarian officers and Magyar language of command for Hungarian army corps. After the failure of the feudal revolt and his retirement from the army he founded the Georgicon, the first agricultural institute of the Monarchy in one of his estates on Lake Balaton. At the end of his life he organized yearly cultural festivals known as the Helicon of Keszthely; on these occasions the gray-

[107] Cushing, "Books and Readers," 62–65, 69–77. See also Alszeghy, "A könyv és olvasója," 489–510.

[108] Vajthó, *Bessenyei*, 26.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

haired aristocrat, hat in hand, chose to honor the eminent writers and artists.[109]

Festetich, along with Francis Széchenyi, was among Csokonai's patrons who helped him publish some of his poems. The Catholic magnate was also the founder of the Calvinist Gymnasium at Csurgó, where Csokonai found a temporary position after his expulsion from Debrecen.[110] Small wonder that the poet wrote in dithyrambs of the "two divine counts of Keszthely and Cenk," namely, George Festetich and Francis Széchenyi and of the latter's wife, the sister of count George, Julia.[111] Effusive poems dedicated to wealthy patrons are usually dismissed by literary critics interested chiefly in the esthetic value of poetry. But the historian and sociologist must go beyond the fashionable baroque and rococo clichés characteristic of the decoration rather than of the essence of human relations. The eulogy written on the occasion of the untimely death of Paul Czindery in 1798 is not one of Csokonai's great poems. It could easily be explained by the poor poet's desire to comfort the well-to-do widow who was also a member of the Festetich family.[112] But the eulogy ceases to be simply a versified obituary if we know that young Paul Czindery had translated Rousseau's *Contrat Social* into Latin in 1792, that besides being related to George Festetich this active supporter of enlightened reform was described as Stephen Széchenyi's "most serious, erudite, and conscientious precursor," and that he sent a handwritten copy of the text of the American Declaration of Independence to his intimate friend Berzeviczy.[113] Under these circumstances the funeral dirge put into the mouth of the widow of an admired benefactor by a poet-friend three years after the public execution of Martinovics and his associates was not merely a private affair but a profession of the sincere personal belief that "the low world had not been worthy of the sojourn of such a glorious soul in its midst."

The close relations among the progressive aristocratic Széchenyi and Festetich families with the Czinderys, who were medium-size landowners, the friendship of the Catholic Transdanubian Paul Czindery with the Lutheran Berzeviczy of the Zips (Spiš, Szepesség) again remind us of the inadequacy of any one-sided interpretation, be it sectional, sociological, economic, or

[109] For the controversies surrounding George Festetich, see Süle, *A keszthelyi Georgikon*, 10–15, *passim*. For an evaluation of the educational purposes and economic implications of the Helicon festivals, see *ibid.*, 206–17.

[110] Kármán, *Ungarisches Bildungswesen*, 106.

[111] "Mélt. gróf Festetics György ő nagyságára" (To His Honor Count George Festetics, Esq.), *CsÖV*, 2: 95–101. See also "Gróf Széchenyi Ferencnének" (To Countess Mrs. Francis Széchenyi), "A nagymélt. gróf Széchenyi Ferenc ő excellenciája nemzeti könyvtárára" (To the National Library of his Excellency the Honorable Count Francis Széchenyi), and "Gróf Széchenyi Ferenc ő excellenciájához" (To His Excellency Count Francis Széchenyi), *ibid.*, 2: 70–77, 110–12.

[112] "Czindery sirja felett" (On the Grave of Czindery), *CsÖV*, 2: 535–39.

[113] Eckhardt, *A francia forradalom eszméi*, 40–41; Henrik Marczali, *Az 1790/1-diki országgyűlés* (The Diet of 1790–91) (Budapest, 1907), 1: 317. Neither Marczali nor Eckhardt was aware of the true identity of the translator of the *Contrat Social* and Berzeviczy's friend. The problem has been recently clarified in Balázs, *Berzeviczy*, 160, 188–92, 203–06, 211, 363–74.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ideological, of either the ferment among the nobility and other classes of society or their susceptibility to enlightened ideas.

To appreciate the impact of the Enlightenment on Hungary one has to keep in mind the country's cultural conditions. Unlike eighteenth-century France, men of letters in Hungary did not constitute a well-organized elite, let alone a subsidized bureaucracy.[114] Aside from a few aristocratic patrons, the Hungarian cultural milieu was almost hopelessly provincial. It is noteworthy that Martin Kovachich, the first historian of the Hungarian Enlightenment, who wrote in 1787, stressed, besides the experience of Hungarian soldiers abroad, the significance of the presence of Bohemian, Silesian, and Saxonian refugee students in Hungary: having fled from the areas affected by the wars to the University of Nagyszombat (Trnava), they appear to have confronted their Hungarian counterparts with a previously unknown intellectual challenge.[115] Indeed, with the exception of those who were in the military service or stationed in Vienna, or perhaps studying at foreign universities, few Hungarians had an opportunty to go abroad; domestic travel, too, was inconvenient if not impossible during certain parts of the year. There were no literary salons and theaters (the first permanent Hungarian theater opened in Transylvania at the end of 1792), and private library facilities and manuscript collections were too far away for many writers and scholars. The fine arts were practically nonexistent; it was only in the western corner of Hungary that serious music could be heard in the chateaux of the Esterházys or a few other magnates. For many years, to be sure, Joseph Haydn was conductor and composer-in-residence in the Esterházy castles of Kismarton (now Eisenstadt, Austria) and Eszterház (now Fertőd, Hungary). The last mentioned palace, built by Prince Nicholas Esterházy, "the Magnificent," was called by the French ambassador the "Hungarian Versailles." A show piece of baroque and rococo architecture decorated by Austrian, French, German, and Italian artists, Eszterház was famous for its opera, ballet, and theater performances, which were often attended by the imperial court and the diplomatic corps. But whereas Eszterház remained a cosmopolitan cultural center of European significance for about two decades, the best poets of the period, like Csokonai, had never attended a symphonic concert or seen an opera. It is against the background of this isolation from the mainstream of European civilization that their achievements must be measured.[116]

Poets and writers seldom make history. But their impressionable souls tend to register trends concealed from less perceptive eyes. They may also express,

[114] See Robert Darnton, "Social Tensions in the Intelligentsia of Prerevolutionary France," paper given at the annual meeting of the AHA, Washington, Dec. 29, 1969, pp. 6–11, in typescript. I wish to thank Professor Darnton for having provided me with a copy of his paper.

[115] Eckhardt, *A francia forradalom eszméi*, 10.

[116] See the interlocution of Károly Vörös in the discussion of the Enlightenment in Hungary, *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 73 (1969): 167–69.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

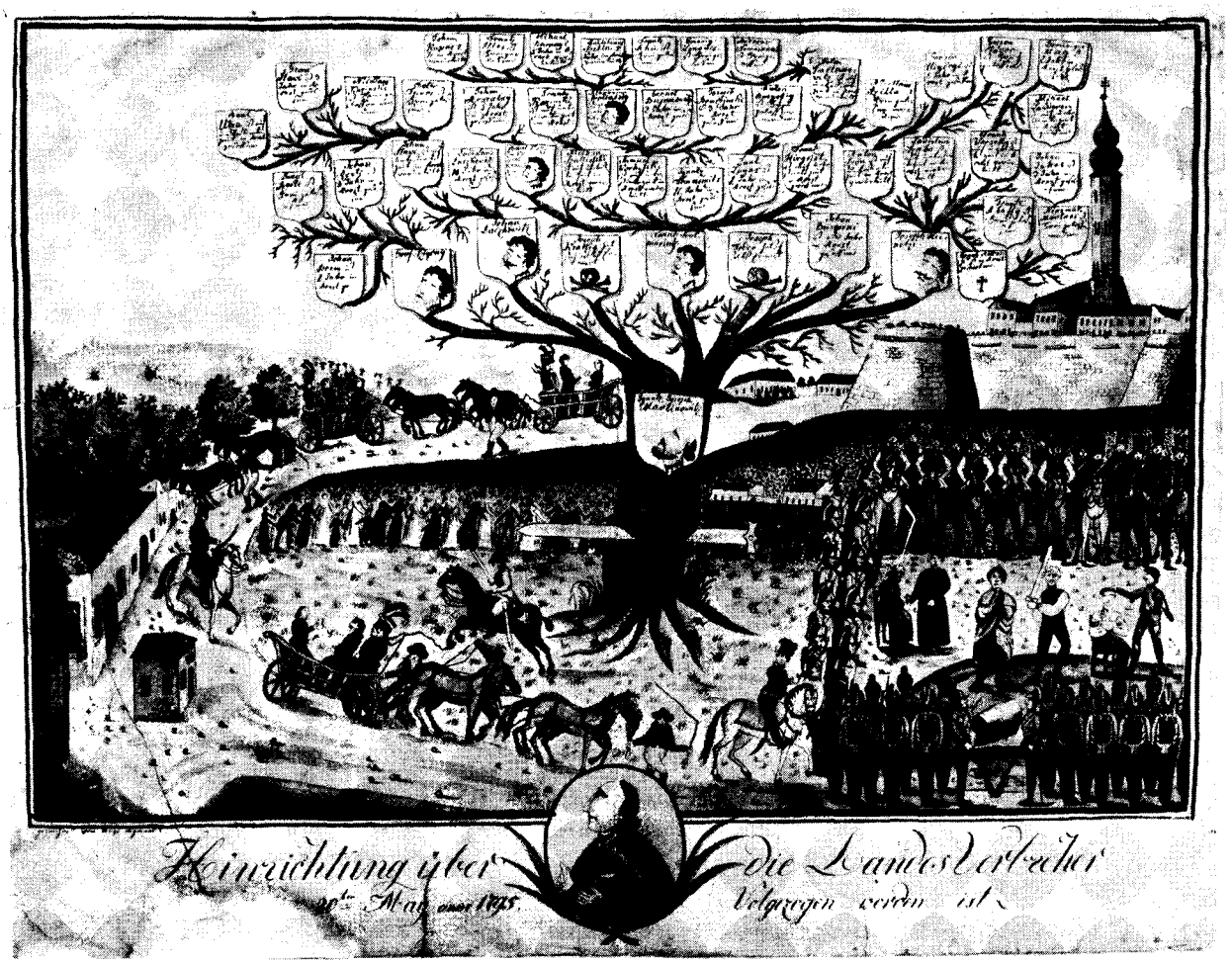


Fig. 7. Execution of Martinovics and his associates; tree of the movement with names and portraits of the participants. Contemporary sepia drawing by Hugo Sigmundt. Photograph: Magyar Nemzeti Muzeum, Történelmi Képcsarnok (Budapest, Hungary).

in image and sound, often subconsciously and only for those willing to listen, dreams and desires that cannot be otherwise articulated in an oppressed and underdeveloped society. After events took a radical turn in France, Vienna had no more use for antifeudal illuminati who, to paraphrase the poet Bacsányi, kept a watchful eye on Paris. The subsequent discovery of the conspiracy of the Hungarian Jacobins marked the end of enlightened absolutism and resulted in a wave of terror that frightened the country into silence. Whatever tender flowers the Enlightenment may have nourished in previous decades seemed to languish under a harsh regime of censorship. Those literati who were not under arrest and many of their patrons lived in an atmosphere of hopelessness and despair, an atmosphere depicted in bleak colors by Csokonai in 1798:

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Our modest success is dashed in pieces once more. Hardly one or two worthwhile books come out yearly; the printers are confined to prayerbooks and almanacs once more. Our theatre has died in its cradle, our best authors have either died or fallen into misfortune, and the rest are silent, with none to rouse them.[117]

The poet's letter was addressed to Francis Széchenyi, himself a progressive reformer in earlier years. As a protector of the executed Hajnóczy, Széchenyi was on the list of "dangerous persons," as was his brother-in-law George Festetich, Csokonai's other patron.

Still the forces of the Hungarian Enlightenment that can be traced back to the seventeenth century appear to have gathered sufficient momentum in 1765–95 to survive the political disaster at the close of the century. Some of the socially and economically progressive reforms of Maria Theresa and Joseph II that attempted to improve the peasant's lot and the school system were enacted by the Diets of the 1790s, which also extended far-reaching tolerance and privileges, if not complete equality, to the non-Catholic Christians of Hungary. Other initiatives, discussed in the committees of the Diets, had to wait another generation before they could be put on the agenda again. But Josephinist practices continued in government bureaucracy and the realm of Church affairs throughout the Franciscan period.[118] In the cultural sphere, too, one can observe the continuity of enlightened ideas even though in allegoric and inconspicuous forms: Csokonai's eulogy of Paul Czindery is an example. Aware of the public's French sympathies, even the newspapers would try, on occasion, to elude the vigilance of the censor by inserting an "innocuous" item, for example, about Ambassador Bernadotte's display of the tricolor on the Viennese embassy of France after the conclusion of the peace treaty of Campo Formio.[119] Even more interesting is the case of the historian George A. Belnay. In 1790 he published a Latin pamphlet that opposed "the noble autocracy," reminding it of the lessons of the American Revolution and contrasting with the "monstrous" feudal system the equal civil rights of every member of society on the basis of natural law.[120] Nine years later, in his *Historia literarum bonarumque artium in Hungaria,* dedicated to Francis II, the same author listed Stephen Bocskai and Gabriel Bethlen, both champions of Protestantism and of Transylvania's independence from the Habsburgs, among the "outstanding patrons" of art and literature in seventeenth-century Hungary.[121] Belnay's essay, published

[117] Cited in G. F. Cushing, "The Birth of National Literature in Hungary," *Slavonic and East European Review,* 38 (1959–60): 464.

[118] See Barany, *Stephen Széchenyi, passim*; Moritz Csáky, *Der Kulturkampf in Ungarn* (Graz, 1967), *passim.*

[119] Béla Dezsényi, "A magyar ujságolvasók tájékoztatása a cenzura kijátszásával 1797-ben" (Information of Hungarian Newspaper Readers by Eluding Censorship in 1797), *Magyar Könyvszemle,* 83 (1967): 364–67.

[120] Király, *Hungary in the Late Eighteenth Century,* 151; Mályusz, "A magyarországi polgárság," 250–51; Marczali, *Az 1790/1-diki országgyűlés,* 2: 164–65.

[121] Georgius Aloysius Belnay, *Historia literarum bonarumque artium in Hungaria* (Vienna, 1799), 102.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in Vienna, suggested by implication, then, the political neutrality of art and literature, and this may have pleased the censors of the Franciscan system. It was perhaps this vision of a neutral and apolitical literature that permitted literature to become the rallying point of Hungarian cultural life again in the early nineteenth century.

Enriched by many new artistic forms experimented with during the eighteenth century under the impact of both foreign and domestic stimuli, literature did indeed become that "nation-sustaining" force that Kazinczy intended it to be after the turn of the century. After spending "2,387 days" in jail, as he put it in his memoirs, Kazinczy became the literary dictator of Hungary, thanks to his ability to channel the latent energies of his educated compatriots into literature while steering clear of overt political involvements.[122] But Csokonai, who celebrated his old friend's release from prison with a poem in 1801, did not live to see this; he died even before a collection of his works could be published. Only one year after Csokonai's death the first Hungarian newspaper of the new century, *Hazai Tudósitások* (Reports from the Homeland), began publication in Pest in 1806. Its editor, Stephen Kultsár, who was not allowed to publish political news from abroad during the first two years, concentrated on the promotion of the Magyar language, literature, and theater. The paper ushered in a new era, after a decade of repression, because it shifted the center of Hungarian journalism from Vienna and Pressburg to Pest, resuming thus the work begun by Kármán's short-lived periodical, *Uránia*, and contributing to Pest's emergence as Hungary's cultural capital at a time when the literary revival was handicapped by fragmentation and lack of communication among writers.[123]

Kultsár's program was summed up in a passage that appeared in 1823:

> The foremost ornament of every nation is scientific learning (*tudományos kiművelődés*). We must strive for this not only because thereby we can raise our human dignity and enrich our domestic conditions . . . but even more because through the diffusion of the sciences in the Nation we can make the Country's Strength more potent, the Nation's glory more radiant.[124]

This formulation of the creed of Hungarian enlightened patriotism, reminiscent of Bessenyei, could have been and indeed was set forth by Stephen Széchenyi in *Hitel* (Credit). But *Hitel* appeared only in 1830; in 1823 Széchenyi was still trying to find his identity, and in 1809, in a letter written to his father, the former Freemason and Josephinist Count Francis, he highhandedly repudiated "the bluffs of cunning illuminati" (*geschickte Aufklärer*) because of their presumed hostility to the ideals of Christianity.[125]

In the same year in which the future founder of the Academy chose to reject

[122] Cushing, "The Birth of National Literature," 465–70.

[123] Dezsényi, *Az időszaki sajtó története a Dunatáj országaiban*, 14–15, 18, 22; *idem*, *A magyar hirlapirodalom első százada*, 13–19.

[124] *Ibid.*, 19.

[125] Barany, *Stephen Széchenyi*, 39, 207–08.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Enlightenment, a conservative historian, George Fejér, wrote a study "On the Easiest and Most Appropriate Way of Establishing A Hungarian Scholarly Association" (*Egy magyar tudós társaság legkönnyebb, és leghelyesebb felállitásáról*). Fejér, who later was to publish forty-three volumes of medieval Hungarian documents in his *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae*, relied heavily on Condorcet and other French enlightened authors in setting forth the arguments showing the need for an Academy.[126] But when, prodded by Stephen Széchenyi, the Diet of 1825 enacted the law that established the Hungarian Academy, the new institution's foremost task was the cultivation of the Magyar language and literature. Thus the very moment of the realization of one of the main goals of the Hungarian Enlightenment also signalized the transformation of the cosmopolitan legacy of the eighteenth century in accordance with the wishes of early Magyar nationalism.

To be sure, Széchenyi's reform work was not oblivious to the social heritage of the Enlightenment either. In fact, peasant emancipation, too, was justified by Hungary's liberals, who insisted on the need for building a new nation of which all strata of society, including the peasants, would be an integral part. Yet to Csokonai and his generation the possibility of realizing these expectations remained remote. Ten years after Csokonai's death but ten years before Stephen Széchenyi's emergence into the limelight of history, the erudite Michael Fazekas, "namesake and friend"[127] of Hungary's foremost enlightened poet who defended Csokonai's reputation even against Kazinczy,[128] published a comic epic poem, *Ludas Matyi* (Matthew the Gooseherd) anonymously, because of "our nation's insensitivity toward us [writers]."[129] Political considerations may also have motivated Fazekas' caution: his hero, a peasant lad, succeeds in getting even three times with the lord who once had whipped him. But in giving popular literary expression to the dreams of the downtrodden Fazekas was still very much hoping against hope at the time he wrote his masterpiece. Be this as it may, his example shows us once more the frustration and elusiveness of the cultural ambitions of enlightened writers in Hungary. Ironically, it was in the opening stanza of the most exquisite of his love-lyrics, addressed "To Hope," that Csokonai revealed what appears to have been at once his innermost feeling and the characteristic feature of the entire period of the Hungarian Enlightenment:

Thou, a mortal-teaser
Heavenly mirage,
Blind Hope, Thou, deceiver,
Goddess-like image!

126 Eckhardt, *A francia forradalom eszméi*, 209–10.

127 "Főhadnagy Fazekas urhoz" (To Lieutenant Mr. Fazekas), *CsÖV*, 2: 217.

128 In the literary debate dubbed "Arcadia trial," which involved the legend to be written on Csokonai's tombstone. Kazinczy was critical of some of the rustic aspects in Csokonai's—and his Debrecen friends'—writings.

129 Horváth, *Csokonai*, 75–76.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Created by and for
A soul in distress,
And courted ever more
As his patroness.
Thy honey-dewed lips are luring,
Thy smile tempting sweet.
Why keepeth my spirit yearning,
Playing hide and seek?
Leave me now to my fate,
Stay away Thou must!
Charmed, I swallowed Thy bait:
Thou betrayed my trust.[130]

[130] "A reményhez" (To Hope), *CsÖV*, 2: 174. English translation by Mrs. Susan Barany.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Europe's "Discovery" of China and the Writing of World History

EDWIN J. VAN KLEY

Ours is an age of renewed interest in world history. The enthusiastic reception given William McNeill's *The Rise of the West* a few years ago amply illustrates our concern for written history that embraces the entire human community and that transcends national, religious, and cultural boundaries. Courses in world history or world civilization seem to be replacing the traditional Western civilization courses in our colleges, and we are inundated with textbooks that try to integrate bits of Asian and African history with that of the West. Comparative historical studies abound. We have created international commissions for the writing of world history, such as the UNESCO project, in the hope of more successfully avoiding parochial interpretations. The parochial labels and phrases that still clutter our professional vocabulary are gradually being replaced by more descriptive terms: Oriental has become Asian; the Far East is now East Asia; and the Near East may become the Eastern Mediterranean. It is obvious that world history is one of the major concerns of this generation's historians.

Interest in world history did not begin in our day, of course. Historians in the Western, Christian tradition have always been concerned with world history—universal history, they called it. Universal histories also pretended to be histories of mankind. They described man's beginnings and his development through all the time he had been on earth. But while their titles typically embraced "the history of the world from its creation to our own day," the world described between their covers was usually limited to the ancient Near East, Greece, Rome, and Western Christendom. The most obvious change since the day of the old universal history has been a redefinition of what should be included in world history—a change toward geographic universality as well as or even in place of chronological universality.

The redefinition of the content of world history also has had a fairly long history in the West. At least since the Renaissance, Western scholars have had to assimilate newly discovered information, both from antiquity and from the non-European world, with their view of world history. Usually this new information could be accommodated without impairing the traditional struc-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ture of universal history. Frequently the authenticity and accuracy of the new information could be questioned. In 1658, however, the Jesuit missionary Martinio Martini published Europe's first systematic account of ancient Chinese history—a history that seriously challenged the traditional structure, and a history whose claims to authenticity could not easily be dismissed.[1] Martini's "discovery" of ancient Chinese history inaugurated one of the stormier centuries in the history of Western historiography and in the end precipitated significant changes in the way world history was written.

Organization, the way in which the story of mankind is divided, presents a major problem to any writer of world history. In our day we have come to see the inadequacy of the customary division of history into ancient, medieval, and modern eras that must include China, Japan, India, and Africa as well as the Western world. In the seventeenth century as well, there were generally accepted ways of dividing the story. Universal history was commonly divided into the sacred and the profane. Sacred history was derived from the Old and New Testaments and continued in the history of the Church; profane history was based on any other documents. There were subdivisions. Sacred history typically came in three dispensations: that of the law of nature, from the Creation to Moses; that of the written law, from Moses to Christ; and that of grace, from Christ to the writer's own day. Profane history was sometimes divided into three periods, reflecting the type and reliability of the sources: obscure or uncertain time, extending from the Creation to the appearance of the earliest Greek fables; fabulous or heroic time, up to the establishment of the Olympic Games; and historic time. More commonly, profane history was divided into four large periods, each dominated by one of the four great monarchies supposedly prophesied in the Book of Daniel:[2] the Assyrian or Babylonian, founded by the Biblical Nimrod;[3] the Persian; the Greek; and the Roman, which was usually thought to continue into the writer's own day. Many universal histories were divided into smaller periods called epochs, which took their names from significant historical events. The epochs varied somewhat from writer to writer, but those of the universal

[1] Martinio Martini, *Sinicae historiae decas prima res a gentis origine ad Christum natum in extrema Asia, sive magno Sinarum imperio gestas complexa* (Amsterdam, 1659). First edition, Munich, 1658.

[2] Daniel 2:31–49.

[3] Nimrod was the fourth-generation descendent of Noah in the line of Ham. The description of his deeds in Genesis 10:8–11 was traditionally understood to include the founding of the Babylonian or Assyrian monarchy. For examples see Hilmar Curas, *Einleitung zur Universalhistorie, zum Gebrauche bey dem ersten Unterrichte der Jugend* . . . (Berlin and Stettin, 1816), 82; Willem Goeree, *De kerklyke en weereldlyke historien* (2d ed.; Leiden, 1730), 30; Johann Ludwig Gottfried, *Historische Chronica, oder Beschreibung der vornehmsten Geschichten, so sich vom Anfang der Welt bis auf der Jahr Christi 1619 zugetragen, nach Abtheilung der 4 Monarchien und beygefügter Jahrrechnung aufs fliessigste in Ordnung gebracht* (Frankfort, 1630), 23; Matthias Prideaux, *An Easy and Compendious Introduction for Reading all Sorts of Histories* . . . (4th ed.; Oxford, 1664), 159–60; or Giles Strauchius, *Breviarum chronologicum: or a Treatise Describing the Terms and Most Celebrated Characters, Periods, and Epochas Used in Chronology* . . ., tr. Richard Sault (3d ed.; London, 1722), 182.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

flood, the calling of Abraham, the conquest of Troy, the exodus from Egypt, and the founding of Rome were commonly used.

To most seventeenth-century historians the only reliable account of man's earliest history was to be found in the Old Testament. For these early ages, therefore, sacred and profane history were identical, since both depended on the same source. History began with God's creation of the world and the first man, Adam. It began again, in effect, with Noah and his three sons after the universal flood. All humans, then, were descended from Adam through Noah. Most, if not all, of the world's nations had their origin still later in the dispersion of tribes from the Plain of Shinaar narrated in the Biblical account of the Tower of Babel.[4] If the evidence had been accurately preserved, therefore, all nations would be able to trace their lineage back to Babel and back to one of the sons of Noah, beyond which all men had a common ancestry. Few peoples other than the Jews, however, had preserved a knowledge of their earliest history. Worse still, later generations had often mythically and poetically elaborated the story of their origins in accounts that were subsequently judged to have historical value. But to seventeenth-century Europeans, only the inspired Old Testament provided certainty concerning the world's earliest history, and consequently traditional universal historians tested the ancient annals or records of any people by their conformity to that one reliable account.

If the traditional histories were something less than geographically universal, they were indeed chronologically universal. They began with the beginning of time—with the Creation—and usually dealt with all of the time intervening between creation and the terminal date of the book. An accurate chronology of the events described in Genesis, therefore, was crucially important; "the handles of history," one chronologist called it.[5] European scholars worked carefully through the Old Testament, calculating from the genealogies in Genesis and other books what they believed to be the correct dates for such important events as the exodus from Egypt, the calling of Abraham, the confusion of tongues at Babel, the universal flood, and, of course, the creation of the world. But the chronologies compiled in this fashion varied greatly depending on the chronologist's method and on which version of the Old Testament he used. For example, according to computations based on the Hebrew Masoretic texts, the universal flood described in Genesis occurred 1,656 years after the creation of the world. According to the Samaritan Pentateuch, however, only 1,307 years separated the two events, while calculations based on the Greek Septuagint version gave intervals of 2,242, 2,262, or 2,256 years.[6] Those scholars who used the Masoretic

[4] Genesis 11:1–9.

[5] John Blair, *Chronology and History of the World from Creation to the Year of Christ 1753 Illustrated in LVI Tables* (London, 1756), i.

[6] The Masoretic texts are the improved and standardized texts produced by Jewish scholars between the seventh and tenth centuries A.D. The Septuagint is the Greek version of the Hebrew scriptures traditionally thought to be the work of seventy Alexandrian scholars during the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

texts for their computations observed that all extant Hebrew texts agreed and that St. Jerome's Vulgate, based on manuscripts no longer available, supported and confirmed the Hebrew-text computations. Partisans of the Septuagint version, however, pointed to the agreement between existing Greek copies to demonstrate that differences between the Greek and Hebrew versions were not the result of copyists' errors, but that the Septuagint translators had used Hebrew manuscripts older than those available to St. Jerome or still available to seventeenth-century scholars. They observed, furthermore, that while the Church had used the Vulgate for the last millennium, during the first centuries of its existence it had used the Septuagint.[7] Although unanimity could not be achieved among seventeenth-century scholars concerning ancient Biblical chronology, that based on the Hebrew Masoretic texts was by far the most commonly accepted. Archbishop Ussher's prestigious chronological study was widely acclaimed and came to be regarded almost as orthodoxy.[8] The authority of Ussher's computations can be illustrated by the fact that his dates were inserted into the margins of the English Authorized Version of the Bible after 1700. According to Ussher, the world was created in 4004 B.C., and the universal flood occurred 1,656 years later, in 2348 B.C.

The wide acceptance of the traditional format of universal history and of the chronology based on Hebrew texts produced numerous universal histories that looked very much alike. When, for example, Andreas Imhof introduced his *Neu-eröffneten historischen Bilder-Saal* in 1692, he lavishly praised Johann Gottfried's *Historische Chronica* and frankly acknowledged his debt to the earlier historian. To Imhof a new universal history seemed necessary not because new archives had been opened, new information discovered, or a new way of organizing the material developed, but because Gottfried's book was too expensive, because its plates were not properly integrated with the text, and because Gottfried occasionally displayed more religious partisanship than Imhof would have liked.[9] Eleven years later Nicolas Guedeville published a universal history that, although not a direct

reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, 285–247 B.C. The Samaritan Pentateuch is a divergent Hebrew text written in Samaritan or Old Hebrew characters. It was cited by several of the early Church fathers and became known in Europe during the early seventeenth century. Many scholars considered it to be vastly superior to the Masoretic texts.

[7] For an early eighteenth-century summary of the arguments regarding the Old Testament versions, see Samuel Shuckford, *The Sacred and Profane History of the World Connected, from the Creation of the World to the Dissolution of the Assyrian Empire at the Death of Sardanapalus, and to the Declension of the Kingdoms of Judah and Israel, under the Reigns of Ahaz and Pekah* (2d ed.; London, 1731–37), 1: 56–61. First edition, London, 1728.

[8] James Ussher, *Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti, a prima mundi origine deducti, usque ad extremum templi et reipublicae Judicae excidium . . .* (London, 1650–54).

[9] Andreas Lazurus Imhof, *Neu-eröffneten historischen Bilder-Saal, das ist: kurze deutliche und unpassionirte Beschreibung der Historiae Universalis von Anfang der Welt bis auf unsere Zeiten in ordentliche und mercksame Periodos und Capitul eingetheilet . . .* (Nuremberg, 1692), xiii.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

translation of Gottfried's work, was sufficiently similar in organization and content to enable him to use Gottfried's plates.[10]

Perhaps the most serious challenge to the traditional scheme of world history and the factor most instrumental in changing that scheme was the "discovery" of ancient Chinese history. The first bits of information about ancient Chinese history were included in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century descriptions of China, but they caused little alarm in Europe. Already in 1584 the Spanish Augustinian Juan Gonzales de Mendoza had included in his history a "Genealogy of the Kings of China," which dated the first monarch at 2550 or 2600 B.C.—long before the universal flood.[11] But Mendoza presented only a list of obscurely romanized names with no convincing detail to support them. Subsequent writers described events such as the building of the Great Wall and the thirteenth-century Mongol conquest, but they said virtually nothing about ancient Chinese history.[12] Alvaro Semmedo, for example, observed that Chinese historians claimed a very high antiquity for their empire, but he distrusted the accuracy of the early Chinese records.[13] The Jesuit missionaries in China, however, soon learned about ancient China and realized that if the Chinese histories were accurate they posed serious problems for Western scholars. Apparently as early as 1637, after much discussion and negotiation, the missionaries received permission to use a Septuagint-based chronology for their work in China in order to accommodate the generally accepted dates for China's first emperors.[14] The information available to European readers before 1658, however, was much too vague to create problems. They only knew that China was very old, a rather unimpressive bit of information compared with the many other wonderful things being written about the Middle Kingdom. But the publication of Father Martini's *Sinicae historiae* in 1658 dispelled the earlier obscurity and clearly placed the challenge of ancient Chinese history before European readers.

Martini's book attempted to trace Chinese history from earliest times to the birth of Christ, or the middle of the Han dynasty. He began his history

[10] Nicolas Guedeville, *Le grand théâtre historique ou nouvelle histoire universelle, tant sacrée que profane depuis la création du monde, jusqu'au commencement du XVIII^e siècle* (Leiden, 1703). For an earlier and widely known example of the traditional universal history, see Johannes Sleidanus, *De quatuor summis imperiis libri tres* (Amsterdam, 1564).

[11] Juan Gonzales de Mendoza, *The History of the Great and Mighty Kingdom of China, and the Situation thereof . . .*, ed. George T. Staunton (London, 1853–54), 2: 69–76. First edition, Rome, 1585.

[12] For example, see Nicolas Trigault, *De christiana expeditione apud Sinas . . .* (Augsburg, 1615), and Alvaro Semmedo, *Imperio de la China; i cultura evangelica en èl por los religios de la Compania de Iesus* (Madrid, 1642).

[13] Alvaro Semmedo, *The History of that Great and Renouwned Monarchy of China . . .* (London, 1655), 106.

[14] Antoine Gaubil, *Traité de la chronologie chinoise, divisé en trois parties, composé par le Père Gaubil, missionaire à la Chine, et publiée pour servir de suite aux mémoires concernant les Chinois, par M. Silvestre de Sacy* (Paris, 1814), 283–85.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with Fu Hsi, the first legendary sage emperor, whose reign, Martini calculated, began in 2952 B.C. Martini dismissed the long dynasties that were supposed to have reigned before Fu Hsi as myth, observing that most Chinese scholars did the same, but he did not question the authenticity of Fu Hsi and his successors. After describing Fu Hsi, Martini traced the traditional succession of sage emperors and ancient dynasties, devoting to each emperor a brief chapter in which he chronicled the emperor's outstanding achievements and the major events of his reign. Much of the *Sinicae historiae* makes dull reading, although the controversies it provoked among European scholars were anything but dull. Martini's history included seven Chinese emperors who apparently reigned before the generally accepted date for the Biblical deluge (2349 B.C.), in which all the people on earth except Noah and his family were supposed to have drowned. Martini, of course, was aware of the problem this created. He reported that the Chinese annals on which he had based his work described a great flood that occurred about 3000 B.C. in such a way that one could interpret it as the Genesis flood. But even if the Chinese annals and Genesis were describing the same flood and the two chronologies could be reconciled, there remained additional problems. According to Chinese tradition, Fu Hsi was merely the first emperor; the land had been inhabited for a very long time before his reign. Fu Hsi was supposed to have been expert in astronomy, a science whose development, Martini reasoned, required long stretches of time. "I am certain," he wrote, "that outermost Asia was inhabited before the deluge."[15] He made no attempt to explain how the Chinese had preserved records of their antediluvian history, nor did he try to reconcile the ancient Chinese chronology with that based on the Hebrew Old Testament. These, he declared, were not his concerns.

Many European scholars, however, quickly made it their concern to reconcile ancient Chinese chronology with that based on the Old Testament. One of the first to deal with the problem was Isaac Vossius, an expatriate Dutch scholar with an almost limitless admiration for things Chinese. The ink of the *Sinicae historiae* had scarcely dried before Vossius came out with a book contending that, on the basis of the Chinese chronology, the traditional Biblical chronology derived from Hebrew texts was inaccurate and that a chronology based on the Septuagint version of the Old Testament should be accepted in its place. The Septuagint-derived chronologies placed the Genesis flood back in the fourth millennium B.C., making it relatively easy to accept Martini's ancient Chinese dates. But Vossius went further still. Even with the additional centuries provided by a Septuagint chronology, he had difficulty accommodating ancient Chinese history to the notion of a universal flood. Finding no compelling reasons why the flood should have been universal, he concluded that the deluge described in Genesis had been a local phenomenon. Scholars had argued before in favor of the Septuagint

[15] Martini, *Sinicae historiae*, 12; "Hanc enim qua de scribo, extremam Asiam ante diluvium habitatem fuisse pro certo habeo." *Ibid.*, 21.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and against the universality of the flood, and most of Vossius' arguments were not novel. His insistence that the Chinese historical annals disproved the traditional picture of ancient history and chronology, however, was new.[16] In sum, Vossius, like Martini, was so impressed by the accuracy of the ancient Chinese annals that he preferred them in case of conflict and questioned instead the traditional Biblical chronology and the universality of the Genesis story.

Vossius' ideas naturally met considerable opposition. Many scholars were horrified by his cavalier treatment of Old Testament history. But those who clung to the traditional Hebrew-text chronology were left only two alternatives: they could reject the Chinese annals as myth, or they could attempt to correlate them in some fashion with the traditional chronology. To be sure, some scholars adamantly refused to accept the Chinese annals, but many were anxious to find some way of reconciling the two ancient chronologies. The Chinese record as described by Martini was not easily disregarded; it looked exceedingly impressive to seventeenth-century Europeans. Compared with the ancient literature of Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome, it seemed remarkably free of miraculous or fantastic tales. Furthermore the impressive—indeed, almost unbroken—continuity of the Chinese record lent an aura of authenticity to the story it told. And when Martini related how Chinese historians often marked important events by observing the positions of stars and planets, who in Isaac Newton's century would not be impressed?

Georg Horn, a Leiden theologian and historian who published a refutation of Vossius' book soon after it appeared, provides an intriguing example of the tension generated by the appearance of the Chinese annals.[17] Throughout the rather vigorous polemic between Vossius and himself, Horn appeared to have been unmoved by the evidence of the Chinese annals.[18] Almost seven years later, however, he published the *Arca Noae,* in which he attempted to reconcile ancient Chinese history with ancient Biblical history. He still accepted Archbishop Ussher's Hebrew-text chronology, even to the point of asserting that "the earth was created on October 23, 4004 B.C." By accepting the traditional date for the flood as well, he was compelled to identify it with the reign of Yao, the seventh sage emperor.[19] From Martini's *Sinicae historiae* Horn learned that large parts of China were submerged during Yao's reign and that Yao's successors, Shün and Yü, became famous for

[16] Isaac Vossius, *Dissertatio de vera aetate mundi, qua ostenditur natale mundi tempus annis 1440 vulgarum anticipare* (The Hague, 1659), 44–48.

[17] Georg Horn, *Dissertatio de vera aetate mundi, qua sententia illorum refellitur qui statuunt natale mundi tempus annis minimum 1440 vulgarem aeram anticipare* (Leiden, 1659).

[18] For this controversy see the following: Isaac Vossius, *Castigationes ad scriptum Georgii Hornii de aetate mundi* (The Hague, 1659); Georg Horn, *Defensio dissertationis de vera aetate mundi, contra castigationes Isaaci Vossii . . .* (Leiden, 1659); Isaac Vossius, *Auctarium castigationem ad scriptum de aetate mundi* (The Hague, 1659); Georg Horn, *Auctarium defensionis pro vera aetate mundi* (Leiden, 1659).

[19] Georg Horn, *Arca Noae. Historia imperiorum et regnorum a condito orbe ad nostra tempora* (Leiden, 1666), 4–5, 13.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

draining these waters and reclaiming the inundated land.[20] Martini thought that these lands had been submerged since the floods of 3000 B.C. Horn, however, contended that the submerged land proved that there had been a flood during Yao's reign, and this flood he identified with the Biblical deluge. But if the universal flood of the Genesis account had occurred in Yao's reign, Horn still faced the problem of explaining how the Chinese were able to remember their antediluvian history. He saw two alternatives: either Chinese history before Yao was myth, or a record of antediluvian events had been preserved by occupants of Noah's ark. Horn was willing to consider the second alternative, but to do so meant that ancient Chinese history and ancient Hebrew history necessarily rested on the same tradition, since only Noah and his family survived the flood. Horn therefore suggested that the ancient Chinese annals were merely a distorted account of the history more clearly recorded in the first chapters of Genesis.

Horn demonstrated his thesis by identifying each of the sage emperors with one of the Old Testament patriarchs. Fu Hsi, he suggested, could have been Adam. The tradition that Fu Hsi had no mother but the earth, seemed convincingly similar to the description in Genesis of Adam's creation from the earth's dust. The second sage emperor, Shên Nung, would then be Cain. Horn thought their names were similar, and both were described as agriculturalists. Shên Nung's successor Huang-ti, the Yellow Emperor of Taoist legend, Horn identified with Cain's son Enoch. Just as Enoch was taken up to heaven without dying, so Huang-ti was suddenly whisked away to a mountain top and given instant immortality.[21] And so Horn continued down through the ranks of Chinese culture heroes until he came to Yao, who he thought was obviously Noah. Not only had the flood occurred during Yao's reign, but Martini had described him as a pious and holy man, terms eminently appropriate for Noah as well.[22] Horn concluded, therefore, that Genesis and the Chinese annals were actually two records of the same history. The differences between them, he thought, could easily be explained by the effects of time on the memory of the Chinese. Far from challenging ancient Biblical history, therefore, the Chinese annals actually helped verify the Hebrew scriptures and the traditional chronologies derived from them.

Horn's attempt to identify sage emperors with Old Testament patriarchs was repeated with variations by many writers during the following century. In 1669, for example, the English scholar John Webb wrote an essay exploring the possibility that Chinese was the primitive language of mankind—the language spoken by Noah and all men before the confusion of tongues at Babel. Accepting Horn's identification of Noah and Yao, but not his other identifications, Webb reasoned that China was settled by Noah and some

[20] Martini, *Sinicae historiae*, 39–40.

[21] Horn, *Arca Noae*, 14, 15, 16. See also Martini, *Sinicae historiae*, 30. The fact that Genesis awards immediate immortality to the Enoch who is a fifth-generation descendant of Cain's brother Seth, rather than to Cain's son, Horn explained by saying that the Chinese confused the two Enochs.

[22] Horn, *Arca Noae*, 17–18.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of his children soon after the flood and before the confusion of tongues at Babel. (In fact Webb thought Noah had lived in China even before the flood and had built the ark there.) Consequently, if all men spoke one language before the confusion of languages at Babel, and if the modern Chinese still spoke the language of their empire's founders, then Chinese was the original language of all mankind. Webb supported his thesis by describing many characteristics of the Chinese language that he thought betrayed its primitive nature.[23]

Webb also rejected the theory, advanced by the Jesuit scholar Athanasius Kircher, that China had been settled by Egyptians. Kircher suggested this because of what he thought were similarities between Chinese characters and Egyptian hieroglyphs.[24] Webb saw little similarity between the languages, but he objected to the theory on other grounds as well. It was generally believed, he pointed out, that the Egyptians had descended from Ham, Noah's second son, whose descendants were cursed by Noah and supposedly became idolators. Jesuit missionaries, however, reported that the ancient Chinese had never worshipped idols but had served the one true God. Webb concluded, therefore, that the Chinese could not have descended from the idolatrous race of Ham, but that China must have been settled by Noah himself or by his oldest son, Shem.[25]

During the last decades of the seventeenth century the Jesuit policy of cultural accommodation in China—particularly their accommodation of certain Confucian rites and ceremonies—received increasingly severe criticism from the order's Franciscan and Dominican rivals; the ensuing quarrel became known as the Rites Controversy. Many aspects of the Jesuit image of China and its history were questioned as well. For example, when the Dominican missionary Domingo Navarrete wrote his description of China in 1676, he frankly acknowledged that one of his aims was to refute Jesuit notions about primitive Chinese religion and to demonstrate that the ancient Chinese had no knowledge of God. He was convinced that the Chinese could not have descended directly from Noah or from Shem. But Navarrete retained a high respect for Chinese antiquity, despite his anti-Jesuit bias. He accepted Fu Hsi as the first authentic Chinese emperor and Martini's date, 2957 B.C., as the first year of his reign. He then identified Fu Hsi with Noah's son Ham, using a Septuagint-based chronology to correlate their dates. Finally, as if to divorce the ancient Chinese completely from the true religion, he identified Fu Hsi-Ham with the Persian Zoroaster.[26]

[23] John Webb, *An Historical Essay Endeavoring a Probability that the Language of the Empire of China is the Primitive Language* (London, 1669), 60–62, 70–71, 32, 162–212.

[24] Athanasius Kircher, *La Chine illustrée de plusieurs monuments tant sacrés que profanes, et de quantité de recherchés de la nature & de l'art,* tr. F. S. Dalquie (Amsterdam, 1670), 303, 305, 311. First Latin edition, Amsterdam, 1667.

[25] Webb, *Historical Essay,* 31–32.

[26] Domingo Fernandez Navarrete, *An Account of the Empire of China, Historical, Political, Moral, and Religious. A Short Description of that Empire and Notable Examples of its Emperors and Ministers* (London, n.d.), 3, 4. First edition, Madrid, 1676.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Jesuit missionaries, too, occasionally tried their hands at identifying Chinese emperors with Hebrew patriarchs. As might be expected, they usually based their chronological computations on the Septuagint version, and they tended to identify the earliest sage emperors with either Noah or his descendants in the line of Shem. The Rites Controversy apparently made them a bit more cautious than Martini had been. Father Philip Couplet, for example, admitted in his remarks about Chinese chronology appended to the Jesuit translation of the Confucian classics known as the Four Books that the traditional accounts of Fu Hsi and his successors contained material that was obviously mythological. Couplet did not think the fabulous aspects of the story were sufficient reason for rejecting the annals or for doubting the existence of the sage emperors; one might as well question the existence of Saturn, Jupiter, Hercules, Bacchus, or Romulus.[27] Nevertheless Couplet began his chronological tables with Huang-ti rather than Fu Hsi. His translator colleagues, however, thought Fu Hsi was an authentic Chinese emperor. In the preface to their translation of the Four Books they described Fu Hsi as a descendant of Shem, who settled in China soon after the confusion of languages at Babel.[28] But the Jesuit translators professed sympathy with those who could not accept the Septuagint and admitted that the myths embedded in the history of the first six emperors raised some doubts about the authenticity of the account. They concluded that if it could be demonstrated that a chronology based on the Masoretes were indisputably true, they would happily accept Yao as the first emperor. Following a Hebrew-text chronology, Yao could have been established in China shortly after the incident at the Tower of Babel. In either case China was populated soon after the flood. The dates of Yao and his successors, Couplet and his colleagues asserted, were as firmly established as were those of the Greek Olympiads.[29]

Even the clearly fabulous aspects of the Chinese annals could provide opportunities for correlating ancient Chinese history with the Old Testament. For example, Christian Mentzel, the physician and Chinese-language scholar who translated a Chinese history schoolbook into German, thought he saw misty fragments of the Biblical stories of the Creation and the Fall in the legends surrounding Fu Hsi and his sister Nu Kua. Mentzel identified

[27] "Sed enim quamvis haec meritò censeantur fabulosa, non ausim tamen ob eam causam fidem omnem derogare Sinicae antiquitati, asserendo hujusmodi homines numquam extitisse. Quis enim neget extitisse quondam Saturnum, Janum, Jovem, Herculem, Bacchum, Orpheum Romulum, & c. tametsi res plurimas quae nunquam extiterunt, eisdem non tantùm Poëtae affinxerint, sed Historiographi quoque gravissimi tribuerint?" Philip Couplet, "Praefatio ad tabulam chronologicam," *Confucius sinarum philosophus, sive scientia Sinenses Latine exposita. Studio et opera Prosperi Interocetta, Christiani Herdtrich, Francisci Rougemont, Philippi Couplet. . . . Adjecta est tabula chronologica sinicae monarchiae ab hujus exordio ad haec usque tempora* (Paris, 1687), x–xi. Three of the Four Books are translated here: *Ta Hsüeh* [*The Great Learning*], *Chung Yung* [*The Doctrine of the Mean*], and *Lün Yu* [*The Analects of Confucius*].

[28] "Proemalis declaratio," *ibid.*, lxxiv–lxxv.

[29] "Etenim annorum computus saltem ille qui ab *Yao* Rege usque ad haec tempora decurrit, adeo ordinatus, & tanto consensu scriptorum omnium exactus ad suas periodos seu cyclos sexaginta annorum, ut non magis dubitari qucat de illius integritate, quàm de Graecorum per olympiadas suas supputatione, cui tantum fidei & authoritatis tribuitur." *Ibid.*, lxxv.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fu Hsi with Adam, Nu Kua with Eve. The story of Fu Hsi's birth resembled Adam's creation. Furthermore, Fu Hsi was supposed to have had the body of a snake, and the second character of Nu Kua's name could mean one having a wound from the bite of a tree or the fruit of a tree. Mentzel thought all this looked like distorted remnants of the Genesis account of Adam's fall.[30]

Efforts to correlate the ancient Chinese annals with the Hebrew Old Testament still engrossed the English historian Samuel Shuckford in 1728. He thought the ancient Chinese descriptions of Fu Hsi more closely resembled the Genesis description of Noah than that of Adam. Beyond this he accepted Webb's theory that Noah traveled eastward after leaving the ark, eventually settling in China, and that consequently the Chinese were not at the Tower of Babel when the languages were confused. Shuckford accepted Ussher's Hebrew-text chronology and correlated it with the Chinese annals by demonstrating that the various estimates for the beginning of Fu Hsi's reign all fell within Ussher's dates for Noah's life—2948 to 2016 B.C. The only error in the Chinese chronologies then, according to Shuckford, was that they recorded all the events of Fu Hsi-Noah's life as if they had occurred when he was emperor of China, while in fact he was emperor only during the last 115 years of his suspiciously long life.[31]

Martini's account of how the sun stood still for ten days during Yao's reign provided Shuckford still another opportunity to correlate the Chinese annals with Genesis. Following the chronological calculations that resulted from his identification of Noah and Fu Hsi, Shuckford found that the Biblical story of the sun standing still for Joshua probably occurred in the seventy-fifth year of Yao's reign. But in the Old Testament story the sun stood still for several hours, not for ten days. Shuckford, however, was not easily discouraged. He suspected that European translators were wrong about the Chinese character they had translated as day. If the character were translated as hour, Shuckford observed, the Chinese records and the Old Testament story coincided almost exactly.[32]

The game of identifying sage emperors with patriarchs continued through the eighteenth century. Serious scholars as well as popularizers played it. The German Sinologist Gottlieb Bayer, for example, equated Fu Hsi with Adam, Shên Nung with Adam's son Seth, and Huang-ti with Noah.[33] To do this he had to accept as authentic several emperors between Shên Nung and Huang-ti whose existence most European scholars either questioned or rele-

[30] Christian Mentzel, *Kurtze chinesische Chronologia oder Zeit-Register, aller chinesischen Kayser, von ihrem also vermeynten Anfang der Welt biss hierher zu unsern Zeiten, des nach Christi unsers Seligmachers Geburt 1696sten Jahres, in einer richtigen Ordnung von Jahren zu Jahren, mit ihren rechten Characteren, Nahmen, und Beschreibungen, auch mit zween chinesischen erklärten Tafeln der vornehmsten Geschichten von ihrem Anbeginn der Welt, gezogen aus der chineser Kinder-Lehre "Siao ul hio" oder "lun" genandt . . .* (Berlin, 1696), 18–19.

[31] Shuckford, *Sacred and Profane History*, 1: 100–105, 29, 2: 60–61.

[32] *Ibid.*, 3: 462–63. See also Martini, *Sinicae historiae*, 37.

[33] Gottlieb Siegfried Bayer, *Museum sinicum in quo sinicae linguae et litteraturae ratio explicatur* (St. Petersburg, 1730), 2: 289.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gated to subordinate provincial roles. Bayer found an Old Testament equivalent for each of them. Etienne Fourmant, the French orientalist and royal librarian, searched the obviously mythological dynasties before Fu Hsi for possible correlations.[34] He discovered that the characters used in the name of the legendary creator, P'an-ku, could be understood to mean something like "saved from the waters by the ark," and thus might refer to Noah or, more probably, to his son Japheth. A former Jesuit *abbé*, Claude Lambert, questioned the authenticity of all the emperors before Yao. Even Chinese scholars, he thought, had too many reservations about them. He was convinced that Chinese history began with Yao, whom he identified with Joktan, the younger brother of Peleg and son of Eber, one of Shem's descendants. Lambert thought Yao-tang, another form of Yao's name, strongly resembled Joktan, and he appears to have been convinced by reading Genesis 10:30 regarding Joktan: "And their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the East."[35] As late as 1775 the English classical scholar and bibliophile, Jacob Bryant, was still making such identifications. Bryant thought that the Chinese, like the Egyptians, had borrowed their ancient history from other, older peoples. What the Chinese thought to be the record of their ancient past was merely a shadowy memory of the events recorded in Genesis. He identified Fu Hsi with Adam, Shên Nung with Noah, and Huang-ti with Noah's son Ham, whom he also identified with the Egyptian Serapis.[36]

There seems to have been no limit to the variety of these correlations and identifications. Writers who knew little or no Chinese—and often no Hebrew—could always see the sage emperors' names as corruptions of the original Hebrew. Besides, the deeds of the Chinese culture heroes—the discovery of fire, the invention of letters, the institution of marriage, or the invention of agriculture—were described vaguely enough in the Chinese annals to be reminiscent of the accomplishments of the Mosaic patriarchs. We may be tempted to smile a bit at the somewhat curious efforts of these seventeenth- and eighteenth-century scholars, especially when we realize that they were trying to correlate the Biblical and classical tradition with Chinese legend rather than with history. Still, attempts to identify Chinese culture heroes with Hebrew patriarchs were part of a serious and significant endeavor—Europe's first attempt to bring China into world history.[37]

[34] Etienne Fourmant, *Réflexions sur l'origine, l'histoire et la succession des anciens peuples Chaldéens, Hébreux, Pheniciens, Egyptiens, etc. jusqu'au tems de Cyrus . . .* (Paris, 1747), 2: 437. First edition, Paris, 1735.

[35] Claude François Lambert, *Histoire générale, civile, naturelle, politique & religieuse de tous les peuples du monde, avec des observations sur les moeurs, les coutomes, les usages, les caractares, . . .* (Paris, 1750), 10: 117, 99–101.

[36] Jacob Bryant, *A New Sytem or an Analysis of Ancient Mythology: wherein an Attempt is Made to Divest Tradition of Fable: and to Reduce the Truth to its Original Purity* (3d ed.; London, 1807), 4: 256–57. First edition, London, 1775–76.

[37] For additional French examples of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century dispute over the Chinese annals and the attempts to correlate them with Old Testament chronology, see Vergile Pinot, *La Chine et la formation de l'esprit philosophique en France, 1640–1740* (Paris, 1932), 189–279.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Isaac Vossius, the first European scholar to have accepted enthusiastically Martini's description of ancient Chinese history, made no attempt to identify sage emperors with patriarchs. To him the apparent conflict between the two chronologies could be easily resolved if the Septuagint version were used as the basis for Old Testament chronology or if the Genesis flood were not assumed to be universal. Vossius accepted both possibilities, and he consequently did not need to identify patriarchs with sage emperors in order to reconcile Biblical and Chinese accounts. The acceptance of a Septuagint-derived chronology became increasingly common among those who wrote about China during the century and a half after Vossius. Jesuit missionaries not only used it in China, but after 1658 most of them used it for accounts published in Europe as well.[38]

All the traditional arguments for and against the Septuagint continued to be used after 1658. At times the debate became somewhat heated. Paul Pezron, the Benedictine chronologist at St. Maur, accused first-century Jewish scholars of deliberately shortening the chronology of the patriarchs in order to prove that the Messiah had not yet come. According to Pezron, these Jewish scholars divided the earth's predicted six-thousand-year history (a parallel with the six days of creation) into three, two-thousand-year periods: the years before Moses' law, the years between the annunciation of the law and the advent of the Messiah, and the years after the Messiah.[39] Since those who perpetrated the forgery destroyed all earlier texts, the Septuagint translators in the third century B.C. must have used older and more accurate Hebrew texts than those available to St. Jerome and subsequent Christians.[40] But while traditional arguments in favor of the Septuagint continued to be used, a growing number of scholars insisted that the Septuagint chronologies must be accepted in order to accommodate ancient Chinese history.[41]

As Vossius had demonstrated, there were no serious chronological problems in reconciling Chinese history since Fu Hsi (2952 B.C.) with ancient Hebrew history if a Septuagint-based chronology were used; this placed the flood as early as 3617 B.C. Disputes might rage over which of Noah's children fathered the Chinese or whether China was settled before or after the confusion of tongues at the Tower of Babel, but those who followed the Septuagint were, at least, not compelled by their chronology to accept one position or another. The issues had to be debated on other grounds—the nature of the Chinese language, for instance, or of antique Chinese religion. Nor

[38] In addition to the works of Couplet and Gaubil cited above, see Jean Baptiste du Halde, *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique, et physique de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise . . .* (Paris, 1735), and Giovanni Battista Riccioli, *Chronologiae reformatae et ad certas conclusiones redactae tomus primus continens doctrinam temporum . . .* (Bologna, 1669).

[39] Paul Pezron, *L'Antiquité des tems rétablié et defenduë contre les Juifs & les nouveaux chronologists* (Paris, 1687), 274–78. See also Gilbert Charles le Gendre, *Traité de l'opinion ou mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de l'esprit humain* (2d ed.; Paris, 1735), 1: 254–55.

[40] Pezron, *L'Antiquité*, 35.

[41] See especially Riccioli, *Chronologiae reformatae*, 221–22, 248; and Pezron, *L'Antiquité*, 248–49.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were they forced to identify sage emperors with Hebrew patriarchs. In fact Navarrete was able to use a Septuagint-based chronology to prove that Fu Hsi could not have been Adam.[42] Acceptance of the Septuagint version as the basis for ancient chronology consequently enabled many scholars to evaluate and criticize the Chinese annals without the distorting concern for chronological reconciliation.

Criticism of the Chinese annals increased appreciably during the last decades of the seventeenth century. The motivation of the critics varied: some doggedly defended the traditional view of ancient history and chronology; others were primarily motivated by their opposition to the Jesuits and their China mission.[43] Much of the criticism, however, resulted from the increasing volume and sophistication of the information about ancient Chinese history available to Europeans. In the 1670s, for example, the English jurist Matthew Hale could still write:

> As touching the Chinese and their long derived Annals, there is so much spoken by report or relation, but nothing authentik thereof is extant to the common view but some ingenious yet uncertain Collections out of Martinius by Mr. Webb in his Essay touching the Primitive Language; Vossius, and some others: And therefore I should spare anything touching them.[44]

This could not accurately have been said a century later; by then much more and much better information about ancient Chinese history was available to European readers. Large sections of Martini's *Sinicae historiae* had been translated and included in more popular works.[45] Much historical information, as well as discussions of the historical problems, was included in the *Lettres édifiantes,* a voluminous series of the letters of Jesuit missionaries that Father Jean du Halde began publishing in 1702.[46] Several new general descriptions of China had been published, the most important of which were Navarrete's in 1676, Louis le Comte's in 1696, and du Halde's in 1735.[47]

[42] Navarrete, *Account of the Empire of China,* 3.

[43] For a thorough account of the effects of the Rites Controversy on the criticism of ancient Chinese history and chronology in France, see Pinot, *La Chine,* 189–279. See also Basil Guy, *The French Image of China before and after Voltaire,* vol. 21 of Theodore Besterman, ed., *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* (Geneva, 1963); and Arnold A. Rowbotham, *Missionary and Mandarin* (Berkeley, 1942).

[44] Matthew Hale, *The Primitive Origination of Mankind, Considered and Examined According to the Light of Nature* (London, 1677), 135.

[45] For example, see Johann Nieuhof, *Het gezantschap der Neerlandtsche Oost-Indische Compagnie aan den grooten Tartarischen Cham, den tegenwoord keizer van China . . . sedert den jaaren 1655 tot 1657 . . . Beneffens een naukeurige beschrijving der Sineesche steden, dorpen, regeering, wetenschappen, hantwerken, zeden enz* (Amsterdam, 1665); and Olfert Dapper, *Gedenkwaerdig bedryf der Nederlandsch Oost-Indische Maetschappye op de kust en in het keizerrijk van Taising of Sina: . . . Beneffens een beschrijving van geheel Sina* (Amsterdam, 1670). Nieuhof's book was first translated into English in 1669; Dapper's in 1671.

[46] *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères, par quelques missionaries de la Compagnie de Jesus,* ed. Jean Baptiste du Halde (Paris, 1702–73).

[47] Domingo Fernandez Navarrete, *Tratados historicos, politicos, ethicos y religiosos de la monarchia de China: descripcion breve de aquel imperio . . . con narracion . . . de varios sucessos, y cosas singulares de otros reynos, y diferentes navegaciones . . .* (Madrid, 1676); Louis Daniel le Comte, *Nouveaux mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine* (Paris, 1696); du Halde, *Description géographique.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

All these contain significant sections devoted to ancient Chinese history. Du Halde's great *Description géographique,* for example, contains over two hundred pages on Chinese history, more than half of which deal with the earliest, pre-Shang, period; it contains some discussion of the sources for ancient Chinese history as well.[48] Some of the sources themselves were translated into European languages. The Jesuit translation of three of the Four Books was published in 1687.[49] Mentzel's translation and commentary on a book called *Hsiao erh lun (Discourse with a Child)* appeared in 1696.[50] The *Ch'ün ch'iu (Spring and Autumn Annals)* was translated in 1750 but never published.[51] Finally in 1770 a translation of the *Shu ching,* or *Classic of History,* appeared,[52] and in 1777 the Jesuit Joseph de Mailla published the first volume of his translation of the thirteenth-century philosopher Chu Hsi's voluminous history of China.[53] Perhaps even more important than the translation of Chinese texts into European languages were the careful analyses of ancient Chinese history and sources made by Fourmant and by the Jesuit missionary Antoine Gaubil.[54]

The new information about China and Chinese history touched off a wave of popular interest in China during the eighteenth century. Not only did it feed the fires of the Rites Controversy, but Voltaire and the *philosophes* used the descriptions of Chinese society, politics, religion, and philosophy to criticize European institutions and customs. European religious strife and intolerance were contrasted with China's humane toleration of religious variety. The role of the hereditary aristocracy in European governments and society was contrasted with the aristocracy of learning selected by state examinations, which governed China. An idealized view of Chinese ethics and public morality was used to discredit the assumption that Christianity was indispensable for public morality. And, of course, the ancient historical annals were used to discredit the Old Testament.[55] The *chinoiseries* of eigh-

[48] Du Halde, *The General History of China. Containing a Geographical, Historical, Chronological, Political and Physical Description of the Empire of China, Chinese Tartary, Corea, and Thibet* (3d ed.; London, 1741), 1: 269–495, 2: 1–12.

[49] *Confucius sinarum philosophus.*

[50] Mentzel, *Kurtze chinesische chronologia.*

[51] "Tchun tsieou, le printems & l'automne, au annales de la principauté de Loù, depuis 722 jusqu'en 481 avant l'ere chrétienne, . . . Écrites par le célèbre philosophe Confucius l'an 480 avant Jésus-Christ après qu'il se fut demis de la charge de Ministre d'État qu'il possedoit à la cour de Loù . . . et traduites en françois par la Roux Deshauterayes, 1750," MS Français 14686, Bibliothèque Nationale.

[52] Antoine Gaubil, tr., *Le Chou-king, un des livres sacrés des Chinois, qui renferme les fondements de leur ancienne histoire, les principes de leur gouvernement & de leur morale; ouvrage recueilli par Confucius* . . . (Paris, 1770).

[53] Joseph Anne-Marie de Moyriac de Mailla, *Histoire générale de la Chine, ou annales de cet empire: Traduites du Tong-Kien-Kang-Mou* . . . (Paris, 1777–85). Pinot reports that de Mailla's book was written much earlier, but that its publication was delayed until 1777. *La Chine,* 250–51.

[54] Fourmant, *Réflexions;* Gaubil, *Traité de la chronologie chinoise,* probably written, although not published, in 1749.

[55] The secondary literature on China and the Enlightenment is fairly large—too large to cite more than a few examples here. In addition to the works of Pinot, Guy, and Rowbotham cited above, the reader might see Henri Cordier, *La Chine en France au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1910); Walter Engemann, *Voltaire und China* (Leipzig, 1932); Basil Guy, "Rousseau and China," *Revue*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

teenth-century decorative arts, literature, architecture, and gardening were all part and product of this greatly expanded knowledge of and interest in China.[56] Whether motivated by the issues of the Rites Controversy, the campaigns of the *philosophes,* or by a disinterested concern for historical accuracy, European scholars were building an increasingly broader base from which to evaluate China's past.

One of the difficulties encountered by European scholars in accepting Martini's account of Chinese antiquity was the paucity of references to China in the other antique literature with which Europeans were familiar. The English historian Bishop Burnet, for example, sarcastically professed amazement that so ancient, powerful, and learned an empire as the China described by Martini had left no traces in the literature of other ancient peoples:

> And it appears from the Credit of their Relations, and the monuments of the Place itself that this Empire has continued from a very remote Antiquity, and flourished exceedingly in Arts and Learning; and that without any Correspondence with Learned Nations, or receiving from them, for aught we can find, either Colonies, or the Founders of their Nation; as if they were of a different Original from the rest of Mankind, and the Posterity of Noah; but were self-descended and self-taught.[57]

Many Europeans, like the Scottish theologian Robert Baillie, saw no reason why Chinese accounts should be judged more accurate than the fables of the Chaldeans, Egyptians, Greeks, or Romans.[58] Those who accepted the Chinese annals, however, often contended that it was precisely the absence of miraculous and outlandish events that made the ancient Chinese records so credible. This, they often observed, was in marked contrast to the earliest records of any other ancient people.[59] Few writers before Voltaire, apparently,

de littérature comparée, 30 (1956): 531–36; Donald F. Lach, "Leibnitz and China," *Journal of the History of Ideas,* 6 (1945): 436–55; Donald F. Lach, "China and the Era of Englightenment," *Journal of Modern History,* 14 (1942): 209–23; Lewis A. Maverick, *China, a Model for Europe* (San Antonio, 1946); and the following articles by Arnold H. Rowbotham: "China and the Age of Enlightenment in Europe," *Chinese Social and Political Science Review,* 19 (1935): 176–201; "The Impact of Confucianism on European Thought of the Eighteenth Century," *Far Eastern Quarterly,* 4 (1945): 224–42; and "Voltaire, Sinophile," *Publications of the Modern Language Association,* 47 (1932): 1050–65.

[56] Regarding seventeenth- and eighteenth-century *chinoiserie,* see William W. Appleton, *A Cycle of Cathay: the Chinese Vogue in England during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (New York, 1951); V. V. Barthold, *La découverte de l'Asie. Histoire de l'orientalisme en Europe et en Russie* (Paris, 1947); and Eleanor von Erdberg, *Chinese Influence on European Garden Structure* (Cambridge, 1938).

[57] Thomas Burnet, *Doctrina antiqua de rerum originibus: or an Inquiry into the Doctrine of the Philosophers of all Nations Concerning the Original of the World. Trans. by Mr. Mead and Mr. Foxton* (London, 1736), 18–19. The first edition was *Archaeologiae philosophicae: sive doctrina antiqua de rerum originibus, libri duo* (London, 1692).

[58] Robert Baillie, *Operis historici et chronologici libri duo; in quibus historia sacra & profane compendiose deducitur ex ipsis fontibus, à creatione mundi ad Constantinum Magnum, & quaestiones ac dubia chronologica, quae ex V. & N. Testamento moveri solent, breviter & perspicuè explicantur & vindicantur* (Amsterdam, 1668), 24. First edition, Amsterdam, 1663.

[59] For example, see John Jackson, *Chronological Antiquities or the Antiquities and Chronology of the Most Ancient Kingdoms, from the Creation of the World, for a Space of Five Thousand Years* (London, 1752), 1: xxxvi.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

objected to the century-long reigns of the sage emperors; because they were thought to be either identical with or contemporary to the Old Testament patriarchs, traditional Christians were not surprised by their longevity.[60] Those who would have gladly attacked the authority of the Old Testament found in the Chinese annals so useful a weapon that they were loath to criticize such details as a sage emperor's life span. But there were some miraculous and outlandish accounts in the Chinese histories: Fu Hsi's serpentine body, for example; Shên Nung's ox-like head; and the immediate immortality Huang-ti was supposed to have received on a mountain top. Some critics ridiculed the mythical aspects of ancient Chinese history and questioned the existence of the sage emperors.[61] Others treated the stories of Fu Hsi, Shên Nung, and Huang-ti as they had treated Greek fables—as distortions and additions to an essentially factual story.[62] Fabulous though such stories were, they still seemed restrained compared with Greek, Roman, or Egyptian myths.

Perhaps the most impressive aspect of China's ancient history was the occasional inclusion of astronomical observations in the record. As Pezron observed in 1687, the Chinese from the very earliest times appear to have fixed important dates by astronomical observations as well as by the sixty-year cycle. In 2513 B.C., during the reign of the sage emperor Chuan Hsü, Chinese historians recorded a conjunction of the five planets on the same day in which the sun and the moon were in conjunction.[63] To Voltaire in 1765 this was still a convincing argument for the authenticity of the Chinese histories:

> If any annals bear a character of certitude they are those of the Chinese, which have joined, as has already been said elsewhere, the history of the heavens with that of the earth. Alone of all the peoples, they have constantly marked their eras by eclipses, by conjunctions of planets; and our astronomers who have examined their calculations, have been astonished to find them almost all true. The other nations invented their allegorical fables and the Chinese wrote their history, pen and astrolabe in hand, with a simplicity of which there is found no example in the rest of Asia.[64]

[60] For example, see Pezron, *L'Antiquité*, 246: "*Fohi* [Fu Hsi] nâquit du tems des Patriarches, ayant été contemporain d'*Heber*, de *Phaleg*, & de *Rehu* tris-ayeul d'Abraham, & alors les hommes vivoient encore deux, trois, & quatre siècles, ainsi qu'on le voit par l'Histoire Sainte. De-là vient qu'il a regné si long-tems, c'est-à-dire, 115. ans, comme les Chinois en tombent d'accord, parce que la durée de sa vie a approché de celle des Patriarches."

[61] For example, see Antoine Yves Goguet, *The Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences and their Progress among the Most Ancient Nations* (Edinburgh, 1761), 3: 301–25; Jean Fouquet, *Tabula chronologica historia sinicae connexa cum cyclo qui vulgo Kia tse dicitur* (Rome, 1730); or "An Explanation of the New Chronological Table of the Chinese History, translated into Latin from the Original Chinese, by Father Johannes Franciscus Fouquet, Soc. Jes. Bishop of Eleutheropolis and published at Rome in the Year 1730," *Philosophical Transactions*, 36 (1729–30): 397–424.

[62] "Quae omnia tametsi etiam Sinae, ut dixi, respuant uti falsa, negare tamen non possumus Europaeo homini studiosiùs singula consideranti, nescio quid rursus priscae veritatis inter fabulas istas, ceu densas inter tenebras, pauxillum tenuissimae lucis intermicare: quod eò fidentiùs affirmo, quòd omnes ferè fabulae ortum suum habeant ex eo quod fabulosum non est." Couplet, "Praefatio ad tabulam chronologicam," *Confucius sinarum philosophus*, iv. See also Bryant, *New System*, 4: 264–67.

[63] Pezron, *L'Antiquité*, 245, 253; Martini, *Sinicae historiae*, 33.

[64] François-Marie Arouet de Voltaire, *Essai sur les moeurs et l'esprit des nations, et sur les*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Long before Voltaire wrote, however, other European scholars began to question the accuracy and authenticity of the astronomical observations recorded in the ancient Chinese histories. Eclipses and conjunctions of planets could be verified mathematically. The astronomer Jean Cassini, for example, calculated backward to verify several of the observations recorded in the Chinese annals and concluded that most of them could not have been observed at the time or from the place stated. The celebrated conjunction of five planets in Chuan Hsü's reign, Cassini concluded, could not have occurred in 2513 B.C., but rather in 2012 B.C., five centuries later.[65]

Isaac Jaquelot, Pierre Bayle's theologian-antagonist, also had scant respect for Chinese astronomy. If the ancient Chinese were such sophisticated astronomers, he asked, why did they construct their sixty-year cycle without reference to any celestial movement? And how was it possible, almost two centuries after the calendar was supposed to have been regulated, for two famous astronomers to have been executed for failing to predict an eclipse? Jaquelot concluded that astronomy was but imperfectly developed in ancient China, and he suspected that the ancient astronomical observations, together with most of China's earliest history, were probably borrowed from the Near Eastern peoples.[66] The Jesuit Louis le Comte agreed that the Chinese knew too little astronomy and mathematics to calculate eclipses and conjunctions of ancient times. This, he contended, proved that the phenomena had been observed and recorded at the time they occurred and were not interpolated later into the record.[67]

Du Halde, who admired the Chinese, also distrusted the ancient astronomical observations. The Chinese, he pointed out, believed celestial phenomena like eclipses and conjunctions of planets were omens or portents. Court astronomers, therefore, had every incentive for fabricating good omens, like planetary conjunctions, and ignoring bad ones. As an example he described how a conjunction of four planets in 1724 was reported to the Yung-chung emperor as a conjunction of five planets:

> The emperor seem'd pleased with it, and received the Compliments of the Court on this Occasion; every Body gain'd by it, especially the Mathematicians, who did not err through ignorance.
>
> This false Conjunction, which was carefully chronicled, may be the Occasion of great Disputes and false Systems in future Times; if two or three thousand years hence an *European* should calculate this Conjunction, he would not find *Saturn* in it.[68]

principaux faits de l'histoire, depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à Louis XIII, vols. 16 to 21 of *Oeuvres completes de Voltaire* (Paris, 1785), 16: 104.

[65] Jean Dominique Cassini, "Reflexions sur la chronologie chinoise par Monsieur Cassini," in Simon de la Loubere, *Description du royaume de Siam . . .* (Amsterdam, 1700), 2: 309–18. First edition, Amsterdam, 1691.

[66] [Isaac Jaquelot,] *Dissertations sur l'existence de Dieu, où l'on demontre cette verité par l'histoire universelle de la premier antiquité du monde . . .* (The Hague, 1697), 263, 265.

[67] Le Comte, *Nouveaux mémoires*, 1: 207.

[68] Du Halde, *The General History of China*, 1: 279.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Du Halde thought such fabrications detracted little from the accuracy of the ancient Chinese histories. Chinese scholars, at least, understood such things as common—probably necessary—pieces of court flattery and knew how to correct such a report. "Should this make us doubt other facts of *Yong Tching's* [Yung-chung's] History, it would be no difficulty to the *Chinese,* who perfectly understand this common piece of flattery and know what to abate of these Compliments to the Emperor on such occasions."[69]

The English theologian George Costard rehearsed most of the critical scholars' case against the Chinese astronomical observations in a letter printed in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society of London in 1747.[70] Chinese reporting was imprecise at best, contended Costard. They recorded only the day of a planetary conjunction, never the hour or position in the sky. The reporting was highly sporadic as well. For example, the first reported eclipse of the sun was recorded by the Chinese in 2155 B.C.; the next recorded eclipse did not occur until 776 B.C.—after an interval of 1,379 years. Furthermore, asked Costard, how could the ancient Chinese have been such sophisticated astronomers when their modern descendants seemed ignorant of many basic astronomical truths? They had only recently mastered the mathematics necessary to calculate planetary orbits. The avid interest shown by Chinese scholars in Jesuit astronomy and mathematics further testified to the primitive state of Chinese astronomy. Costard suspected that, in fact, the Chinese had no conception of regular natural laws governing the movements of stars and planets. Their superstitious attitude toward eclipses belied a belief in natural law. Costard was able to cite an eighth-century Chinese astronomer who explicitly argued against regular celestial movements:

> *Y-hang,* about the Year after *Christ* 721, had the Reputation among them of an able *Astronomer;* but being mistaken, it seems, in his Calculation of an *Eclipse,* rather than own his Ignorance, he pretended, that the *heavenly* Bodies did not always observe the same Laws. In Support of which extraordinary Hypothesis, he urged, that, in the Time of *Tsin,* the Star *Sirius* was eclipsed by the Planet *Venus;* tho' the Latitude of *Sirius* is 39° 32′ 8″, and that of *Venus* never exceeds 4°.[71]

Chinese historians also reported that books about astronomy were among those burned during the first Ch'in emperor's literary purge in 213 B.C. Costard doubted that very much had been lost.[72]

As it became apparent that the astronomical observations recorded in the Chinese annals were not incontestably accurate, the controversy was focused increasingly on whether or not inaccuracies in ancient Chinese astronomy

[69] *Ibid.*

[70] George Costard, "A Letter from the Rev. G. Costard, to the Rev. Thomas Shaw, D.D.F.R.S. and Principal of St. Edmund-Hall concerning the Chinese Chronology and Astronomy," *Philosophical Transactions,* 44 (1747): 475–92.

[71] *Ibid.,* 480. See also pp. 480–83.

[72] *Ibid.,* 484.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

seriously descredited Chinese historical records. To the militantly anti-Jesuit orientalist Abbé Eusèbe Renaudot, for example, discrediting Chinese astronomy simply provided more evidence against the supposed antiquity of arts and sciences in China. In 1718 he published a translation of two ninth-century Arab descriptions of China in an attempt to demonstrate that the arts, sciences, and philosophy of ninth-century China were those of a primitive people.[73] Renaudot's Arabs spoke condescendingly about the primitive state of Chinese philosophy and science and were amused by the emperor's naive questions. If the Chinese had progressed so little by the ninth century, Renaudot reasoned, China could not be as old as the Jesuits claimed, and her ancient annals need not be regarded as challenges to the Old Testament. Later in the century both the French jurist Antoine Goguet and the Encyclopedist Nicolas Boulanger thought the problems raised by Cassini and Costard discredited most Chinese history before the third century B.C.[74]

On the other hand, Lambert, writing specifically against Renaudot, contended that Chinese astronomers clearly accomplished the practical tasks they had set out to perform—the regulation of the calendar for agricultural purposes, for example. They really had no interest in Jupiter's satellites or Saturn's rings, and they had no telescopes. Lambert explained the failure of the Chinese to develop a sophisticated mathematics or astronomy by observing that such studies were simply not the way to wealth and prominence in China. The best minds studied history, literature, and moral philosophy in order to pass the government-sponsored examinations. But Lambert considered the astronomical observations found in the Chinese annals to be of incontestable antiquity, despite occasional inaccuracies in recording.[75] The English theologian John Jackson admitted that many of the astronomical observations were seriously inaccurate, but contended that the authenticity of the ancient annals in no way depended on the accuracy of the observations.[76]

As early as 1659 Martin Shook had wondered how reliable the Chinese annals could be if, as Martini had related, most of the ancient historical and philosophical books had been burned by the first Ch'in emperor in 213 B.C.[77] Critics of the Chinese annals from that time forward pointed to the difficul-

[73] Eusèbe Renaudot, *Anciennes relations des Indes et de la Chine, de deux voyageurs mohamêtans, qui y allèrent dans le neuvième siècle (traduites d'arabe)* (Paris, 1718). See especially the long appendix: "Eclaircissements touchant le prédiction de la religion chrétienne à la Chine; touchant l'entrée des mohamêtans dans la Chine (qu'il place à l'an 780); touchant les Juifs qui ont été trouvés à la Chine; sur les sciences des Chinois."

[74] Goguet, *Origin of Laws*, 3: 284–86; [Nicolas Antoine] Boulanger, *L'Antiquité dévoilée par ses usages ou examen critique des principales opinions, céremonies & institutions religieuses & politiques des différens peuples de la terre* (Amsterdam, 1766), 201–03.

[75] Lambert, *Histoire générale*, 10: 108–10, 113.

[76] Jackson, *Chronological Antiquities*, 2: 440.

[77] Martin Shook, *Fabula hamelensis, sive disquisitio historica qua praemissa generali dissertatione de historiae veritate ostenditur, commenti rationem habere, quae vulgo circumferunter de infausto exitu puerorum hamelensium. . . . Accessit diatriba qua probatur Noachi diluvium toti terrarum orbi incubuisse* (2d ed.; Groningen, 1662), 135. First edition, Groningen, 1659.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ties involved in obtaining reliable information about anything preceding the Ch'in dynasty.[78] Lambert, like other enthusiasts for Chinese antiquities, discounted the seriousness of the book burning, asserting that Chinese zeal for scholarship and reverence for history resulted in the preservation of most of the proscribed literature.[79] Goguet, however, observed that the old historical and philosophical texts were not recovered until 150 years after Ch'in Shih Huang-ti's purge. How, he asked, could the restored texts be free from lacunae, garbled passages, interpolations, or outright forgeries?[80]

By the mid-eighteenth century Europeans had ample evidence for Goguet's suspicions. It was known by then that Chinese historians disagreed with each other as to who was the first Chinese emperor. Fu Hsi, Huang-ti, and Yao each had his partisans, while some writers described dynasties of emperors reigning thousands of years before Fu Hsi. In addition to some obviously mythological passages, the ancient histories contained many internal contradictions. Important inventions or cultural innovations were sometimes attributed to two or more ancient emperors who lived centuries apart. In an appendix to Goguet's book, Michele le Roux Deshauterayes, an orientalist and professor at the Collège de France, emphasized these contradictions. He also correctly suspected that many of the sage emperors were later Taoist creations.[81]

Those eighteenth-century scholars who were linguistically best qualified to criticize the Chinese annals generally remained impressed by their accuracy and authenticity. Fourmant, for example, admitted that large parts of China's early history—perhaps everything before Yao—should, like the ancient Greek epics and fables, be taken to contain a substratum of truth embellished by myth. On the other hand, he pointed out that China's ancient history had not been gleaned from a few scattered texts but was part of a continuous, uninterrupted corpus of historical works spanning twenty-two dynasties in 150 volumes. Furthermore, these dynastic histories were so detailed that the text often read more like a journal than a history, and Chinese historians were always careful to keep the narrative of events separate from their commentary on the events. Fourmant also described the elaborate process still followed in Peking for recording the actions of the emperor and other court affairs.[82]

Perhaps the most thorough and sophisticated criticism of the sources for ancient Chinese history produced during the eighteenth century was Gaubil's. He recognized the problems attending the recovery of the ancient texts but also observed that Shih Huang-ti had not destroyed all historical docu-

78 For example, see Pezron, *L'Antiquité*, 265; Burnet, *Doctrina antiqua*, 18–19; and Goguet, *Origin of Laws*, 3: 284–85.

79 Lambert, *Histoire générale*, 10: 118–19.

80 Goguet, *Origin of Laws*, 3: 284–85.

81 Michel-Ange-André le Roux Deshauterayes, "Extracts from the Chinese Historians," in Goguet, *Origin of Laws*, 3: 300–25.

82 Fourmant, *Réflexions*, 2: 434–44, 1: liv, 2: 427–28.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ments. The Ch'in family history, for example, had been preserved, and it purported to trace the dynasty back to the days of the sage emperor Shün. Nor was the *I ching* or *Book of Changes* destroyed. Gaubil apparently accepted the appendixes or "Wings" of the *I ching,* which contain some historical material, as having been written by Confucius long before the Ch'in dynasty. He then listed the extant sources for China's ancient history—the classics as well as the historians—and analyzed each text in terms of its chronological relationship to the events described, the way in which it was recovered after the Ch'in, the accuracy of the astronomical obversations contained in it, and the parallels or contradictions between it and other sources. Gaubil accepted Huang-ti as the first Chinese emperor. He thought Confucius and Mencius had failed to mention any emperors before Yao because China had probably not been civilized, or at least not well governed, before Yao's time. Fu Hsi and Shên Nung Gaubil considered princes or chiefs of the Chinese people during their long migration from Mesopotamia.[83]

The controversies continued during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Jesuits and their antagonists continued to battle over Chinese rites and ceremonies. Scholars and missionaries continued to debate the merits of ancient Chinese chronology and history. Both feeding the controversies and resulting from them was a growing body of information about China's ancient past that was being analyzed with increasing sophistication. For some scholars, like Nicolas Fréret, the secretary of the Royal Academy, Chinese history appears to have become, in fact, a self-justifying study, quite apart from any concern for reconciling it with the Bible or the general history of mankind.[84] Although they disagreed on the authenticity of the ancient records, by the mid-eighteenth century scholars like Fourmant, Gaubil, and Goguet knew the major sources and historians of ancient China and their supposed dates; they were also aware of the problems involved in using these sources.

Despite the growing concern among European scholars between the times of Martini and Voltaire for the problems and implications of Chinese history, and despite the growing body of information about Chinese history available to them, it was apparently still possible for some European writers of universal history totally to ignore China and its challenge to traditional world history. Bishop Bossuet's famous *Discours sur l'histoire universelle,* for example, published more than two decades after Martini's *Sinicae historiae,* contains not a word about the Chinese, Japanese, or Indians. While Bossuet modified the traditional sacred-profane division and the four-monarchies pattern, his purpose and scope of inquiry was no broader than that of Sleidanus or Gottfried: "a sermon with an historical text," Eduard Feuter called

[83] Gaubil, *Traité de la chronologie chinoise,* 73–74, 76–81, 74–183, 279–81, 249–77.
[84] See Pinot, *La Chine,* 249–77.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it.[85] Much the same can be said about the universal histories written by Antonio Foresti, Andraes Imhof, Nicolas Guedeville, and Gaspard Guillard de Beaurieu.[86]

Some historians appear to have been reluctant to include ancient China in their universal histories because of the controversies about the Chinese annals. The Danish writer Ludwig von Holberg, for example, thought it would be soon enough to consider Chinese history when the problems regarding the authenticity of the annals were resolved.[87] Others, like the Abbé Lenglet du Fresnoys, apparently saw no compelling reasons for broadening the scope of universal history to include China. He writes:

> Even though the history of that empire [China] were as certain as some would have it be understood, it is nevertheless a study of mere curiosity which does not contain much profit, because these peoples have never had much connection with any of those whose history is useful or necessary to us.[88]

Increasingly, however, European writers felt obliged to make room for China in their universal histories. Probably fewer than half of the universal histories written during the last half of the seventeenth century included China, but the great majority of eighteenth-century universal histories did so. Some, as we have seen, found the identification of sage emperors with Hebrew patriarchs to be the best way of bringing China into ancient world history. Shuckford's identification of Fu Hsi with Noah, for example, made China the earliest established empire in his history.[89] Some historians who declined to identify sage emperors and patriarchs still accepted China as the first empire founded after the flood. Both Johan Hase and Étienne Philippe de Prétot, whose universal histories for the most part follow the traditional pattern, made China, rather than Assyria or Babylon, the first empire.[90] Even writers like the Benedictine scholar Augustin Calmet, who rejected the ancient Chinese chronology and distrusted the annals, included a long, Jesuit-style description of China in his universal history.[91]

[85] Eduard Feuter, *Geschichte der neuern Historiographie* . . . (Munich and Berlin, 1925), 226.

[86] Antonio Foresti, *Mappamondo istorico, cioè ordinata narrazione dei quattro fommi imperii del mondo e della monarchia di Cristo da S. Pietro primo papa sino a' nostri tempi* (Parma, 1690); Andreas Imhof, *Neu-eröffneten Bilder-Saal* (Nuremberg, 1692); Nicolas Guedeville, *Le grand théâtre historique* (Leiden, 1703); and Gaspard Guillard de Beaurieu, *Cours d'histoire sacrée et profane* (3d ed.; Paris, 1766).

[87] [Ludwig von] Holberg, *An Introduction to Universal History*, tr. Gregory Sharpe (2d ed.; London, 1758), in a note appended to the table of contents.

[88] Nicolas Lenglet du Fresnoys, *Methode pour étudier l'histoire avec un catalogue des principaux historiens & de remarques sur la bonté de leurs ouvrages & sur le choix des meilleurs editions* (Paris, 1772), 9: 81. First edition, Paris, 1713. See also Claude de l'Isle, *Abrégé de l'histoire universelle, depuis la creation du monde jusqu'en 1714* (The Hague, 1731), ii–iv.

[89] Shuckford, *Sacred and Profane History*, 1: 100–05.

[90] Johann Matthias Hase, *Historiae universalis politicae quantum ad eius partem i. ac ii. idea plane nova et legitima tractationem summorum imperiorum etc.* (Nuremberg, 1743); [Etienne André Philippe de Prétot,] *Analyse chronologique de l'histoire universelle, depuis le commencement du monde, jusqu'a l'empire de Charlemagne inclusivement* (2d ed.; Paris, 1756). First edition, Paris, 1753.

[91] Augustin Calmet, *Histoire universelle, sacrée et profane, depuis le commencement du monde jusqu'a nos jours* (Strasbourg, 1731–71), 1: 231–37.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The English scholars whose cooperative efforts produced the first volume of their monumental *Universal History* in 1736 also distrusted the ancient Chinese annals. They were familiar with almost all the relevant literature about China available when they wrote, and they rehearsed in detail the arguments for and against accepting the ancient Chinese histories. They concluded: "We must, therefore, observe a medium between the two extremes which at present divide almost the whole literary world; and allow that the most antient historical memoirs of the Chinese are not entirely void of truth, though in the main they scarce merit the attention of the learned."[92] Nevertheless China received considerable attention from the learned authors of the *Universal History*. They conspicuously included Chinese cosmogony in the long section on ancient cosmogonies. They discussed the possible identification of Chinese sage emperors and Hebrew patriarchs and concluded that the Chinese had descended from Noah's son Japheth. They also examined Webb's thesis that Chinese was the world's original language, although they preferred to confer that dignity on Hebrew. Finally, they discussed extensively the problems of ancient Chinese history in the volume entitled *Additions*.[93]

These English historians were apparently somewhat uncomfortable with their low opinion of Chinese antiquity, for the general chronological tables found in the last volume of the second edition reveal a surprising change of mind. Here Fu Hsi is identified with Noah, who migrated to China immediately after the flood.[94] The change appears to have been an afterthought. No re-evaluation of the Chinese annals was made in earlier volumes of the second edition, and there are no volume and page references for the Chinese events listed in the chronological tables as there are for all other events. An explanatory remark in the preface to the last volume indicates that the chronological concurrence of Joshua's long day and the stationary sun of Yao's reign precipitated the change:

> To subjoin a short remark on a passage in the tables which requires a particular explanation: it occurs in the year after the flood 897, and relates to the probability there is that the miracle recorded in the sacred writings, of the sun's standing still at the command of *Joshua,* is also mentioned in the *Chinese* records. It is very true, that, as it stands there, it appeared visibly absurd and fabulous; for it is said, that it stood still for ten days; and the time when this happened is not at all determined, farther than that it was toward the latter end of the reign of the emperor Yau: but if, from this incredible and indeterminate relation, any truth can be struck out, it may be of great use in bringing to light the confused chronology of the *Chinese;* for that it is, in respect to very antient times, very confused, the *Chinese* themselves acknowledge; an endeavor to do this ought not be unacceptable. A phaenomenon so extraordinary, as the standing still of the sun, was very likely to be recorded in the annals of an in-

[92] *An Universal History from the Earliest Account of Time to the Present . . .* (London, 1736–44), *Additions:* 240.

[93] *Ibid.,* 1: 24–34, 115–16; *Additions:* 216; 1: 151–54; *Additions:* 215–41.

[94] *An Universal History from the Earliest Account of Time* (2d ed.; London, 1747), 21: 2–3.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

quisitive and observing nation; and as likely as anything, to be magnified, or mistaken, when those annals fell into confusion, as by the confession of the *Chinese* themselves, it is allowed they did; and that great changes have happened in their character: so that there is nothing forced or improbable in supposing, that what we now read ten days, was originally but ten watches; which will bring it pretty near the truth.[95]

Working back from Yao and Joshua to Fu Hsi and Noah, the English historians saw what Shuckford had seen earlier—that Fu Hsi could have been Noah. They had known and rejected Shuckford's theory when they wrote the first edition of the *Universal History*. But they had used a Samaritan-text chronology for the first edition and were using Ussher's Hebrew-text chronology for the second. The authors apparently did not consider their new insight important enough to change earlier volumes of the second edition, but perhaps even this late modification indicates how difficult it was for eighteenth-century historians to ignore the claims of the Chinese annals.

Some eighteenth-century writers gave China a very large place in their universal histories. For example, Lambert's laudatory description of China and its history comprises almost two volumes of his *Histoire générale*.[96] Voltaire devoted the first two chapters of his *Essai sur les moeurs* to China. He claimed that the *Essai* was a continuation of Bossuet's *Discours sur l' histoire universelle,* which ended with Charlemagne, and he professed to have included the ancient history of the Chinese and other Asian peoples only because Bossuet had completely ignored them.[97] Actually Voltaire's enthusiasm for Chinese civilization would have insured the Chinese a prominent place in the *Essai* regardless of their treatment in Bossuet's work. Voltaire used China and its history to ridicule the parochialism of Bossuet and other historians who limited universal history to Western culture and its origins. In a short piece entitled, "Conversation with a Chinese," Voltaire put these words into the mouth of a Chinese to whom some European scholars had given a copy of Bossuet's *Histoire universelle:*

"Ah!" said he, "how fortunate! I shall now see what is said of our great empire —of our nation, which has existed as a national body for more than fifty thousand years—of that succession of emperors who have governed us for so many ages. I shall now see what is thought of the religion of the men of letters —of that simple worship which we render to the Supreme Being. How pleasing to see what is said in Europe of our arts, many of which are more ancient amongst us than any European kingdom. . . ." "Alas!" said one of the learned men to him, "you are not even mentioned in that book; you are too inconsiderable; it is almost all about the first nation in the world—the only nation, the great Jewish people!"[98]

[95] *Ibid.*, 21: xiii–xiv.

[96] Lambert, *Histoire générale,* 9: 268–11: 119.

[97] Voltaire, *Essai sur les moeurs,* 16: 300–01.

[98] Tobias Smollett, ed., and William F. Fleming, tr., *The Works of Voltaire; a Contemporary Version* (Paris, London, New York, and Chicago, 1901), 9: 205–06. In most editions and translations of Voltaire's works this piece is part of the article on "Gloire" or "Glory" in the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The China of Voltaire's *Essai,* therefore, is the oldest, most civilized, best governed, and wisest nation on earth, a nation whose historical records are incontestably accurate.[99]

During the eighteenth century, references to China and her ancient history occasionally appeared even in school textbooks. The Huguenot Jean la Croze's *Chronological Abridgement of Universal History,* for example, is hardly *avant garde.* Using a catechistic format he taught the traditional divisions of history: sacred and profane, the epochs, and the four monarchies. He accepted Ussher's chronology and asserted the superiority of Genesis over all other sources for ancient history. Nevertheless, in a chapter devoted to the founding of ancient monarchies after the confusion of languages at Babel, he asked:

Q. What other empire flourished in this period?
A. The empire of China, which by a long succession of kings, has been preserved till the present day.
Q. Who was its founder?
A. He was called Fo hi. [Fu Hsi].[100]

Johann Köhler's *Orbis terrarum in nuce* is no less traditional than La Croze's work. He nevertheless introduced his students to the challenge of the Chinese annals and to the controversies surrounding them, although he advised them to trust Scripture wherever conflicts appeared.[101]

China figured largely in other examples of eighteenth-century Europe's expanding historical horizons. Fourmant's student and successor, Joseph de Guignes, for example, wrote a history of the steppe peoples, who had so often impinged on both Western and Chinese society.[102] He did not pretend to be writing universal history; nevertheless, in some respects, he more nearly approached Voltaire's ideal than did most universal historians of his time. Based primarily on Chinese sources, Guignes' work was one of the first European histories to have lost the parochial, Western point of view. François-Marie de Marsey's history of modern non-European nations is another example of this new point of view.[103] In twenty-four volumes Marsey, an

Dictionnaire philosophique. More recent Voltaire scholars, however, no longer consider it part of the *Dictionnaire philosophique.* See, for example, Peter Gay's translation (New York, 1962), 2: 654–55.

[99] Voltaire, *Essai sur les moeurs,* 16: 313–21.

[100] Jean Cornand de la Croze, *A Chronological Abridgement of Universal History; to which is Added, an Abridged Chronology of the Most Remarkable Discoveries and Inventions Relative to the Arts and Sciences* (tr. of 7th ed.; London, 1800), 2. He died in 1705.

[101] [Johann David Köhler,] *Orbis terrarum in nuce, sive compendium historiae civilis chronologicum in sculptura memoriali. Die Welt in einer Nuss, oder kurtzer Begriff der merckwürdigsten Welt-Geschichte in einer gedächtnüs-hülfflichen Bilder-Lust; ausgefertig durch Christoph Weigeln* (Nuremberg, 1722), 19.

[102] [Joseph] de Guignes, *Histoire général des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols, et des autres Tartares occidentaux, & c. avant et depuis Jésus-Christ jusqu'à présent; précédée d'une introduction contenant des tables chronol. & historiques des princes qui ont regné dans l'Asie. Ouvrage tiré des livres chinois & des manuscrits orientaux de la bibliotheque du Roi* (Paris, 1756–58).

[103] François-Marie de Marsey, *Histoire moderne des Chinois, des Japonnois, des Indiens, des Perses, des Turcs, des Russes, etc. pour servir de suite à l'histoire de M. Rollin* (Paris, 1754–73).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ex-Jesuit, tried to describe the geography, history, and civilization of the "modern" non-European peoples in the same way that Charles Rollin had described the ancient peoples.[104] The entire work is devoted to the peoples of Asia and America; its first volume deals with China. Marsey's work was no more intended to be a universal history than was Guignes'. Nevertheless, it provides additional evidence for the increasing concern among eighteenth-century European scholars to bring China and the rest of Asia into their view of world history.

This does not mean, of course, that eighteenth-century universal historians wrote successful general histories of mankind. Few were able to escape European parochialism in their evaluation of other cultures and in the relative emphasis given to European history in their universal histories. Despite his enthusiasm for Chinese history, even Voltaire devoted most of the *Essai* to European history. Furthermore, his Enlightenment-classicist standards and tastes formed the canon by which he freely judged other peoples and eras; as the Göttingen historian August von Schlözer put it, Voltaire still "spoke of Solomon's temple as of St. Peter's."[105]

The information about China included in most seventeenth- and eighteenth century universal histories was usually more descriptive than historical, and it was rarely integrated effectively with the rest of world history. Calmet, for example, merely inserted a few pages of Jesuit-style description into his first volume. Most of this material has nothing to do with ancient Chinese history; it describes China as seen by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Jesuit missionaries and is, therefore, irrelevant to the ancient world Calmet was describing in this volume.[106] Writers who treated China's ancient history more seriously often placed it in separate chapters at the end of the main work, as did the writers of the English *Universal History*. Lambert included more Chinese history than had the English historians, but his long section on China would be more accurately labeled description than history. Nor did Lambert attempt to integrate the histories of the various nations and peoples into a single narrative. His *Histoire générale* is not so much a universal or world history as an aggregate of many separate histories. Voltaire did a bit better. Apart from his first two chapters, devoted exclusively to China and containing much general description, he treated Chinese history within the chronological context of his world history. China is, therefore, a continuing part of the story. But the relationship between Chinese history and European history in the *Essai* is primarily chronological; Chinese history is not effectively integrated with Western history, but merely tacked on to the main story in chronologically smaller pieces.

Those writers who most effectively integrated ancient Chinese history with

[104] Charles Rollin, *Histoire ancienne des Égyptiens, des Carthaginois, des Assyriens, des Babyloniens, des Mèdes, et des Perses, des Macédoniens, des Grecs* (Paris, 1730–38).

[105] August Ludwig von Schlözer, *Weltgeschichte nach ihren Haupttheilen im Auszug und Zusammenhange* (Göttingen, 1792), 1.

[106] Calmet, *Histoire universelle*, 1: 231–37.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ancient Western history—usually by identifying sage emperors with patriarchs or by describing the settlement of China after the universal flood—often lost interest in Chinese history once they had resolved the problem of ancient chronology. China may be the world's oldest empire in Hase's chronological tables, but after the mythological sage emperors, the events recorded in the column devoted to China are almost all dynastic changes. China sometimes re-entered the universal histories when their authors discussed the thirteenth-century Mongol Empire and its conquest of China. Many writers also recorded the Ming restoration in 1368, the establishment of the Jesuit mission in China during the last decades of the sixteenth century, and the Manchu conquest of 1644. But the centuries between the Ch'in dynasty (221–206 B.C.) and the Mongol conquest (1279 A.D.) are usually ignored. Even Voltaire says nothing about China between his description of the empire in the first two chapters of the *Essai* and his relation of the Mongol conquest two volumes later.[107]

When Voltaire wrote his *Essai* in 1756, Martini's *Sinicae historiae* was just short of a century old. Universal history as written by Europeans had changed considerably during that time. European historians in Voltaire's day confronted an impressively large and sophisticated body of information about China and its ancient past. A mid-eighteenth-century historian might question or reject parts of ancient Chinese history and chronology; he might doubt the virtues and wonders of Chinese civilization described by the Jesuits; but it had become exceedingly difficult for him to ignore Chinese history. And for many writers the inclusion of ancient Chinese history had seriously altered the traditional conceptions of universal history. Few traces of the traditional organization and scope of world history remain in a work like the *Essai sur les moeurs,* for example.

Perhaps Voltaire should be regarded, therefore, not so much the pioneer of new trends in the writing of world history as the product of a century-long development. His work and his criticism of the work of earlier historians reflects and dramatizes the growing awareness in his day that the traditional structure and methodology of universal history was inadequate and that a new approach was necessary. Europe's new knowledge of ancient Chinese history played a major role in creating that awareness. The stormy debates provoked by the Chinese annals contributed to an increasingly critical attitude toward historical sources, Western as well as Chinese. The sometimes awkward, usually inadequate, but increasingly unavoidable attempts to include China in the universal histories written by Europeans exposed as never before the problems and inadequacies of the traditional approach to world history.

[107] Voltaire, *Essai sur les moeurs,* 18: 40.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cultural Strain and Protestant Liberalism

WILLIAM R. HUTCHISON

Status theories of American reform as propounded in the 1950s have by now been subjected to a fairly steady barrage of qualification and refutation. A common response, in fact, to any mention of them is the knowing smile or the impatient dismissal, either of which carries the message that we all know those notions didn't work. Just as prevalent, however, is a broadly based agreement that the status concept, and certainly the "strain theory" of which it is one expression, deserves to be refined and built upon, not simply rejected. A reworking in that spirit is what the strain and status hypotheses have been receiving, both from their major critics and from those, such as the late Richard Hofstadter, whose advocacy first brought status theory prominently before the historical profession.[1]

Suggested revisions, though kaleidoscopically varied, have generally advocated more careful scrutiny of the symbols and symbolic actions that constitute responses to societal strains; and this scrutiny, in turn, has led into what is usually called cultural interpretation. Professed commitments to cultural values, in other words, have been viewed with increased respect as indexes to motivation—though not necessarily with any expectation that the historical actors examined will be found free, in certain of their activities and decisions, from equally strong class and status concerns.

The investigation reported in this essay began not as an attempt to test status theory or to test these newer symbolic and cultural modes of interpretation, but simply as an effort to construct a biographical profile for a movement on which critical synthetic scholarship was unusually limited—the liberal movement in American theology from 1875 to World War I. But when the data, drawn from 250 liberal and conservative biographies, promised to cast light on the question of what had moved men, or enabled them, to become religious liberals, the inquiry was then extended in such a way as

[1] The literature is extensive. For an attempt to synthesize it, see Robert W. Doherty, "Status Anxiety and Reform: Some Alternatives," *American Quarterly*, 19 (1967): 329–37. Hofstadter discusses the reworking of status concepts in *The Paranoid Style in American Politics, and Other Essays* (paperback ed.; New York, 1967), 82–92. Sharply critical accounts are those of Gerard A. Brandmeyer and R. S. Denisoff, "Status Politics: An Appraisal of the Application of a Concept," *Pacific Sociological Review*, 12 (1969): 5–11; and David P. Thelen, "Social Tensions and the Origins of Progressivism," *Journal of American History*, 56 (1969): 323–41.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to relate it more fully to recent discussions of the social sources of American reform. This meant, most importantly, giving special attention to those men within this theologically liberal group, and to some outside it, who were also leaders of the Social Gospel.[2]

The initial result was a confirmation that the cruder forms of status theory are of little use in explaining why men opted for religious liberalism, whether theological or social in emphasis. The more one sought *ex hypothesi* to see relationships between changing patterns of status or deference and particular ideological results, the more the hypothesis itself seemed based, to use Clifford Geertz's chiding phrase, on "a vague and unexamined notion of emotive resonance."[3]

The alternative view to be discussed here, which recognizes a certain amount of clerical commitment to ideals, could evoke a response like Carlyle's response to the news that Margaret Fuller had "accepted the universe": "She'd better!" Religious leaders had better be moved by value commitments. Yet, as is well known, clerical claims to asceticism or disinterest have traditionally received barely enough credence to permit railway discounts and tax-exempt institutional status (both now under review); and historians have been, let us say, even more realistic about these matters than the general public. Accordingly, Mr. Hofstadter's suggestion in 1955 that the late nineteenth-century clergy were "perhaps the most conspicuous losers from the status revolution" and that their discomfort about this loss of status helps explain adherence to the Social Gospel, provoked no perfervid defenses of ministerial idealism.

Nor should the present essay be read as such a defense. What it does contend is that, while social-status drives may well have caused men to enter the professions rather than become farmers or day laborers, they appear not to tell us why some chose the ministry over other professions, and still less why some became liberal ministers rather than conservative ones. For such explanations one must, as much recent theory has insisted, look closely at the rather different phenomenon of cultural strain, and at the processes by which men, reacting to such strain, defend their value systems or discard them and construct new ones.

Further definition of terms and a delineation of recent lines of theoretical discussion are necessary at this point. Strain theory arose initially as a supplement and corrective to modes of explanation that had found economically based class interests behind the formation of most ideologies, reformist or otherwise. Under its directives the sociologist or historian was enjoined, when he found persons and groups behaving in ways not apparently helpful

[2] See the appendix, pp. 406–07.

[3] Geertz, "Ideology as a Cultural System," in David E. Apter, ed., *Ideology and Discontent* (New York, 1964), 57.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to their economic interests, to look for evidence of displacement feelings, or of an anxiety to rise, or of other conscious and unconscious reactions to situations of social realignment.[4]

The status concept, which sounds more limited, was only slightly less ambitious in its aspirations as a vehicle for historical explanation. Its central proposal—that men must be seen as acting out of concern for personal and group status—could have either very limited or very sweeping implications, depending among other things upon the extent of one's skepticism about human motives. In the context of the postliberal social and religious thought of the 1940s and 1950s, the usual implications were sweeping; that is, we were in the mood to assume not only that selected portions of mankind act habitually from a self-regarding concern for status, but that people generally, at least in situations of social strain, act that way. Neo-orthodoxy, at work in theology and beyond it, had broadened the skepticism about professed motives that Progressive historians had regularly exercised in exposing sinister interests.[5] By stressing the dubious purity of all disinterest and by emphasizing the faults of the good, postliberal pessimism about human nature abetted the status theorist's tendency to suspect almost everyone—the reformer and the reactionary, the socially rising groups as well as the socially declining ones. Even Americans as a whole were pictured as having suffered status anxiety during those times when world opinion or world relationships had induced a general insecurity about their Americanness.[6]

So the status concept, as actually used, covered nearly as broad a ground as strain theory. This breadth, or more precisely the ubiquitousness of status explanations, was a major reason in itself why this kind of interpretation came under attack. But the pejorative thrust of the term "status" compounded the problem. The breadth and all-purpose utility of the status idea might have been less troublesome if such writers as Hofstadter had made more use of relatively neutral terms like "strain" and "response to strain" in the first place; if they had reserved the highly judgmental terminology of status-seeking for use where utterances, actions, or background could be shown clearly to justify the accusation. The emphasis upon status, while it diffused and considerably rearranged the moralism of progressive

[4] *Ibid.*, 52. See also Francis X. Sutton *et al.*, *The American Business Creed* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), 1–13, 303–25.

[5] See Merle E. Curti, *Human Nature in American Historical Thought* (Columbia, Mo., 1968), 26–36.

[6] Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York, 1955), 131–73; *idem*, "The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt," *American Scholar*, 24 (1954–55): 9–27. Most of the Mugwumps and professionals who turned to reform were pictured as having suffered objective decline, but architects and educators were thought to have experienced discontent because of a rise in objective position; their rise, it was argued, had placed them in new proximity to an overweening and obnoxious plutocracy or, in the case of educators, had given them new power to express long-held resentments. Hofstadter, *Age of Reform*, 152–55. Status anxiety in the form of doubts about whether we, as a nation of immigrants, are "really and truly and fully American" appears in Hofstadter's "Pseudo-Conservative Revolt," 22–25. Brandmeyer and Denisoff comment on the particular readiness to assume the importance of status pressures upon any and all segments of right-wing opinion. "Status Politics," 9.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and class-interest interpretations, perpetuated the notion that, on most social and political issues to which its analysis was applied, categories of self-interest (or selfish group-interest) and disinterest would continue to be highly relevant. The odd bedfellowship of reformers and reactionaries was justified by the historical matchmaker's discovery of their common concern for status and their comparable selfishness in pursuing it.

Those who have raised questions, directly or implicitly, about the usefulness of status interpretation are not, I think, denying that men frequently do act from self-regarding motives. The suggestion, rather, is that political, social, or ethical causes frequently provoke the formation of groups whose coherence, whose group identity, cannot be explained in the evaluative terminology of either economic interest or status interest. The unifying principle may be, instead, common commitment to a certain cultural style or to a given pattern of cosmic or societal meaning. Coherence may rest upon agreement about particular ways of defining reality or of defining the good society or of expressing the meaning of American democracy. Men divide themselves on some issues not into conflicting interests or into teams of the interested and the disinterested, but into broad symbolic groups for whose members a given political or ethical issue involves an entire system of cultural values.[7]

At least three patterns of interpretation have been discernible. In the first of these, the one that remains nearest to what most historians of the 1950s meant by status interpretation, men are seen as acting out of motives that are broader and on the whole less reprehensible than concern for status, but their expressions of dissent remain essentially irrational or nonrational expressions, efficacious, if at all, only in the area of personal psychological fulfillment. In a second version, the notion of status remains narrow and, if anything, more suggestive of a culpable self-interest than the diffuse psychological expressivism to which the first refers. Symbolic action, in this second view, is seen as definitely instrumental and efficacious, not essentially irrational at all; men acting symbolically know just what they are after, and status, rather consciously pursued, is thought to be a fair description of what they are after. A third version, the one to which the terminology of cultural interpretation most fully belongs, minimizes both irrationalism and bald self-interest; it accords to cultural values, whether championed directly or through symbolic forms of advocacy and legislation, full standing and

[7] Again the literature is enormous. Biographers and the historians of reform movements have nearly all paid status theory the compliment of taking it seriously. Most have, however, plucked at least their particular brands from the burning. See, for example, Jacob H. Dorn, *Washington Gladden: Prophet of the Social Gospel* (Columbus, 1966), 185; and Walter T. K. Nugent, *The Tolerant Populists: Kansas Populism and Nativism* (Chicago, 1963), 31–32. For the applications of cultural interpretation, see Lawrence W. Levine, *Defender of the Faith: William Jennings Bryan, The Last Decade, 1915–1925* (London, 1968), 361–62, *passim;* Lee Benson, "An Appraisal of Beard's Design of Proof and Method," in Seymour M. Lipset and Richard Hofstadter, eds., *Sociology and History: Methods* (New York, 1968), 174–75; and Samuel P. Hayes, "New Possibilities for American Political History: The Social Analysis of Political Life," in *ibid.,* 201.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

autonomy as levers of social action. Cultural strain, defined as the upsetting or rending of those patterns of meaning around which individual men have constructed their lives, is looked upon, under this third interpretation, as every bit as real in certain situations as economic strain or status dislocation may be in others.[8]

These various formulas and their permutations have evolved as scholars have sought to understand particular ideological groupings that resist explanation under the earlier rubrics. In the case of the liberal Protestant leadership, one meets resistance as soon as he begins to examine any part of the proposition that the clergy's loss of status contributed significantly to their participation in reform. It is far from clear that the ministry as a profession was in decline during the Progressive period, and even less clear that those ministers who did experience displacement, or loss of status, were moved by that experience in the direction of theological or social reform.

Certainly leaders both of theological and of Social Gospel liberalism, early and late, could be found complaining that the church and the clerical profession were in deep and perhaps unprecedented trouble. David H. Greer's Beecher Lectures of 1895 surprised no one when they declared preaching to be in a decline that might be deplored "but will not, I think, be disputed." Harris Rall scored the religious indifference of the masses: "It is not that they oppose the Church," he explained, "they simply pass it by." Eugene Lyman, as liberalism entered its doldrums of the 1930s, reiterated a standard Social Gospel theme: it was, he said, "an outstanding fact in regard to modern life," that "great areas of it have almost universally been held to be withdrawn from the sphere of Christian ethics." And such sentiments, the last in particular, often implied a sense of what the reference-group analysts would now call relative deprivation—a feeling that the clergy were losing their position of moral-intellectual leadership to other, less qualified, groups.[9]

Complaints of this kind must, however, be seen in relation to several

[8] Hofstadter, *Paranoid Style*, 86–88; Joseph Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement* (Urbana, 1963), 166–88; Gene Wise, "Political 'Reality' in Recent American Scholarship: Progressives versus Symbolists," *American Quarterly*, 19 (1967): 303–28; Geertz, "Ideology as a Cultural System," *passim*. I have also been aided greatly at this point by R. Eugene Rice, whose doctoral dissertation, "Religion, Ideology, and Change: A Study of the Traditionalistic Populism of William Jennings Bryan 1896–1925" (Harvard University, 1970) deals with Bryan in both class-political and culture-political terms. In the latter connection, Rice argues that "just as economic structures are subject to differentiation and strain, so cultural systems—patterns of meaning, values, and beliefs—are liable to change. Cultural politics . . . is a response to the strains resulting from such changes" (p. 233).

[9] Greer, *The Preacher and His Place: The Lyman Beecher Lectures on Preaching* (New York, 1895), 44; Rall, *A Working Faith* (New York, 1914), 198; Lyman, "Theology and the New Order," *Religion in Life*, 3 (1934): 227. For clerical feelings of displacement in their most common form, see Algernon Sidney Crapsey, *Religion and Politics* (New York, 1905) 278–81; and his *Last of the Heretics* (New York, 1924), 247–50. Those who expressed a more direct resentment against businessmen are ably represented by George Lorimer; see pp. 397–98 below. On reference groups and relative deprivation, see Robert K. Merton and Alice S. Kitt, "Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior," in Robert K. Merton and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, eds., *Continuities in Social Research* (Glencoe, 1950), 40–105.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

other types of evidence. Robert T. Handy attempted in 1953 to sketch one necessary context—that of the enormous success and abounding hopefulness of late nineteenth-century Protestantism. Responding to interpretations that had seemed to depict Protestant ventures of that era as rearguard actions, Handy pointed to the many signs of initiative and self-confidence in the churches. During a time when the American population was tripling, the number of Protestant church members had increased sixfold, and the wealth of the churches had grown more rapidly than the wealth of the American people. The mounting wealth, Handy acknowledged, may have been a mixed blessing, as was the increased size and complexity of religious organizations. But evangelism, missionary efforts, unification movements, and social reform all showed, he argued, an immense vitality that went well beyond any mere reveling in material strength.

Other historians, if they had tried to explain the anomaly of clerical optimism amidst an alleged collapse, had explained it with imputations of naiveté or complacency or Nero-like indifference; but Handy in effect solved the same contradiction by doubting whether the clergy had either felt defensive or had reason to feel that way. He argued that writers on the religion of the later nineteenth century had been making use of a misleading biological analogy in whose terms Protestantism appears as a static entity responding more or less, and usually less, adequately to outside stimuli. Such writers, he asserted, had promoted "a vastly oversimplified view of what the American churches were," and had seriously underrated organized religion's "inner drive and dynamic."[10]

A great deal depends, of course, upon one's valuation of the vast enterprises and intellectual adventures with which the churches undeniably were busying themselves. Some of the activities Handy took to be proofs of vitality—missionary expansion, for example—may strike others as proofs of irrelevance or worse. But one must at least discuss decline in the context of a progressive optimism that if not unanimous or so fatuous as it was later imagined to have been was nonetheless pervasive among religious leaders.

One must also, for the sake of perspective, inquire about loss of clerical influence in other eras of American religious history. "The claim that the Church is losing her hold on the people at large," as a religious writer understated the case in 1893, "is not new."[11] That claim is, indeed, very nearly perpetual. In times of religious and moral vitality, religion is in decline from the point of view of those who deplore the loss of comforting older forms. In especially prosperous and church-going times critics are likely to descry moral collapse or weakness behind the façade of institutional success. Among the apparently miraculous attributes of American religion, in fact, has been its capacity, well known to modern readers of *Time* and the several opinion polls, for appearing to be on the rise and in decline simultaneously.

[10] Handy, "The Protestant Quest for a Christian America," *Church History*, 22 (1953): 8–20.
[11] David Kinley, "The Relation of the Church to Social Reform," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 50 (1893): 378.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Complainants in the later nineteenth century often spoke as though ministers had never felt displaced before; and historians, who tend to be negligent about cross-period comparisons as well as cross-cultural ones, have been ready to take them at their word. Yet Clifford Shipton and Perry Miller have documented a similar sense of clerical decline for the latter years of the seventeenth century; Edmund Morgan for the mid-eighteenth century; Conrad Wright and Daniel Calhoun for the late eighteenth century; John Bodo for the early National era; Barbara Cross for the age of Bushnell; and so on. The list could easily be extended.[12]

A further caveat must be entered if we are focusing upon the actions specifically of those who became reformers. Even if one became convinced of an extraordinary general loss in ministerial status, he would somehow need to deal with the fact that the consciousness and perhaps the reality of such loss was, if anything, greater among religious conservatives than among liberals. If status fears were operative, they appear to have moved men toward the safe havens of fundamentalism, revivalism, dogmatism, and social conservatism at least as often as toward liberal solutions. Stewart G. Cole's unequivocal assignment of status motives to the fundamentalists is open to the same questions I am raising about their assignment to liberals; but Cole's evidence, and that of later students of revivalism and fundamentalism, at least confirms that conservatives were prone to voice this sort of anxiety. That feelings of resentment against a new and intrusive industrial class were especially acute within populistic forms of fundamentalism goes almost, if not quite, without saying.[13]

A survey in 1904 collected the opinions of college and seminary presidents, businessmen, ministers, and students about what was called "The Decline of the Ministry." Not all respondents agreed about the severity of this phenomenon or even about its reality. Among those who did see slippage, however, no relationship appears to have existed between the sense of ministerial declension and the religious liberalism or conservatism of a given respondent.[14]

[12] Shipton, "The New England Clergy of the 'Glacial Age,'" *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, 32 (1933): 24–54; Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953); Morgan, "The American Revolution Considered as an Intellectual Movement," in Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. and Morton White, eds., *Paths of American Thought* (Boston, 1963), 11–33; Wright, *The Beginnings of Unitarianism in America* (Beacon Press ed.; Boston, 1966), 248–51; Calhoun, *Professional Lives in America: Structure and Aspiration 1750–1850* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), 88–117; Bodo, *The Protestant Clergy and Public Issues, 1812–1848* (Princeton, 1954), 9; Cross, *Horace Bushnell: Minister to a Changing America* (Chicago, 1958), 119.

[13] Cole, *The History of Fundamentalism* (New York, 1931), 52–53; William G. McLoughlin, *Billy Sunday was His Real Name* (Chicago, 1955), 189–93; Norman F. Furniss, *The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918–1931* (Archon Books ed.; Hamden, 1963), 17–18, 29–30; Willard H. Smith, "William Jennings Bryan and the Social Gospel," *Journal of American History*, 53 (1966): 41–60.

[14] Everett T. Tomlinson, "The Decline of the Ministry," *World's Work*, 9 (1904): 5635–40. Tomlinson does not divulge the size of his sample, but from internal evidence one can guess that it totaled 150 respondents. See also Willis J. Beecher, "Making Religion Popular," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 68 (1911): 48–60. Beecher's remedy for the church's loss of influence is opposite to that of the liberals.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A final complication resides in the fact that liberals were likely to be the very men for whom the loss in influence of a clerical order or of a doctrinal system was reason for hope rather than for despair or anxiety. A. S. Crapsey, the noted heretic, regarded the decline of the clergy as a settled fact. He also, however, explained that this was a fact "not because the world is growing less religious, but because it is more religious than it was sixty years ago."[15]

The record of clerical complaints about the decline of religion is therefore equivocal, at best, in its indications about the springs of reform ideology and action. And so is the more objective record documented by such revisionists as Handy. But specifically ministerial status is not, of course, the whole story. The minister's sense of displacement could theoretically have arisen out of his membership in any of a number of groups whose relative influence was waning; and unless he was given to Henry Adams' kind of public introspection, the minister was not likely to talk about the declining advantages of membership in these other elites. It is relevant to ask, then, to what extent the leaders of religious liberalism either felt or ought to have felt displaced and offended by the new men of wealth. Were they in any marked degree associated with those regions, social classes, and ethnic and occupational groups whose prestige had supposedly been diminished or threatened?[16]

The comparative biographical data upon which one must draw for help with these questions may be open to variant interpretations. The appendix to this article therefore details the data, the criteria used in selection of subjects, and the measures taken to correct for possible biases in biographical sources. What we found, first of all, was a similarity between liberals and conservatives in economic background, a similarity particularly in those respects in which the ministry differed most sharply from the American population as a whole.

That liberal reformers in some ways resemble the immediate opposition is no longer a shocking idea; for many historians it has become axiomatic. One would expect to find the Protestant leadership, on both sides, more urban in origins, more professional in family background, less working class than the American population.[17] But the comparative figures for liberals and conservatives turned out, in these respects, to be quite strikingly alike.

[15] Crapsey, *Religion and Politics*, 281.

[16] In Professor Hofstadter's redaction of definitions offered earlier by Lord Bryce and others, the victims of social displacement after the Civil War were "the old gentry, the merchants of long standing, the small manufacturers, the established professional men, the civic leaders of an earlier era, . . . the old-family, college-educated class that had deep ancestral roots in local communities and often owned family businesses, that had traditions of political leadership, belonged to the patriotic societies and the best clubs, staffed the governing boards of philanthropic and cultural institutions, and led the movements for civic betterment." *Age of Reform*, 137.

[17] The available statistics for various American occupational groups, and for the population at large, are not always readily comparable; but from several sources that use the census standard—places over 2,500—to distinguish urban from rural, one gathers that native Americans raised in the 1820s could be called 7 per cent urban in origins; that those raised in the 1880s were 28 per cent urban by the same standard; that business leaders prominent in the 1870s were 50 per cent urban in background, those of 1901–10, 59 per cent urban. Application of the same

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The percentage in each group, for example, who were sons of ministers was almost identical; the percentage who were sons of industrial workers was almost identically minimal. If socioeconomic origins could be thought to correlate strongly with positions on theological and social liberalism, the men in these groups ought to have come out with nearly identical opinions.

Such differences as we did find in this portion of the data seemed not to be friendly to a linkage between status decline and the reform stance. The conservatives, on the whole, were more associable with those regions, social classes, and ethnic and occupational groups whose prestige had allegedly been threatened. It was the conservatives, not the liberals, who enjoyed the stronger affiliations to long-standing wealth and influence.

Both groups were overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon in family origins and predominantly native-born. But there were fewer immigrants among the conservatives; and the latter were more often from the older northeastern region and those rural and small-town settings whose declining relevance is supposed to have provoked a reforming spirit. Conservatives were three times as likely as liberals were to come from the South, were singularly drawn from planters' families (thirteen per cent) and came much more frequently (fourteen per cent) from situations of considerable, nearly always older, wealth.

When one singles out and examines those theological liberals who were most active in the Social Gospel,[18] the resulting picture perhaps rehabilitates economic class as one component of explanation; but it is notably unfavorable to interpretations that would stress professional or privileged-class defensiveness. Among the Social Gospel clergy, as distinguished from its lay philanthropic supporters,[19] poor and lower-class origins were rather more common than they were among liberals as a whole; while a clearly

standard to the thirty-three leading liberal churchmen produces a figure of 58 per cent for the group. U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States* (Washington, 1960), 14; Frances W. Gregory and Irene Neu, "The American Industrial Elite in the 1870's," in William Miller, ed., *Men in Business* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), 201. A forthcoming analysis by P. M. G. Harris of Howard University of the biographies in the *Dictionary of American Biography* adopts a definition of rural congenial with the one chiefly used in the present study and also used at one point by Gregory and Neu. According to Harris, 27 per cent of all ministerial leaders born from 1825 to 1857 came from farms or clearly rural surroundings. (Harris' figure for business leaders of the same generation is 24 per cent; that of Gregory and Neu for businessmen prominent in the 1870s is 25 per cent.) In the present study 23 per cent of the entire group of liberals (156), and 35 per cent of the conservatives came from farms or clearly rural surroundings. Two-to-three per cent of the ministerial leaders in the present study were the sons of industrial workers. This contrasts with a figure for the general population that can be estimated, roughly but conservatively, at 20 per cent to 35 per cent (proportion of industrial workers to total gainfully employed) over the decades in which these men were reared. See *Historical Statistics*, 72; and U. S. census reports for 1840 through 1880.

[18] Varying degrees of Social Gospel sympathy and involvement can usefully be distinguished (see appendix, p. 411), but for the purposes of the inquiry undertaken in this part of the essay it seemed appropriate to select, from the group of 156 liberals, those who were better known—not just somewhat or even equally known—for Social Gospel advocacy than for their theological liberalism. Thirty-nine of the men, or 25 per cent, were in that category (see appendix, pp. 408–09, column F).

[19] A revealing and I think important discrepancy between clergy and laymen turned up when

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wealthy or prestigious family background among the Social Gospel clergy was rare. Further, if resentment against the men of new industrial wealth is any sort of index, status anxiety appears to rank a poor second or third among the motives for clerical adherence to the Social Gospel. By and large, the Social Gospelers whose origins lay among the older elites were also the ones who expressed the least resentment against the men of new wealth and influence. The more vitriolic attacks on the new wealth and its baneful effects came from the men of humble origin. Some concrete examples may be helpful.

William Adams Brown, professor at Union Seminary and patrician reformer par excellence, exhibited in exaggerated but basically accurate form the discorrelation between membership in the older elites and resentment, either explicit or implied, against the newer ones. Brown, who lived from 1865 to 1943, was an almost perfect example of the Mugwumpery historians have used as a model. He was descended on his mother's side from a line of prominent Presbyterian clergymen and seminary presidents and on his father's from those Brown Brothers whose famous merchant-banking firm was still the family business. Brown and his father, making the political move essential for Mugwumps, deserted the Republicans in favor of Grover Cleveland and free trade; and Brown continued thereafter to favor the Democrats except when the higher call of civic reform dictated an indifference to party labels.[20]

One of the Bluest of Yale men, Brown considered himself indebted to William Graham Sumner, despite divergent views on social reform, more than to anyone else except his German theological mentor, Adolf von Harnack. The patrician identifies himself on page after page of a long and rather pompous autobiography. We find Brown the marriage counselor advising young men only half facetiously to "teach your wife to love golf as well as you do, and all will be well." Brown the world traveler rejoices in the 1930s that "whatever one may think of Mussolini's foreign policy," Italy has been rid of beggars. And Brown the genial memoirist relives fifty years of vacations in a summer colony—replete with Gilmans, Peabodys, Eliots, and Rocke-

we sought to check our findings against a second Social Gospel sample not subject to the limitations under which the first had been selected. In order to provide such a supplementary test group we undertook a side-investigation of all Social Gospelers of this period, over and above those already considered, who are mentioned prominently in the standard histories by Henry May, C. H. Hopkins, and James Dombrowski, and for whom socioeconomic data could be found. The resulting group of fifty-three, unlike the thirty-nine previously considered, included laymen as well as clergy, women as well as men, religiously grounded reformers of any denomination or no denomination, and at least a few persons not noted for theological liberalism. At first blush the new sample seemed to contradict the finding that Social Gospel leaders were men of humbler origins than other religious liberals. Though 25 per cent came either out of poverty or out of very modest circumstances, a strikingly high proportion, 20 per cent, came from wealthy families. It turned out, however, that all but one of this wealthy minority were laymen. I suggest that these well-born lay supporters and publicists of the Social Gospel have given the movement a patrician cast that has little to do with its clerical makeup.

[20] William Adams Brown, *A Teacher and His Times: A Story of Two Worlds* (New York, 1940), 65, 157.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fellers—that may well have served as one model for George Apley's excruciatingly genteel Pequod Island.[21]

Against this thoroughly patrician backdrop Brown's long career as theological liberal and social activist stands out in rather bold relief. True to the approved script, the second-generation Mugwump plunges into city campaigns against vice and corruption; he fights Tammany; he joins with Charles Stelzle in founding the Labor Temple and then in repeatedly defending the right of radicalism to a hearing there; he supervises the work of the American Parish in East Harlem and supports its executive director, Norman Thomas, both before and after Thomas' alliance with the Socialist party.[22]

Any explanation of such reform activism as a function of status resentment or of a sense of clerical demise would have to be argued a priori in a case like Brown's because too much of the evidence simply runs the other way. Neither the banking Browns nor the ministerial Adamses appear to have felt overshadowed by the new and superior wealth of the Vanderbilts and Morgans. Brown's father prided himself, in the era of Vanderbilt, upon his acquaintance with both railroading and railroad magnates. "Trusted and respected," as the son recalled, by men of far greater wealth, the elder Brown was called upon to advise Morgan and the other Lords of Creation in their effort to avert the panic of 1907. The son, for his part, in his pleas for civic and social reform was at least as ready to criticize Fifth Avenue aristocrats as he was to castigate new industrialists.[23]

All this might perhaps be attributed in Brown's case to a peculiarly Presbyterian refusal to admit that he and his kind had been displaced and that they jolly well ought to be feeling status anxiety. But the same pattern prevails among other Social Gospel pastors or executives who came from aristocratic and long-influential families. Bishop Henry C. Potter's ancestors had wielded influence in church and state at least since the knighting of one of them by Elizabeth I; Frank Mason North's family had settled in Massachusetts in 1670 and had been doing well in the interim; David Hummell Greer was the son of a successful wholesale merchant and was "brought up

21 *Ibid.*, 63, 69–71, 142, 141, 144–45. On Brown's Mt. Desert Island, ladies sit beneath the trees reading Dante to younger ladies; Mrs. Gilman tells her "inimitable darkey stories, drawn from her experiences as the [Johns Hopkins] president's wife in Baltimore"; and Dora Gilman pens lines "familiar to every member of this early group: 'We thank the goodness and the grace / That brought us to this lovely place, / And now with all our hearts we pray / That other folks may stay away.'" *Ibid.*, 146–47.

22 *Ibid.*, 113–18, 120–25. The extent and wholeheartedness of Brown's support for Thomas is a matter of some disagreement. But as Thomas' biographer acknowledges, Adams was clearly the young pastor's chief backer until Thomas announced support of Morris Hillquit in the mayoralty campaign of 1917; and Brown always firmly believed that he had acted, after that announcement, to prevent rather than to encourage Thomas' resignation from the parish. Harry Fleischman, *Norman Thomas: A Biography* (New York, 1964), 63–64.

23 Brown, *Teacher and His Times*, 27, 167; Brown, *Christianity and Industry* (New York, 1919), 38. The status theories, even in an early form, recognized that cordial relations often existed between the men of older and of newer influence, but they explained that the cordiality, like its opposite, arose out of status motives. See Hofstadter, *Age of Reform*, 137–38.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in comfortable circumstances"; the American pedigree of Frederic D. Huntington ran back to 1633. Yet the relations between such reformers and the men of new wealth were generally more than cordial. Among the four patricians just mentioned, only Huntington showed an animus against the newly emergent capitalism that was at all comparable to the resentment displayed by George Herron, George C. Lorimer, and others of obscure or very modest family background.[24]

George Lorimer, a Social Gospeler of markedly unpatrician origins, illustrates the tendency of antiplutocratic feelings to be lodged just where, back before the status theories, one expected to find them: among men of modest origins. Minister at the Baptist Tremont Temple in Boston, Lorimer had few rivals as a castigator of the post-Civil War plutocracy and a critic of its influence in American society. He also came from a family background that in nineteenth-century terms was a mixture of the humble and the disreputable. As a partially orphaned Scottish lad, he had been brought up in the household of a theatrical manager. At the age of seventeen—though the *Baptist Encyclopaedia* later averted its gaze from this ugly fact—Lorimer had actually embarked on an acting career. Emigrating to the United States shortly thereafter, he had become a convert in Kentucky and had served parishes in that state and at Albany, New York, before coming to Boston.[25]

Lorimer, whose own advocacy of reform dated from the early and difficult period of the 1860s, nonetheless expressed sympathy for liberal ministers who found it impossible, even at a later date, to speak out. "It requires something more than courage," he acknowledged,

> to receive meekly the haughty reprimands of the new rich, and to submit to being told by some tradesman, who in youth seldom went to school, and has read little save the headlines in the daily press . . . that the pulpit is necessarily incompetent to deal with social problems. If some sensitive souls shrink from the assaults of the vulgar . . . it is not, perhaps, altogether surprising.

[24] See George Hodges, *Henry Codman Potter* (New York, 1915); Creighton Lacy, *Frank Mason North* (Nashville, 1967); Harris Starr, "David Hummell Greer," in *DAB;* and Arria S. Huntington, *Memoir and Letters of Frederic Dan Huntington* (Boston, 1906), 2. Potter is known for having disputed Bishop Wilberforce's dictum that society could not be saved by dining with it. Hodges, *Henry Codman Potter,* 293. Clyde C. Griffen, in a meticulous study of Manhattan parishes over which Social Gospel activists presided, has shown that these ministers had the support of a few strategically located upper-class laymen and the tolerance, at least, of a much larger segment of their upper-class constituencies. "Rich Laymen and Early Social Christianity," *Church History,* 36 (1967): 45–65. James S. McLachlan, investigating the patrician reformers who battled for civil service and similar reforms between 1865 and 1884, was surprised to learn that "the majority of the reformers came from secure environments; they had experienced little or none of the violent social displacement that one would expect to find in the background of movements of reform and social dissent." This fact, he said, "goes far to explain the reformers' relatively mild and judicious approach to the ills of their society." "The Genteel Reformers: 1865–1884," (master's thesis, Columbia University, 1958), 20.

[25] Unsigned obituary of Lorimer in *Outlook,* Sept. 17, 1904, p. 157. The *Baptist Encyclopaedia*'s version was that "for a brief period he had some business connection with a theatre, and occasionally performed some parts, but God had something higher and better for him." William Cathcart, ed., *Baptist Encyclopaedia* (Philadelphia, 1881), 718.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lorimer depicted social institutions, especially press and pulpit, as shivering and cringing before combinations of capital. And though he denounced the "excessively affluent," his deepest animus seemed to lie against the aspirants to wealth, against "men of moderate means, imagining themselves to be millionaires in embryo, of moderate position, of moderate intelligence, and usually of less than moderate piety, whose affluence and abundance lie mainly in the direction of narrowness and bigotry." These are the men, he said, who "evoke the heavens wonderingly and indignantly to contemplate their pastor, who must be bordering on the inebriety of socialism . . . to intimate that the rich are not wiser, better, and nobler than other men."[26]

The case of Lorimer, like that of Brown, is extreme. Yet the correlation it presents, this time between relatively lowly origins and resentment against capitalism, is more the rule than the exception. Among the more denunciatory Social Gospelers were George Herron, who described his father as "a humble man" and the years of his youth as "years of poverty and sickness, toil and trial"; Washington Gladden, who lost his father, a schoolmaster, at age five and was raised by a farmer uncle; Douglas C. Macintosh, a Canadian farm lad who had had to earn his living for a number of years before entering college; and Edward Scribner Ames, who grew up under the shadow of "deep and unrelenting poverty."[27]

Social displacement, therefore, and consciousness thereof, seem neither peculiar to liberalism nor especially associated with those within the movement who "ought" to have felt it. What the comparative data suggest, however, is that a broader and richer conception of cultural strain—one that is able, for example, to comprehend loss of meaning as a factor of independent importance[28]—could indeed illuminate the study of groups of this kind.

[26] Lorimer, *Christianity and the Social State* (Philadelphia, 1898), vii–xi, 205, 41–47.

[27] Charles Beardsley, "Professor Herron," *Arena*, 15 (1896): 784–96; Dorn, *Washington Gladden*, 3–6; D. C. Macintosh, "Toward an Untraditional Orthodoxy," in Vergilius Ferm, ed., *Contemporary American Theology*, 1 (New York, 1932): 277–89; Edward Scribner Ames, *Beyond Theology: The Autobiography of Edward Scribner Ames* (Chicago, 1959), 6. A few vehement critics of the plutocracy came from somewhat more influential families. Besides Huntington, Walter Rauschenbusch and "the Socialist Bishop" Franklin S. Spalding could be so identified. Even these exceptions, however, are doubtful. Rauschenbusch's father, a professor in a small German Baptist seminary, was perhaps less than influential. Spalding's father had been unable to finance his son's college education. See Carl E. Schneider, "Americanization of Karl August Rauschenbusch, 1816–1899," *Church History*, 24 (1955): 3–14; and John Howard Melish, *Franklin Spencer Spalding* (New York, 1917), 12. One might at this point, calling upon the distinction between ascribed and acquired status, consider the presumably keener sensitivities of those whose position in society has had to be won. But class origin, which in such a hypothesis defines the difference between ministers who were especially sensitive and those who were not, remains crucial. The intraliberal distinctions on these points correspond with those that G. H. Smith found between liberalisms concerned respectively with more intellectual (civil libertarian) and more economic issues. Educational attainment was higher among liberals of the first type; economic standing was lower among those of the second type. Smith, "Liberalism and Level of Information," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 39 (1948): 65–81; and "The Relationship of 'Enlightenment' to Liberal-Conservative Opinions," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 28 (1948): 3–17.

[28] Mr. Hofstadter appears loath to take this step. In *Paranoid Style* he acknowledges the force of "values which are taken by the persons who share them to be ultimate moral goals, dis-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

No group profile compiled chiefly from secondary materials should pretend to do more than propose lines of inquiry; certainly the biographical deficiencies that provoked the present investigations have not been fully remedied by them. But the indications from our study are that those who dig into the extensive collections of personal papers will find among the religious liberals distinctive patterns not of socioeconomic background, but of family influence and nurture, of religious conversion experience, of education, and of personality.

Of these four, the item most nearly quantifiable and least under suspicion of subjective distortion in biographies and autobiographies is the difference between liberals and conservatives in educational experience. Although this difference emerges most sharply at the more advanced educational levels, it appears, in at least two respects, at earlier stages. First of all, liberals were not only recruited more heavily than conservatives from professional families, but also came to a much greater extent from the families of educators. And secondly, differences of religious outlook often appear to have been generated or augmented in the undergraduate years.

The liberals' own memoirs, nearly all of which credit the mind-opening influence of particular college teachers, form part of the evidence for the second of these observations. Another part is suggested in the choices made by the prospective religious leaders regarding postcollege training. While both liberals and conservatives tended to move toward New England for their undergraduate education, a divergence appears at the next stage, the seminary. Conservatives returned to other sections of the country for theological education while liberals increased their concentration in New England, and in theologically advanced seminaries such as Union of New York, by about the same marked proportion. Sometimes, of course, the seminary had been chosen even before the young man left for college, and in such cases one must pay more attention to home nurture as a determinant. But the choice of vocation and the choice of theological institution usually remained with the student, at least to the extent of his being open to strong influence from college instructors.

The most common pattern of higher education among late nineteenth-century Protestant leaders, whether liberal or conservative, included both college and seminary training, but not graduate study beyond the professional degree. Conservatives, when they broke from this pattern, were likely to do so by omitting college and going directly into a seminary or Bible college. But the deviation among the liberals was in the opposite direction; it appears in the number who undertook graduate study beyond,

interestedly pursued." He then backs off from any implication of the actual autonomy of these value systems; but he does so, it seems to me, by backing into a contradiction: "Such persons believe that their prestige in the community, even indeed their self-esteem, depends on having these values honored in public" (p. 87). People may believe themselves disinterested and not be; they can scarcely believe their adherence to given values to be disinterested and at the same time believe that their own prestige depends upon having the values accepted.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

or sometimes in place of, the professional theological degree. The incidence of advanced graduate study is especially high among the thirty-three first-rank leaders of the liberal movement (among whom the incidence of educator-fathers is also especially high). Fully two-thirds of these men pursued graduate work beyond the seminary, and more than half of them studied abroad. All in this group who studied overseas spent at least part of their time in Germany, with Berlin overwhelmingly the focal point of their interest.[29]

The second ingredient in this mix, religious conversion experience, while inherently difficult for these men or their biographers to report objectively, nonetheless presents a difference large enough to allay suspicions of serious distortion. The biographical and autobiographical accounts indicate that whereas nearly two-thirds of the conservatives underwent a sharply defined, usually dramatic, conversion experience, very few of the liberals underwent an experience of that kind, and barely a third of them experienced conversions even of a mixed intellectual-emotional sort.

This second factor leads directly into consideration of a third: the nurture of the home. It would be unsound to explain the once-born pattern in liberal biographies by suggesting that a dramatic experience was not expected in the homes and communities from which liberals came. Too many of them testify to having striven anxiously, often ignominiously, for a dramatic conversion that never occurred. Yet it does appear that preceding home nurture constituted a powerful influence both in the educational decisions discussed above and in the failure, whether casual or agonized, to "get religion" in the generally prescribed evangelical way. In explaining such items of personal history, the liberals themselves stressed the decisive influence of home environments that in most cases could be described as orthodox but nonrepressive. Their biographies with surprising regularity speak of the influence of a kind of person almost entirely missing from the conservative chronicles—of a parent or uncle or close family acquaintance who was somewhat heretical or freethinking by family standards but was clearly more admired in that circle than accepted in the community.[30]

Unless we are to suspect a general warping amounting almost to conspiracy in the composing of memoirs and biographies, there were real differences of style in the familial cultures from which liberals and conservatives, respectively, tended to come. The homes fondly remembered by the conservatives were characterized by loving and closely knit family rela-

[29] The great figures of Berlin, from the advent there of Isaac Dorner in 1862, were Dorner, Otto Pfleiderer, Wilhelm Dilthey, Julius Kaftan, and Adolf von Harnack. Other centers for the Americans were Halle (Friedrich A. G. Tholuck), Marburg (Harnack in the 1880s), Göttingen (Albrecht Ritschl), Leipzig (Karl F. A. Kahnis), and Jena (Rudolf Christoph Eucken).

[30] See the appendix, p. 410. For extended treatments of the pattern of upbringing discussed here, see Lyman Abbott, *Reminiscences* (Boston, 1915), chs. 1, 7, 8; Washington Gladden, *Recollections* (Boston, 1909), chs. 1, 2; Benjamin W. Bacon, *Theodore Thornton Munger: New England Minister* (New Haven, 1913), chs. 1–3; and William Jewett Tucker, *My Generation: An Autobiographical Interpretation* (Boston, 1919), ch. 2. In matters of home nurture, conversion experience, personality, and education, the generalizations made about liberals again apply equally well to those among them who engaged most actively in social reform.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tionships and by a firm if not stern piety for which the mother in a great many cases was given chief credit.[31] Among the liberals, however, the norm was, so to speak, the Bushnellian home with a resident Tom Paine. The child who was to become a liberal grew up, as Bushnell said children should, "knowing himself to be Christian"; and also knowing or sensing that, within broad limits, deviation would not mean rejection either of or by the parental generation.[32]

The fourth difference we noted, that of personality, should perhaps be seen as concomitant with differences in religious ideology rather than as causative of them. The available data, which were limited in this study mainly to biographers' descriptions, suggest that the liberals, though notably forceful and outspoken, were men of more equable temper and of more open, less acerbic personality than their confreres at either extreme—conservative or radical—of the religious spectrum.[33] That the liberals, with some notable exceptions, shunned controversy, minimized dogmatic distinctions, and preferred—if it came to that—keeping the peace over keeping the doctrinal faith, has usually been acknowledged by defenders and detractors alike.

If, as I am proposing, decisive influences toward religious reform are to be found in the pattern of socialization that has been discussed, then the

[31] The relative importance of the mother and the father in shaping religious views may be worth further attention, as the relationships with siblings and other family members surely will be. Without consultation of the parents' own letters, judgments as to which parent was dominant seemed possible in only about two dozen cases. That limited sample, however, indicated an almost unanimous tendency among the conservatives to name the mother as chief religious influence in the home. The majority of the liberals gave more or equal credit to the father.

[32] Horace Bushnell (1802–76), the Congregational theologian, advocated during the mid-nineteenth century a genial theory of Christian family life that saw the child as godly and growing in grace, not as utterly sinful and in need of dramatic conversion. Among the "vices" Bushnell deplored in the evangelical home nurture of his own day were sanctimoniousness, bigotry, fanaticism, censoriousness, and "over-bearing absolutism." He proposed that parents "make the subject of religion an open subject." The "only genuine teaching" was "that which interprets the truth to the child's feeling by living example." *Christian Nurture* (paperback ed.; New Haven, 1967), xv–xx.

[33] Our findings on this point, derived from an analysis of the characterizing adjectives or phrases used in *DAB* biographies, tend to confirm those of Thomas Symington in *Religious Liberals and Conservatives: A Comparison of Those Who are Liberal in Their Religious Thinking and Those Who are Conservative* (New York, 1935). We found that the traits most often ascribed to the liberals were, in order of frequency, geniality, energy, dignity, and humor. Those most frequently ascribed to conservatives were rigidity, readiness to engage in controversy, graciousness or generosity, energy, and dignity. A sample checking of the background of *DAB* biographers suggests that the *DAB* editors chose authors, on both sides, who were sympathetic to their subjects; but even if we allow, on balance, for some liberal leaning among biographers, the contrast in characterizations is striking. The term "rigid," for example, is used in seventeen conservative biographies, but in only one biography of a liberal. In this part of the study we also paid attention to indications about physical and mental health. The thirty-three leading liberals appear to have been notably better adjusted in both respects than a group of the most prominent free religionists and militant agnostics (twenty-three in number) with which we compared them. The incidence of physical or emotional difficulties in this group of radicals was quite high (50 per cent compared to the liberals' 25 per cent). But our sources did not divulge significant differences of physical and mental stability between liberals and conservatives. Symington, on the other hand, while he found no higher incidence among conservatives of serious maladjustment, accorded a considerable advantage to liberals in their "ways of facing life's problems and of dealing with other people." *Ibid.*, 40–51.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

question arises as to what is meant, in this context, by "influence": whether the Bushnellian nurture, for example, is a matter of content or form, of inner belief or outer structure; whether we are speaking of message or just medium.

It would not be simply facile to take Bushnell as insisting, in *Christian Nurture,* that the medium is the message. Surely he meant to argue that the two are much harder to separate than traditional doctrinal and catechistical teaching had assumed. And in practice, the believing but determinedly tolerant home nurture of which he wrote involved both structure and substance, both outer and inner inducements to a future liberalism. In this essay, however, I have been concerned principally with the outer influences, so far as they can be pulled out for analysis. And among these the essential influence seems to have been that of a home whose teaching and style persuaded the child that change would not explode orthodoxy; that change is compatible with orthodoxy or even integral to it.[34]

Early nurture of this kind may not have been essential in the sense that all later decisions would grow from it. In our day the discussion of more advanced stages in the life cycle, as well as long-standing questions concerning heredity, preclude any great assertiveness about the singular import of childhood influences. Instead, the Bushnellian home can be taken as—one must use the overworked term—the paradigm for a whole pattern of socialization and for a particular approach to the maintenance and revision of religious values.[35]

A prime feature of the theory of Christian nurture for which Bushnell became chief spokesman was the latitude it allowed within the area of orthodox religious expression. The tolerance for credal ambiguity promoted in Bushnell's "Dissertation on Language" appeared also, not surprisingly, in his ideas on child-rearing. The kind of religious thinking involved was what the liberals of Andover Seminary later called "progressive orthodoxy," and what their more aggressive cobelligerent Charles A. Briggs labeled simply "Orthodoxy," in intentionally invidious contrast to a staid "Orthodoxism."[36] A great deal in the Bushnellian home—the noncataclysmic expectations about religious experience, the emphasis upon living a creed, the association of orthodoxy and change—conspired to prepare the child to ac-

[34] Symington, who queried literally scores of possible differences in background between liberals and conservatives of college and postcollege age, identified parental attitudes, experienced or anticipated, as involving "by far the most decisive and considerable statistical difference" between the two groups. *Ibid.,* 70–71.

[35] To the extent that psychology, following Erik Erikson, attaches increased importance to experiences later than those of childhood, the historian will perhaps be tempted to lay greater emphasis upon educational and other experiences of early manhood and somewhat less emphasis upon home nurture. H. Stuart Hughes discusses this and other open questions in psychology in "History and Psychoanalysis: The Explanation of Motive," in his *History as Art and as Science* (New York, 1964), 42–67. For a succinct—and frightening—enumeration from the psychologists' side of the variables to be considered, see Erik Erikson, "On the Nature of Psycho-Historical Evidence: In Search of Gandhi," *Daedalus,* 97 (1968): 695–730.

[36] Bushnell, "Dissertation on Language," in his *God in Christ* (Hartford, 1849), 9–97; Egbert C. Smyth *et al., Progressive Orthodoxy* (Boston, 1886); Charles A. Briggs, *Whither? A Theological Question for the Times* (New York, 1889).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cept neologies that the parental generation, and certainly Bushnell himself, had not accepted. When faced with intellectual and social imperatives that everyone, or certainly every prospective clergyman, had to face, they would be able to revise their faith and social theory with minimum rejection of the familial and personal past.

To stress this preparatory nurture is not to say that for all of these men the movement into religious liberalism was to be smooth and uneventful. Many of them experienced severe personal crises. It would be hard to exaggerate the agonies of a William Rainey Harper, struggling to bring himself to announce critical findings that implied Christ's fallibility (he announced them); or of Harry Emerson Fosdick, who fell into a religious sophomore slump that had an astonished college devotional group praying overtime for his recovery. Shailer Mathews, dean of the Chicago Divinity School in the 1920s, remembered the experience of the men of his generation as "bewilderment born of the surprise which follows the examination of . . . presuppositions which had never been questioned."[37]

The liberal's response to this collapse of meaning can perhaps be termed both defensive and in a rather special way self-interested. Fosdick is one of many liberals through whose autobiographical writings one can hear an entire generation of anxious young men cheering as the relief column of liberal theology, bagpipes skirling, marches to the rescue of the threatened Christian regiment. Shailer Mathews was frank to acknowledge the place of a relatively untheological Social Gospel in bringing candidates into the ministry and keeping them there. "Even though men could not believe in the formulas of orthodoxy," Mathews recalled in his ingenuous way, "they could believe in Jesus as a moral example. Social reform seemed much more practicable than the solution of religious doubts."[38]

A good many men, in other words, did seize upon liberal theology and the Social Gospel as fragments to be shored against the ruins of traditional faith; and this kind of liberal was quite likely to display the defensive anxiety George Santayana identified in his colleague William James. James had "come out into what should have been the sunlight, but the vast shadow of the temple stood between him and the sun. He was worried about what *ought* to be believed and the awful deprivations of disbelieving."[39] The typical autobiographical expressions—"my old universe had vanished," "my old sermons had become unpreachable"—come across as recollections of this Jamesian form of anxiety, as vivid memories of the loss or threatened loss of a coherent world view. Terms like "status" seem grossly inadequate—statistics aside—for dealing with young men so heavily preoccupied with questions of intellectual integrity and their souls' salvation, and at the same time notably or even irresponsibly unconcerned about class standing, the

[37] Fosdick, *The Living of These Days* (2d ed.; New York, 1967), 48–55; Mathews, *New Faith for Old: An Autobiography* (New York, 1936), 62–63.

[38] Fosdick, *Living of These Days*, 229–66; Mathews, "Theology as Group Belief," in Ferm, *Contemporary American Theology*, 2 (New York, 1933): 175.

[39] Santayana, *Character and Opinion in the United States* (Anchor ed.; Garden City, n.d.), 4.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

status of the ministerial profession, or the prestige of the institutional church.[40]

But Santayana was also speaking of the liberal rather than the conservative or radical when he remarked that "we do not nowadays refute our predecessors; we pleasantly bid them good-bye."[41] Precisely that kind of near-insouciance is what one finds in the letters-home of that majority of young liberals whose conversion had been less intense. The future Bishop Spalding assured his mother he was "sorry we can't agree about the Bible." "I don't know why I came to think of it as I do," he added, "but without any violent change, without any doubts, I have . . . gradually passed over into a different way of looking at the whole subject." And even those who, unlike Spalding, suffered agonies of indecision were likely to be aided by the flexibility of elders who had been supposed to represent the old order. When Fosdick, in a well-known incident, summoned courage to announce his Darwinism at the family dinner table, his father's response was deflating, yet was probably very much a part of the formulation of an important liberal career: "Well," Fosdick *père* muttered, "I believed that before you were born."[42]

Evidences like these of the cultural locus of strain and of the sources of a liberal response to it are meant as suggesting (or endorsing) a way of doing biography,[43] not as providing a new magic formula for understanding the workings of reform. But even so, the dangers along the avenue of cultural interpretation deserve timely emphasis. Insofar as cultural and symbolic theories, as taken up by the historian, plead the hopelessness of extricating self-interest from the web of cultural commitments, they may seem to provide a new excuse for attempting completely value-free interpretation. By the same token, cultural explanations and the delineation of broad symbolic groups could, if applied avidly enough, so beg questions of motivation that the modern American historical guild would be back where it came in—back, that is, to a Beardean query about the real motives of those who grouped themselves as devotees of given cultural value systems. It is also

[40] The definitive commitment to liberalism usually came at the stage of graduate school or the first pastorate. There were exceptions: William Montgomery Brown, Episcopal bishop of Arkansas, had entered his later fifties when he read Darwin and Marx and found that "my old universe had completely vanished." But even Brown turns out to be an illuminating case in point. A poor orphan who had begun fourth-grade schooling at age twenty-one, he had by his own account become an Episcopalian—and a very conservative one—partly in search of status. His opting for conservative religion gained him "wealth, honor, and success." When, some years later, he embarked upon doctrinal and what would now be called black power heresies, it was scarcely possible to suppose he was acting out of a yearning for status. Brown, *My Heresy: The Autobiography of an Idea* (New York, 1926), 3–70. Geoffrey Blodgett offers an apposite distinction between old Mugwumps who may have fretted about status and young Mugwumps for whom this was less of an issue. *The Gentle Reformers: Massachusetts Democrats in the Cleveland Era* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 19–20.

[41] Quoted in Winthrop S. Hudson, *The Great Tradition of the American Churches* (Harper Torchbooks ed.; New York, 1963), 157.

[42] Melish, *Franklin Spencer Spalding*, 72; Fosdick, *Living of These Days*, 49.

[43] Richard L. Bushman explores the effects of familial influences and relationships upon a religious leader in "Jonathan Edwards as Great Man: Identity, Conversion, and Leadership in the Great Awakening," *Soundings*, 52 (1969): 15–46. See also Erikson, "Psycho-Historical Evidence," *passim*.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

true, I should think, that in the era of the Students for a Democratic Society, the historian's search for Oedipal explanations may become as intense as the search for status explanations grew to be in the era of Joseph McCarthy. In short, the temptations to glibness in any new preoccupation with familial styles and cultural loyalties would be as real as those in the earlier preoccupation with status.

The case for a cultural approach should nonetheless not be offered in an apologetic or minimalist way. The pitfalls can be avoided if we eschew the common tendency, born of overenthusiasm out of laziness, to let a supplementary insight begin presenting itself as the substitute for all earlier formulations—in this case as the replacement in all instances for explanations that stress class interest, status interest, psychological expression, or traditional human cussedness. And historians can perhaps be more alert, this time around, to the problem of variant or contradictory responses to a cultural situation that is being explored as an explanation for the rise of a given ideology or action.

The importance, at any rate, of studying cultural values, of seeing how men acquire them and form groups around them, is not being urged merely by certain historians and behavioral scientists. Parallel developments are evident in several fields, not least in the theology of the past decade. Theologians of the 1960s, as contrasted with those of the neo-orthodox era, became increasingly dubious about their ability to define boundaries between the sacred and the secular, between religion and culture, between church and world. They became increasingly wary of condemning or patronizing those on the secular side of such boundaries even when they thought it possible to draw lines. And in this, like a good many historians, they adopted a stance not so much of renewed agreement with an earlier liberalism as of doubt whether the liberals and their latter-day detractors had been discussing the right questions.[44]

Consensus history and Progressive history had debated the degree to which reformers as well as defenders of the status quo act from interested motives; cultural interpretation, without insisting on the purity of reformers or anyone else, holds that in many cases this is simply not the right question. Among theologians, the neo-orthodox and the liberals for a full generation had discussed the extent of liberalism's overadaptation to culture; secular theology, and much theology not going by that name, minimizes and undercuts that discussion. Both social science and theology—with important exceptions such as the scholarship of the New Left—would now seem to be arguing that the problem of generalizing about groups and about their reasons for acting as groups is even more complex than a preceding generation had supposed.

One temptation, of course, is to say that if that is the case, then let's for-

[44] See Langdon Gilkey, *Naming the Whirlwind: The Renewal of God-Language* (Indianapolis, 1969), 73–106, *passim;* and Daniel Callahan, ed., *The Secular City Debate* (New York, 1966).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

get it. If motives are all that complex, the historian had better spend his talents on more tractable questions. The difficulty with such a response is that in this case, as in the case of other troublesome concepts such as representativeness, the historian who eschews overt judgments is quite likely to employ covert ones instead.

It seems preferable to continue to take responsibility for trying to describe the value systems on which reformers or others have acted. Beyond a certain point, to be sure, questions of motive may have to be turned over to the psychologist, or at least to the trained psychohistorian. But even within his more usual sphere of competence, the historian will be indispensable to the process of delimiting the area within which free-floating conjectures are to be deemed permissible.

In the case immediately before us, it has been up to the historians—not someone else—to determine, with respect to each group of reformers, how well status theory meets the test of controlled group biography. The historians of reform have not on the whole evaded this responsibility, nor that of projecting hypotheses that stand a chance of working better. Where the testing of such hypotheses has called for collaboration with psychologists and anthropologists and even theologians, some at least have looked upon that circumstance as offering dividends as well as costs.

The much discussed recuperation of American religious history, and with it the revived interest in religious liberalism,[45] will come to little unless church historians, too, show an unaccustomed readiness to pose new questions. The discussions of status theory, tiresome as these sometimes have seemed, have placed some of the most fertile questions—those concerning the shape, the sources, and the consequences of religion as ideology—directly on the agenda of religious history.

APPENDIX: *Summaries of Biographical Information**

Columns A through F in the chart below reflect, in approximately correct sequence, how one thing led to another in the development of this inquiry. We began, simply enough, by collecting information on the thirty-three

[45] Henry May's favorable prognosis in "The Recovery of American Religious History" (*AHR*, 70 [1964–65]: 79–92) is supported by William Clebsch in "A New Historiography of American Religion" (*Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 32 [1963]: 225–57) and by Edwin S. Gaustad in *American Religious History* (Washington, 1966). More skeptical appraisals include Jerald C. Brauer, "Changing Perspectives on Religion in America," Sidney E. Mead, "Reinterpretation in American Church History," and Martin E. Marty, "Reinterpreting American Religious History in Context," all in Jerald C. Brauer, ed., *Reinterpretation in American Church History* (Chicago, 1968), 1–28, 169–95, 195–218, respectively. The revival of critical appreciation of the older liberalism is perhaps best seen in Lloyd J. Averill, *American Theology in the Liberal Tradition* (Philadelphia, 1967).

* The studies of Protestant liberalism of which this project forms a part have been aided by grants from the American Philosophical Society, the American University, and the Charles Warren Center of Harvard University. A large part of the quantitative work was done by Lars Hoffmann, now of the State University of Iowa, and by other able graduate assistants at the American University and Harvard.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pre-eminent liberal leaders[1] of the years 1875–1915. But we then saw the need of comparing those data, on at least the more basic and accessible points, with information about less prominent liberals listed in the *Dictionary of American Biography*; next with information on second-rank liberals not in the *DAB*; and finally with data on *DAB* conservatives. When the research appeared to be bearing upon status and related theories, we began to ask further questions and run comparisons with other groups. As is indicated in the text and in column F, we pulled out those theological liberals who were most prominent in the Social Gospel and compared these with the total group. Other investigatory excursions, at specific critical points, are mentioned in the text of this article; they involved Unitarians, free religionists, and a further, differently selected, test group of Social Gospel leaders. We also looked into possible differences between earlier and later segments of this rather long "generation"; some results are indicated at the end of the appendix.

The groups on which we collected information were not, properly speaking, sample groups but rather represented an attempted assemblage of all Protestant religious leaders who fell within certain defined limits. These limits were as follows:

The definition of "religious leader," then as now, presents difficulties. Neither seminary attendance nor ordination can be an absolute test, and certainly the tenure of a parish ministry cannot be. Our first stipulation, then, was simply that the subject had to be professionally engaged primarily in religious work. The great majority of those included are perfectly clear cases; they are men who trained for the ministry and who engaged in pastoral, teaching, journalistic, or executive forms of ministry. But at the margins of our definition are a few whose inclusion or exclusion can be questioned. (Richard Ely is in the test group; John Bascom is not.)

A second requirement was that the Protestant leader had to have made some significant part of his contribution between 1875 and 1915. The idea here was to provide a group of men one of whose common features would be that they had been raised and for the most part educated before the widespread acceptance of liberal theology.

Thirdly, the subjects were drawn from those main line Protestant denominations that were facing roughly comparable challenges and discussing similar issues and whose members had in general grown up in preliberal families. Liberal/conservative cleavages can of course be found in all the religious organizations of the time, but the controversies in some, such as

[1] Lyman Abbott, Edward Scribner Ames, David Beach, Henry Ward Beecher, Borden Bowne, Charles A. Briggs, Phillips Brooks, William Adams Brown, John W. Buckham, Shirley Jackson Case, William Newton Clarke, George A. Coe, Frank H. Foster, George B. Foster, Washington Gladden, George A. Gordon, George Harris, George Herron, William DeWitt Hyde, Henry C. King, Albert C. Knudson, Eugene Lyman, D. C. Macintosh, A. C. McGiffert, Shailer Mathews, Theodore Munger, Walter Rauschenbusch, G. B. Smith, Egbert Smyth, Newman Smyth, Lewis F. Stearns, David Swing, William J. Tucker. A name that I now think should be added to this list is that of Alexander V. G. Allen.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMPARATIVE BIOGRAPHICAL DATA FOR LIBERAL AND CONSERVATIVE PROTESTANT MINISTERS PROMINENT 1875–1915

Test or Control Group	(A) Leading Liberals (33)		(B) *DAB* Liberals (93)		(C) Non-*DAB* Liberals (30)		(D) All Liberals (156)		(E) Conservatives (100)		(F) Social Gospel Leaders (39)	
Regional Origin	New England	39%	New England	30%	New England	13%	New England	29%	New England	26%	New England	21%
	Mid-Atlantic	33	Mid-Atlantic	33	Mid-Atlantic	27	Mid-Atlantic	33	Mid-Atlantic	37	Mid-Atlantic	44
	Midwest	18	Midwest	25	Midwest	27	Midwest	24	Midwest	11	Midwest	28
	South	0	South	4	South	17	South	6	South	21	South	0
	Foreign	10	Foreign	8	Foreign	17	Foreign	10	Foreign	5	Foreign	7
Urban, Small Town, or Rural	Urban	19%	Urban	22%	Urban	29%	Urban	22%	Urban	18%	Urban	29%
	Small Town	50	Small Town	57	Small Town	50	Small Town	54	Small Town	47	Small Town	53
	Rural	31	Rural	22	Rural	21	Rural	23	Rural	35	Rural	18
			(75 reporting)		(19 reporting)		(94 reporting)		(67 reporting)		(29 reporting)	
Family Economic Standing	Poor	13%	Poor	17%	Poor	11%	Poor	16%	Poor	25%	Poor	21%
	Middle Income	81	Middle Income	74	Middle Income	73	Middle Income	73	Middle Income	50	Middle Income	76
	Wealthy	7	Wealthy	9	Wealthy	16	Wealthy	11	Wealthy	25	Wealthy	3
Father's Occupation	(29 reporting)		(74 reporting)		(18 reporting)		(121 reporting)		(71 reporting)		(28 reporting)	
	Professional	52%	Professional	53%	Professional	61%	Professional	53%	Professional	42%	Professional	57%
	Ministry	28%	Ministry	42%	Ministry	44%	Ministry	39%	Ministry	36%	Ministry	47%
	Education	24	Education	3	Education	0	Education	7	Education	1	Education	10
	Law	0	Law	6	Law	0	Law	3	Law	1	Law	0
	Medicine	0	Medicine	0	Medicine	11	Medicine	2	Medicine	0	Medicine	0
	Other	0	Other	3	Other	6	Other	2	Other	4	Other	0
	Business	24	Business	19	Business	17	Business	20	Business	25	Business	14
	Farming	21	Farming	18	Farming	22	Farming	19	Farming	17	Farming	21
	Industrial Workers	0	Industrial Workers	3	Industrial Workers	0	Industrial Workers	2	Industrial Workers	3	Industrial Workers	0
	Aristocrats	0	Aristocrats	4	Aristocrats	0	Aristocrats	2	Aristocrats	13	Aristocrats	0
	Other	3	Other	4	Other	0	Other	4	Other	0	Other	7
Education	Attended College	100%	Attended College	99%	Attended College	90%	Attended College	97%	Attended College	89%	Attended College	97%
	Attended Seminary or Equivalent	94	Attended Seminary or Equivalent	73	Attended Seminary or Equivalent	80	Attended Seminary or Equivalent	79	Attended Seminary or Equivalent	79	Attended Seminary or Equivalent	77
	Other Graduate Work	67	Other Graduate Work	35	Other Graduate Work	57	Other Graduate Work	46	Other Graduate Work	14	Other Graduate Work	33
Undergraduate Education, Regions	New England Colleges	52%	New England Colleges	38%	New England Colleges	34%	New England Colleges	37%	New England Colleges	38%	New England Colleges	36%
	Mid-Atlantic	9	Mid-Atlantic	20	Mid-Atlantic	19	Mid-Atlantic	21	Mid-Atlantic	35	Mid-Atlantic	14
	Upper New York	9	Upper New York	7	Upper New York	3	Upper New York	6	Upper New York	3	Upper New York	8
	Midwest	21	Midwest	28	Midwest	30	Midwest	29	Midwest	6	Midwest	33
	South	3	South	5	South	8	South	4	South	14	South	3
	West	0	West	0	West	3	West	1	West	0	West	0
	Foreign	6	Foreign	2	Foreign	3	Foreign	2	Foreign	5	Foreign	6
Seminary	New England	57%	New England	46%	New England	42%	New England	45%	New England	27%	New England	40%
	Mid-Atlantic	17	Mid-Atlantic	31	Mid-Atlantic	25	Mid-Atlantic	30	Mid-Atlantic	41	Mid-Atlantic	20

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

	Upper New York	10	Upper New York	4	Upper New York	8	Upper New York	5	Upper New York	6	Upper New York	7
	Midwest	10	Midwest	15	Midwest	17	Midwest	15	Midwest	9	Midwest	23
	South	3	South	4	South	0	South	5	South	11	South	3
	West	3	West	0	West	8	West	1	West	0	West	0
	Foreign	0	Foreign	0	Foreign	0	Foreign	0	Foreign	6	Foreign	7
Seminary Attended	Andover	20%	Andover	10%	Yale	17%	Yale	13%	Andover	13%	Andover	7%
	Union	17	Yale	10	Boston	13	Andover	10	General	8	Bexley Hall	7
	Yale	17	Boston	8	Union	13	Boston	9	Princeton	8	Boston	7
	Bangor	7	Union	8	General	4	General	5	Union	5	General	7
	Boston	7	General	7	Rochester	4	Rochester	5	Yale	5	Rochester	7
	Rochester	7	Bangor	4	Other	50	Bangor	4	Concordia	4	Union	7
	Newton	3	Episcopal-Theological School	4			Newton	3	Gettysburg	4	Yale	7
	Other	23	Hartford	4			Other	41	Newton	4	Other	53
			Newton	4					Rochester	4		
			Rochester	4					Other	47		
			Other	37								
Denomination	Congregational	55%	Congregational	32%	Congregational	20%	Congregational	34%	Congregational	12%	Congregational	18%
	Baptist	21	Baptist	12	Baptist	13	Baptist	14	Baptist	17	Baptist	16
	Methodist	9	Methodist	13	Methodist	27	Methodist	15	Methodist	15	Methodist	18
	Episcopal	6	Episcopal	30	Episcopal	33	Episcopal	26	Episcopal	16	Episcopal	37
	Presbyterian	6	Presbyterian	10	Presbyterian	4	Presbyterian	8	Presbyterian	21	Presbyterian	5
	Disciples	3	Disciples	1	Disciples	3	Disciples	2	Disciples	2	Disciples	0
	Lutheran	0	Lutheran	2	Lutheran	0	Lutheran	1	Lutheran	13	Lutheran	3
	German Reformed	0	German Reformed	0	German Reformed	0	German Reformed	0	German Reformed	3	German Reformed	0
	Dutch Reformed	0	Dutch Reformed	0	Dutch Reformed	0	Dutch Reformed	0	Dutch Reformed	2	Dutch Reformed	0
	Evangelical	0	Evangelical	0	Evangelical	0	Evangelical	0	Evangelical	0	Evangelical	3
Primary Occupation	Academicians	76%	Academicians	38%	Academicians	50%	Academicians	49%	Academicians	47%	Academicians	23%
	Professors	55%	Professors	30%	Professors	43%	Professors	38%	Professors	29%	Professors	21%
	Administrators	21	Administrators	8	Administrators	7	Administrators	11	Administrators	18	Administrators	3
	Pastors	21	Pastors	25	Pastors	17	Pastors	22	Pastors	23	Pastors	38
	Ecclesiastical Government	0	Ecclesiastical Government	11	Ecclesiastical Government	17	Ecclesiastical Government	10	Ecclesiastical Government	18	Ecclesiastical Goverment	21
	Journalists	3	Journalists	9	Journalists	13	Journalists	8	Journalists	9	Journalists	5
	Executives of Reform Organizations	0	Executives of Reform Organizations	5	Executives of Reform Organizations	3	Executives of Reform Organizations	4	Executives of Reform Organizations	0	Executives of Reform Organizations	13
	Other	0	Other	12	Other	0	Other	7	Other	3	Other	0
Location of Parish or Work	New England	39%	New England	28%	New England	44%	New England	33%	New England	18%	New England	26%
	Mid-Atlantic	27	Mid-Atlantic	38	Mid-Atlantic	26	Mid-Atlantic	33	Mid-Atlantic	42	Mid-Atlantic	41
	Midwest	30	Midwest	28	Midwest	19	Midwest	26	Midwest	13	Midwest	28
	South	0	South	3	South	11	South	4	South	21	South	0
	West	4	West	3	West	0	West	3	West	6	West	5
Nature of Parish or Surroundings	Urban	68%	Urban	71%	Urban	48%	Urban	67%	Urban	57%	Urban	82%
	Small Town	32	Small Town	29	Small Town	52	Small Town	33	Small Town	35	Small Town	18
	Rural	0	Rural	0	Rural	0	Rural	0	Rural	8	Rural	0

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Unitarianism, had advanced beyond the issues of the so-called New Theology, and in others, such as Mormonism, were so individual as to demand separate consideration.

A final qualification for inclusion was explicit commitment for or against that movement in Protestantism known initially as the New Theology and later as Protestant Liberalism. This principle of selection by no means meant that we were dealing only with men of strongly polemical temper; but it did mean that we excused ourselves from evaluating some 150 Protestant leaders of this era (we omitted that many from the *DAB* alone) who so managed to remain at the eye of the storm that their biographers have rated them as neutral. It would be intriguing to investigate the social sources of theological nonalignment, but we did not undertake that in the present study.

The *Dictionary of American Biography*, our major source for the larger test groups, appeared between 1928 and 1936, its supplements in 1944 and 1958. We were wary about possible biases toward liberalism, perhaps more in editorial policy than in biographies, in the original volumes and about biases toward neo-orthodoxy in the later ones. Many of the authors, judging from their own biographies, were in transit; really pinning them down, while certainly an interesting project, would have to be a separate one. Fortunately, most of the basic twelve questions relate to matters, such as education or family economic status, not especially susceptible to subjective treatment. We nonetheless kept the three groups of liberals (columns A, B, and C) separated in order that comparisons could be made between those ninety-three liberal biographies that are drawn solely from the *DAB* and those sixty-three that are not.

Percentage figures within each of the summaries in the chart have been rounded to the nearest whole number; totals therefore are frequently just over or just shy of 100 per cent. In those cases where samples are not either complete or virtually complete, the number reporting has been indicated.

A number of further questions were put to the biographies of the thirty-three front-rank liberal leaders. The resulting test groups in some cases are small, either because the answers cannot be found in published biographical materials or because only part of the group flourished at the time of the event in question.

(1) Conversion experience: (30 reporting) 7 per cent had a sudden and emotional conversion; 27 per cent, some emotional elements prominent in decision; 67 per cent, no identifiable conversion experience.

(2) Primary influence toward religious liberalism: (33 reporting) 9 per cent, clearly liberal family background; 15 per cent, sharp reaction against childhood faith; 24 per cent, gradual change through studies; 52 per cent, liberal elements in orthodox but nonrepressive background.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(3) Relation to Social Gospel: (33 reporting) 9 per cent, more important as social than as theological liberals; 15 per cent, equally important as social liberals; 39 per cent, secondarily Social Gospel leaders; 36 per cent, opposed or silent.

(4) Party adherent?: (13 reporting) 46 per cent, No; 31 per cent, Yes; 23 per cent, moderate party loyalty.

(5) Voting pattern: (13 reporting) 23 per cent, Republican; 46 per cent, Progressive Republican; 15 per cent, Democratic; 15 per cent, Socialist.

(6) Position on slavery: (all 8 who were age twenty or older in 1860 reporting) 63 per cent, abolitionist; 37 per cent, Free-Soil or moderate.

(7) Position on Reconstruction: (6 of the 12 who were age twenty by 1865 reporting) 33 per cent, radical reconstructionist; 67 per cent, moderate.

(8) Position on Negro rights: (11 reporting) 46 per cent took advanced positions; 46 per cent, moderate; 8 per cent, conservative.

(9) Attitude toward labor movement: (26 reporting) 58 per cent, highly sympathetic; 31 per cent, moderate; 13 per cent, unsympathetic or opposed.

(10) Attitude toward business: (27 reporting) 48 per cent, highly critical; 37 per cent, sympathetic but critical; 15 per cent, uncritically favorable.

(11) Attitude toward imperialism: (15 reporting) 33 per cent were sometime apologists for imperialism; 67 per cent, anti-imperialist.

(12) Position on American participation in World War I: (18 of the 25 living in 1917 reporting) 39 per cent, strong supporters; 50 per cent, reluctant followers of the Wilsonian position; 11 per cent, opponents.

When the same group of thirty-three was divided into those born before 1855 and those born 1855 or after, rather predictable differences appeared between the generations. The younger men were more Western and Midwestern in origins and in the location of their lifetime work. They were more urban, more highly educated, less Congregationalist and more Baptist, and more centered professionally in educational institutions. The younger men were more committed to the Social Gospel. A political shift appears in the direction of the Democratic and Socialist parties, and attitudes toward labor and business show a leftward movement. Willingness to support American participation in World War I correlates positively with advanced age. The only issue on which the older part of this group appears the more liberal is that of Negro rights. The older generation is weighted with men like Beecher and Brooks who were Black Republicans in immediate post-Civil War years; the younger contains a number of men who, though not reactionary, shared too much of the Progressive racism and condescension to be called advanced even in the 1890s.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Zosimus, The First Historian of Rome's Fall

WALTER GOFFART

The organizers of a symposium held a few years ago were not wrong to call the fall of the Roman Empire "Gibbon's problem."[1] Anyone with the slightest interest in Rome's fall is acquainted with at least the title of Gibbon's monumental *History* and instinctively associates Gibbon with the period he studied. Some come close to believing that Gibbon exhausted the subject.[2] No one, however, pretends that he originated it; his greatness lies in the scale and comprehensiveness of his treatment and in the style of his expression. The stream of intellectual development leading to his work has been traced back to the Italian humanists, to Petrarch and the *Decades historiarum* of Flavio Biondo.[3] But such an exercise only uncovers Gibbon's antecedents. The question asked here is, rather, who was first to write the history of the Roman Empire in the way Gibbon did, that is, as a completed tale of decline and disintegration? Though not unanswered, this question has attracted little attention.

The historian who fills this role is a Byzantine of disputed date, the retired treasury advocate Zosimus, author of a *New* or *Recent History* whose detailed portions extend from the third century A.D. to the year 410. As Ranke said: "Zosimus is certainly the first author who represented the history of a great epoch from such a standpoint that the active and dominant themes are follies and crimes; he repudiates Christianity and the dissipation of the resources of the state, together with the cause for this [dissipation of resources], namely the connection [of the Empire] with the barbarians. . . ."[4] Zosimus deserves our attention for being the first to do what Gibbon later did with unparalleled distinction. He was not simply a pessimist, writing in tones of dark foreboding in the manner of Sallust, Tacitus, and Ammianus; nor did he intend, like Orosius, to produce a catalogue of disasters and

[1] Lynn White, Jr., ed., *The Transformation of the Roman World: Gibbon's Problem after Two Centuries* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1966).

[2] Compare C. T. Wood, review of *Memoirs of My Life*, by Edward Gibbon, *Edward Gibbon the Historian*, by J. W. Swain, and *Transformation*, ed. White, in *History and Theory*, 7 (1968): 145–46.

[3] Christopher Dawson, "Edward Gibbon," *British Academy, Proceedings*, 20 (1934): 162–74; Arnaldo Momigliano, "Gibbon's Contribution to Historical Method," in *Studies in Historiography* (New York, 1966), 40–55; T. E. Mommsen, "Petrarch's Conception of the 'Dark Ages,'" *Speculum*, 17 (1942): 226–42.

[4] Leopold von Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, vol. 4, pt. 2 (Leipzig, 1883), 265–66.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

miseries. His purpose was unique and original. From a perspective that we might take to be *in medias res,* Zosimus deliberately related the history of the Roman Empire as a tale of decline and fall: "For just as Polybius narrated how the Romans acquired their sovereignty within a brief period of time, so I am going to tell how they lost it through their own blind folly within no long period of time" (1. 57. 1).[5] Though he lived in a state that called itself the Roman Empire, Zosimus in his own mind already stood where Poggio, Gibbon, and we ourselves stand: in the age following the fall of the world empire of Rome.[6]

Gibbon would not have been flattered to be placed in his company. Zosimus is hardly a historian of the first rank. Gibbon called him "a Greek rhetorician" whom the modern historian is "reduced to cherish" after the admirable narrative of Ammianus Marcellinus comes to an end. From footnote to footnote, he qualifies Zosimus as a servile Greek, unworthy of esteem and trust, neither a soldier nor a politician, prejudiced, partial, malicious, ignorant (three times), credulous, indecently bigoted, poor in judgment, a disingenuous liar, almost incredible in his crude simplicity.[7] His documentary value stems only from our lacking an alternative; after his account stops, one simply has to do without a comparable narrative source, with the result that "we must take our leave of [Zosimus] with some regret."[8] The authoritative editor, Ludwig Mendelssohn, expressed the same judgment in less colorful but more circumstantial terms:

> The more familiar one becomes with Zosimus, the more one learns to distrust him. He confuses times, he is ignorant of places, he joins together disconnected subjects and dissociates connected ones; while he goes on at length with fables and miracles, he either omits or glosses over the main subject; he relates the same story twice in a slightly different way. In sum, one passage or the other [of the *Recent History*] may serve to illustrate every vice that dishonors the historian.[9]

Such verdicts are unlikely to be reversed. Zosimus is not to be compared with Gibbon as a practitioner of the historian's craft.[10]

[5] Zosimus is quoted from the translation of J. J. Buchanan and H. T. Davis, *Zosimus: Historia Nova. The Decline of Rome* (hereafter Buchanan-Davis) (San Antonio, 1967), 34. The Latin version of Zosimus' title, as it appears in the heading of the *Recent History,* is *comes et exadvocatus fisci.*

[6] For Poggio, see Dawson, "Edward Gibbon," 164; Edward Gibbon, *Autobiography,* ed. D. A. Saunders (New York, 1961), 154.

[7] Edward Gibbon, *A History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* ed. J. B. Bury (London, 1896–1900), 3: 33 n.92, 116 n.100, 98 n.71, 264 n.73; 2: 238 n.85, 199 n.199; 3: 137 n.12, 168 n.83; 2: 289, 507 n.79, 511 n.91; 3: 109 n.92, 321 n.101, 207 n.71, 129 n.132; 2: 310 n.69; 3: 237 n.58.

[8] *Ibid.,* 3: 321 n.101.

[9] *Zosimi Historia nova,* ed. Ludwig Mendelssohn (Leipzig, 1887), xlviii. The inferiority of Zosimus by comparison with other narrators of the same events is the continual theme of C. Höfler, "Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der alten Geschichte, VII: Kritische Bemerkungen über Zosimos und den Grad seiner Glaubwurdigkeit," *Akademie der Wissenschaften (zu Wien), Sitzungsberichte,* Philol.-hist. Klasse, 95 (1879): 521–65.

[10] On the other hand, historians of Greek literature speak kindly of him as a stylist: G. J. Vossius, *De historicis Graecis libri IV* (ed. altera; Leiden, 1651), 261; Rudolf Nicolai, *Grieschische*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nevertheless it is appropriate to link the indecently bigoted Greek rhetorician with the English giant of late Roman studies, for Zosimus inaugurated the genre of Roman history that Gibbon made illustrious. Like Gibbon and any number of lesser practitioners of the genre, he presupposed that the events openly tell the tale of decline and fall. There is no mystery. One need only look at certain facts, for they are such self-evident violations of religious, political, and economic wisdom that they explain the ensuing collapse. As was seen and illustrated by the eighteenth-century commentator John-Frederick Reitemeier, Zosimus wrote an *histoire raisonnée* whose interpretation closely resembles that of modern authors.[11] By compiling his various statements, as Reitemeier did with great skill, one may assemble a comprehensive list of causes for Rome's fall that is just as good or bad as the list offered by any other historian. When measured by this standard, the inaugurator of the genre stands remarkably level with its greatest practitioner.

Once the history of the Roman Empire is written as a story of decline, the range of variation becomes quite narrow. It is extraordinary to discover how closely the derided Zosimus agrees with his unwitting modern emulators over the "causes" of decline. To be sure, we do not find Walbank's thesis that "the real cause" consisted in "the premises upon which classical civilization arose," or Toynbee's thesis that there was no recovery from the Peloponnesian War, or Beloch's thesis that decline began with the Roman conquest of Greece.[12] Avoiding such extravagance, Zosimus stands at the vital center; decline for him begins almost where it would begin for Gibbon: at the passage from the free commonwealth of Rome to the rule of an emperor.[13] The

Literaturgeschichte, vol. 3 (2d ed.; Magdeburg, 1878), 39; Alfred and Maurice Croiset, *Histoire de la littérature grecque* (Paris, 1899), 5: 1016; F. A. Wright, *History of Later Greek Literature* (London, 1932), 380; Albin Leski, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* (2d ed.; Bern-Munich, 1963), 908; Salvatore Impellizzeri, *La letteratura bizantina da Costantino agli iconoclasti* (Bari, 1965), 151.

[11] "Disquisitio in Zosimo, eiusque fidem," in *Zosimi Historiae*, ed. J. F. Reitemeier (Leipzig, 1784), xxi–xxviii; reprinted in Immanuel Bekker, ed., *Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae* (Bonn, 1837), xxviii–xxxiii.

[12] F. W. Walbank, *The Decline of the Roman Empire in the West* (New York, 1953), 69. The theory derives from the ideas of Max Weber. A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, vol. 4 (London, 1939), 56–62. Zosimus 1. 3 comes close to voicing this view. Compare J. F. Leddy, "Toynbee and the History of Rome," *The Phoenix*, 11 (1957): 139–52. Julius Beloch, "Der Verfall der antiken Kultur," *Historische Zeitschrift*, 84 (1900): 1–38.

[13] Zosimus 1. 5. 2–4. Gibbon's only venture in this direction is a brief allusion: "The victorious legions, who, in distant wars, acquired the vices of strangers and mercenaries, first oppressed the freedom of the republic . . ." (Gibbon, *Decline*, 4: 161–62). This follows upon the comment that "we should rather be surprised that [the Roman Empire] had subsisted so long." But, in old age, Gibbon had second thoughts about where his narrative should have begun; he regretted not having begun earlier. (See Bury's introduction, 1: xxxv). Of course, part of Gibbon's originality by comparison with earlier authors was his admiration of the imperial period; see, for example, the account of his dinner-table debate with a champion of the Republic. Gibbon, *Autobiography*, 178–79. Em. Condurachi ("Les idées politiques de Zosime," *Revista clasica*, 13–14 [1940–41]: 119, 125) singles out the "republicanism" of Zosimus as especially worthy of attention. But it is by no means unique. Compare Sidonius *Carm.* 7. 100–04 ("Panegyric of Avitus"), in which Rome's *regnum* is mentioned as having been torn to shreds ever since all sovereignty passed into the hands of the *princeps*. Along the same lines, see 440 *NTheod* 7. 3, and Salvian *De gubernatione Dei* 1. 11, where the old Romans are

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rest is just as familiar; Zosimus supplies material to suit all modern interpretive preferences. Fanciers of economic causes encounter the spoliation of great fortunes and the imposition by Constantine and Theodosius of new and vexatious tributes on every class, together with unfair and merciless collection.[14] Those tending toward administrative causes are offered the proliferation of praetorian prefects, generals, and their subordinates.[15] Military causes are represented by the relaxation of discipline, cantonment in cities, and the exclusion of pagans from the ranks.[16] The ferocity of Constantine toward his family, the licentious self-indulgence of Theodosius, and the nullity of Arcadius and Honorius constitute suitable personal failings.[17] Partisans of external causes will specially note Zosimus' references to the barbarians, whom imperial indulgence allowed to flood the army and to espy the languishing corpse of the empire they were supposed to defend.[18] Finally, there are religious causes in the form of Christian monks whose greed impoverished everyone in the name of poverty and, most of all, the abandonment of the ancient divinities and rites that had protected the Roman state.[19] Reitemeier discerned such a close correspondence between Zosimus and the moderns that he called on the ancient witness to correct his emulators. Zosimus, he pointed out, did not criticize Constantine for dissolving the praetorian guard; nor did he confirm "what is commonly believed [at present] . . . namely that the precepts of Christian religion had the effect of debilitating the martial spirit."[20] Fourteen centuries of time, five centuries of research, have hardly altered the pattern of decline offered by Zosimus; only the mix is somewhat different, the data somewhat more ac-

presented as examples of men preferring public to private advantage. Berthold Rubin (*Das Zeitalter Justinians* [Berlin, 1960], 1: 165) is surprised that in 537 *Novel.* 62, *praefatio,* Justinian recalls "without misgivings" the Republican greatness of the Senate.

[14] Zosimus 2. 38; 4. 28–29, 32. 2–3, 40. 7–8, 59. 2–3; 5. 1, 12. The more important modern economic interpretations are discussed by Santo Mazzarino, *The End of the Ancient World,* tr. George Holmes (New York, 1966), 136–59.

[15] Zosimus 2. 32–33; 4. 27. Compare G. R. Monks, "The Administration of the Privy Purse: An Inquiry into Official Corruption and the Fall of the Roman Empire," *Speculum,* 32 (1957): 748–79.

[16] Zosimus 2. 33–34; 4. 23. 1–2, 27. 2–3; 5. 46. 3–4. Compare Ramsay MacMullen, *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963).

[17] Zosimus 2. 29, 39; 4. 28, 33, 43. 2, 44. 1, 50; 5. 1. 1–3, 24. Compare Jakob Burckhardt, *The Age of Constantine the Great,* tr. Moses Hadas (London, 1949), 260–333, *passim,* on Constantine, and André Piganiol, *L'Empire chrétien* (Paris, 1947), 208–21, 248–53, on Theodosius. The personal element was stressed in the widely circulated works of Victor Duruy (*Histoire romaine* [Paris, 1848; 21st ed., Paris, 1909]; *Histoire des Romains* [new ed.; Paris, 1877–85]). Duruy is quoted and energetically refuted by Ferdinand Lot, *La fin du monde antique et le début du moyen âge* (rev. ed.; Paris, 1951), 197–98.

[18] Zosimus 4. 26, 30, 31, 34. 1–5, 39. 4–5, 40, 56; compare the conclusions of Piganiol, *L'Empire chrétien;* A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602* (Oxford, 1964), 1027–31; and J. J. Saunders, "The Debate on the Fall of Rome," *History,* 48 (1963): 14–17.

[19] Zosimus 5. 23. 4–5; 2. 7, 29; 4. 18, 33. 4, 37. 3, 59; 5. 5. 8–5. 6. 2. For a summation of the modern form of the argument, see A. Momigliano, "Introduction. Christianity and the Decline of the Roman Empire," in *Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (Oxford, 1963), 6–16.

[20] "Disquisitio in Zosimo," xxiii–xxiv.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

curate. The one noteworthy addition is a negative portrayal of the Roman third century, something that Zosimus could not quite see.[21]

The fundamental cause invoked by Zosimus—the abandonment of the ancient gods—is what draws him closest to almost every later author who has practiced his genre of Roman imperial history. Was Zosimus personally a devotee of the pagan gods? The Church historian Evagrius thought so, and so has everyone else. Probably he was, but his paganism had much in common with dourly austere Christianity.[22] His opinions proceeded not from emotional attachment to the gods but from principle: piety; reverence for ancient, hallowed things; a conservatism that is blind to its inconsistencies, like that of a modern atheist who reveres the age when everyone attended church. Austere philosophic paganism, "the religion of culture," was a common trait among fourth-century defenders of the old gods; but they still had some taste and feeling for temples, rituals, festivals, and what went with them. These emotional ties are what made paganism still seem a dangerous menace to such a bishop as St. Augustine, who daily combatted the ingrained habits of his flock.[23] Zosimus was beyond all this. He did not miss the ancient gods.

[21] Compare W. E. Kaegi, Jr., *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome* (Princeton, 1968), 108–10. There is no trace in Zosimus' first book of the contrast—stressed by modern historians—between the periods before and after the accession of Commodus (180) or the death of Severus Alexander (235). For a categorical statement of this contrast in a popular work, see Denys Hay, *The Medieval Centuries* (London, 1964), 4: "In fact the Romans of the third century deluded themselves. The outward structure of their society was to some extent preserved, its inward spirit was already dead." World War I may have led modern historians to take a particularly negative view of the third century. See Guglielmo Ferrero, *The Ruin of Ancient Civilization and the Triumph of Christianity*, tr. E. Whitehead (New York, 1921). In Max Cary's widely used *History of Rome* (London, 1935) and Michael Rostovtzeff's *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1926), the "end of Rome" appears to take place in the third century. For a current discussion, see Joseph Vogt, *The Decline of Rome*, tr. Janet Sondheimer (London, 1967), 11–86; but compare Michael Grant, *The Climax of Rome* (London, 1968), where an original attempt is made to revise the traditional negative interpretation.

[22] Evagrius qualified Zosimus as "this follower of foul Hellenism" (*Historia ecclesiastica* 3. 40, tr. anon., in *A History of the Church by Theodoret of Cyrus and Evagrius* [London, 1854], 379). Averil Cameron, "Christianity and Tradition in the Historiography of the Late Empire," *Classical Quarterly*, n.s. 14 (1964): 316–28, "The 'Scepticism' of Procopius," *Historia*, 15 (1966): 466–82, and *Agathias* (Oxford, 1970), 89–111. Mrs. Cameron warns of the extent to which literary convention, forcing secular historians to treat Christianity remotely if at all, has led to misinterpretation of the religious beliefs of certain authors. Two apparent inadvertences, which sound odd in a professed pagan, are indicative that Zosimus breathed the atmosphere of a thoroughly Christian world (Zosimus 5. 18. 7 and 19. 5). It would be most unsuitable to regard these lines as Christian interpolations. Moreover, Zosimus' attitude toward the mime would have done honor to a bishop; see Augustine *De civit. dei* 1. 30–32, 2. 8, 4. 26, and below, nn. 53–55. Zosimus expressed no other interest in pagan rituals than that they should have been eternally performed. But the conclusion of Evagrius can scarcely be doubted. The special reverence of Zosimus for Athens (4. 18, 5. 5. 8–5. 6. 2) suggests a relationship between him and the intransigent Neoplatonism taught in that city; see Cameron, *Agathias*, 102.

[23] Joseph Bidez (*La Vie de l'empereur Julien* [Paris, 1930], 69) writes that Neoplatonism "croyait réhabiliter le passé: en réalité, cherchant à le moderniser, elle contribuait à l'abolir . . . En fait, cette philosophie antichrétienne fut plus pareille à la foi nouvelle qu'elle attaquait, qu'à la religiosité ancienne qu'elle défendait." For "the religion of culture," see H.-I. Marrou, "Synesius of Cyrene and Alexandrinian Neoplatonism," in *Conflict*, 143. But fourth-century paganism was not only this; see Bidez, *La Vie*, 57–62, 67–89; Herbert Bloch, "The Pagan Revival in the West at the End of the Fourth Century," in *Conflict*, 202–06 (on Roman aristocrats); Marrou, "Synesius," 143–45; and P. R. Foerster and Carl Münscher, "Libanios," in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. 12 (Stuttgart, 1925), cols. 2535–37. On Augustine and paganism,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Instead, he castigated the innovation that consisted in abandoning the gods. Their abandonment summed up to him the multitude of innovations—from the establishment of the Empire by Augustus to Theodosius' creation of five *magistri militum*—that were responsible for bringing about the desolation he saw about him. Far from being a pagan votary, Zosimus invoked the worship of the gods chiefly as a symbol of the secret of empire. Empire, like religion, is a ritual with unchanging forms; religious repetition of the ritual assures eternity to the performers or, tautologically, to the performance. Faithlessly, the Romans departed from ritual; they innovated, and disaster ensued. This is the message of Zosimus.[24] It is also the message of any number of modern historians whose explanations of Rome's fall have stressed how the Romans, in this instance and that, departed from older, wiser, better ways of doing things—metaphorically, from the worship of the ancient gods.[25]

Zosimus is gaining in prominence. He occupies a place of honor in Santo Mazzarino's historiographical study, *The End of the Ancient World,* which emphasizes the contribution made by his *Recent History* to the modern elaboration of the problem of Rome's fall; its praise of Julian and disparagement of Constantine inspired Johannes Löwenclav, in his *Apology for Zosimus,* to raise the possibility that the first Christian emperor might be represented otherwise than in a laudatory way.[26] Another recent event in Zosimus studies has been the translation of the *Recent History* into English—for the third time, to be sure, but with greater guarantees than before of technical competence.[27] Zosimus also holds the center of the stage in a monograph on *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome,* in which he is regarded as representing the climax in the historical apologetics of paganism against Christianity.[28]

see F. van der Meer, *Augustine the Bishop,* tr. Brian Battershaw and G. R. Lamb (London, 1961), 29–75.

[24] See Zosimus 2. 7. 1: "As long as the above was performed precisely . . . the Romans kept their Empire . . . but, the rites having been neglected . . . the Empire gradually ebbed . . ." (Buchanan-Davis, 53). In Zosimus 4. 36, Gratian's refusal of the high priesthood is given as cause for his disastrous end. See also 4. 59. 3: "as other things which had been handed down from ancestral times lay neglected, the Empire of the Romans was gradually diminished . . ." (Buchanan-Davis, 192).

[25] Typical parallels are the good constitution of the Principate contrasted to the bad Dominate, the good laissez-faire economics of the early Empire contrasted to the bad *dirigisme* of the later Empire. For a recent example, see Ramsay MacMullen (*Enemies of the Roman Order* [Cambridge, Mass., 1966], viii–ix): "In the end, the dichotomy on which this book rests breaks down. There was little 'Roman' left in the Roman empire. Rather, the 'un-Roman' elements had come to the fore. . . ." Zosimus also rested his history on a dichotomy.

[26] Mazzarino, *End of the Ancient World,* 63–65, 92–99. Mazzarino is more interested in Löwenclav than in Zosimus, whom he calls an obstinate defender of "old forgotten things" and "not a really great historian" (p. 65).

[27] Buchanan and Davis were unaware of the 1814 translation; even that of 1684 is mentioned only on the dust jacket. An improved translation of Zosimus with a thorough commentary, as yet unpublished, has been prepared by Ronald T. Ridley of the University of Melbourne, Australia; an extensive article by Mr. Ridley on "Zosimus the Historian," based on his commentary, is forthcoming in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift.* I am much obliged to Mr. Ridley for allowing me to consult his translation and for informing me of his work.

[28] Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome,* 99–145. Other recent work on Zosimus includes D. C. Scavone, "Zosimus and His Historical Models," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies,* 11 (1970): 57–67, and the study by Alan Cameron cited below, n.38.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Welcome as these publications are, they hardly make up for the decades in which Zosimus has been neglected. He is scarcely known except to the experts and seldom mentioned by them except in technical discussions of fourth-century history.[29] To substitute "Zosimus' problem" for "Gibbon's" would evoke blank stares. He presents us with the odd case of an author about whom research today is backward by comparison with its state at the beginning of the century. The value and interest of Zosimus for the history of his time and for the general problem of Rome's fall deserve to be more adequately grasped.

We know nothing more of Zosimus than the official rank he bears in the title of the *Recent History* and the pagan sympathies he displays in its pages. The work itself, which descends from a unique manuscript,[30] was apparently interrupted by his death. Book 6 ends abruptly after a few pages, carrying the story only to the eve of the sack of Rome by Alaric, although the author repeatedly says he will continue to his own time. The premature break might have been deliberate; the end point is a significant moment for a sensitive man to drop his pen, too overcome by what he is about to relate to continue. But Zosimus does not tell us this, and his final book shows the rough edges that one associates with a first, unpolished draft. The hypothesis that he died while writing is highly probable.[31] It was once thought that Christian scribes or editors had tampered with his text, but the presence of many passages potentially offensive to Christians disproves such an idea.[32] That

[29] It is noteworthy that Zosimus goes wholly unnoticed in Franz Dölger, "Rom in der Gedankenwelt der Byzantiner," in *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Ettal, 1953), 70–115. The article was first published in 1937.

[30] For lists of MSS and editions, see Mendelssohn, *Zosimi Historia nova,* xix–xxvii; Gyula Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica,* vol. 1 (2d ed.; Berlin, 1958), 577; and J. J. M. Decroix, "Zosime," in *Biographie universelle,* vol. 55 (Paris, 1828), 470–73. Decroix gives editions only. Is there a Slavic translation of Zosimus? So one would think from reading the listing of the *codices slavici* in Bernard de Montfaucon's repertory of the Coislin collection, now in Paris (*Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum* [Paris, 1739], 2: 1042). Since a translation into Old Slavonic would probably derive from another Greek exemplar than that of the Vatican, with its lacunae, the existence of such a text is an exciting possibility. It seems, however, that Montfaucon made a mistake. The codex he lists has the same contents as the Greek MS now classified as Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Coislin 150 (see Robert Devreesse, *Le Fonds Coislin* [Paris, 1945], 136–37, vol. 2 of *Catalogue des mss. grecs*); no corresponding text exists among the Paris Slavonic MSS (letter of June 18, 1969, from Marcel Thomas, in response to my inquiry).

[31] Ernst Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire,* vol. 2 (Paris, 1949), 707; Mendelssohn (*Zosimi Historia nova,* 288 n. to line 21, vii–viii) stresses the careless assembling of the book and argues that it must have been written in a short time. Reitemeier (*Zosimi Historiae,* xxi) entertains the idea that the balance of book 6 was lost in transmission. That the *History* as known to Evagrius and Photius ended where ours does makes this highly unlikely.

[32] Photius *Bibliotheca,* cod. 98 (ed. René Henry, vol. 2 [Paris, 1960]), 65–66. Those who endorse a Christian revision include Henry, 66 n.2; Condurachi, "Idées politiques," 118 (citing Croiset, *Littérature grecque*); and Emilienne Demougeot, *De l'unité à la division de l'Empire romain* (Paris, 1951), 575. The error of Photius was to suppose that "new" in the title meant "new edition"; he was drawing a parallel with the *History* of Eunapius, on which see W. R. Chalmers ("The *nea ekdosis* of Eunapius' Histories," *Classical Quarterly,* n.s. 3 [1953]: 165–70), who argues that Eunapius personally issued a second edition and that no Christians expurgated his work.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the *History* escaped being the victim of Christian bigotry is less surprising than that the troubled circumstances of its composition allowed it to survive at all. Obviously, Zosimus had friends and an audience, who cared enough for him and what he wrote to publish his *Nachlass* in spite of the imperfect state in which he left it. That in itself is not uninteresting.

Zosimus depended closely on literary sources. The outstanding illustration is his treatment of Stilicho. While his first pages are fiercely hostile, the account of Stilicho's execution is followed by a thoroughly favorable judgment upon the man.[33] The explanation for the discrepancy is that Zosimus came to the end of the *History* of Eunapius and turned to that of Olympiodorus without doing anything to efface the glaring contrast in their respective views of Stilicho.[34] In assessing Zosimus, Photius went so far as to say that he did not write a history so much as a transcription of Eunapius, from whom he differed only in concision. Photius had the advantage we lack of knowing Eunapius in full, and, although his opinion is not scientific *Quellenforschung,* it attests to the impression made by the *Recent History* upon a reader of Eunapius: Photius felt he had seen it all already.[35] His appraisal should be a continuous warning against our ascribing particular views to Zosimus unless we have specific reasons to suppose they are his own. On the other hand, Zosimus is more assertive than Photius allows. He frequently steps out from behind his sources to draw attention to some deplorable thing or another, such as the closing of the temples in Oriens and Egypt: "What befell the Roman Empire as a result from that time until this will be shown subsequently, item by item, in my narrative of events" (4. 38. 1).[36] In such passages, we know whom we are dealing with. But even this is only a beginning to an analysis that must be painstakingly conducted by someone qualified to do so; Zosimus should be carefully disentangled from his sources.[37]

[33] The result is that Pierre Courcelle (*Histoire littéraire des grandes invasions germaniques* [Paris, 1948], 30 n.1 [on p. 217]) calls Zosimus a great admirer of Stilicho, whereas Wilhelm Christ, Wilhelm Schmid, and Otto Stählin (*Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* [Munich, 1924], 1038) assert that Zosimus hated him. Kaegi (*Byzantium and the Decline of Rome,* 119, 122, 127–28) also disregards the problem of sources.

[34] Stein, *Bas-Empire,* 2: 707, explains the contradiction and calls it the most flagrant weakness of the *Recent History,* an "unforgivable piece of negligence," unless one recalls that the work remained a draft rather than a finished edition.

[35] Photius *Bibliotheca,* cod. 98. Mendelssohn (*Zosimi Historia nova,* xiv)—followed by Buchanan-Davis, ix–x—deprecated the comment of Photius and stressed the use of other sources in addition to Eunapius. But B. Rappaport ("Hat Zosimus 1, c. 1–46 die Chronik des Dexippus benutzt," *Klio: Beiträge zur alten Geschichte,* 1 [1901]: 427–42) and W. R. Chalmers ("Eunapius, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Zosimus on Julian's Persian Expedition," *Classical Quarterly,* n.s. 10 [1960]: 155–56) suggest that Mendelssohn was hypercritical.

[36] Buchanan-Davis, 170. For a demonstration of more subtle originality in Zosimus vis-à-vis Olympiodorus, see Guilhem de Sainte-Croix, "Observations sur Zosime," *Académie des Inscriptions, Histoire,* 49 (1808): 497. The paper was delivered in 1792.

[37] J. Rosenstein, "Kritische Untersuchungen über das Verhältniss zwischen Olympiodor, Zosimus und Sozomenos," *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte,* 1 (1862): 165–204; F. Graebner, "Eine Zosimosquelle," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* 14 [1905]: 87–159 (so excessively subtle that he denies Zosimus' use of Eunapius); W. Haedicke, "Olympiodorus von Theben," in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie,* vol. 18, pt. 1 (Stuttgart, 1939), cols. 201–07; E. A. Thompson, "Olympiodorus of Thebes," *Classical Quarterly,* 38 (1944): 43–52; A. F. Norman, "Magnus in Ammianus, Eunapius, and Zosimus: New Evidence," *ibid.,* n.s. 7 (1957): 129–33; and L. Dillemann, "Ammien

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

When was the *Recent History* written? The casual researcher will get just about the right answer if he consults the repertory of Moravcsik or Stein's *Histoire du Bas-Empire*.[38] If he looks almost anywhere else, he will be misinformed. The new English translation offers the vague termini 450–503.[39] A special study of Zosimus suggests "toward the middle of the fifth century," and so does a repertory of Byzantine historians (1956).[40] The broader consensus is that Zosimus belongs to the second half of the fifth century. This approximation, which errs by a generation, is widely repeated and seems to meet with general approval.[41]

The confusion is of long standing. Gibbon assigned Zosimus to the generation following Ammianus, that is, to the reign of Theodosius II (408–50). Wittingly or not, he repeated the error of Evagrius (ca. 590), who supposed that Zosimus wrote immediately after the last events he recorded.[42] Evagrius could not know better, but Gibbon could, since Valesius and Tillemont, with whose works he was familiar, had already established that Zosimus lived long after 410.[43] The problem was complicated by the question, first raised by Valesius, whether the historian should be identified with one of the Zosimi listed in the *Souda*, s.v. "Zosimus of Gaza or Ascalon," the first of whom was put to death in 489, while the second lived under the emperor Anastasius (491–518).[44] Mendelssohn came close to a solution, which

Marcellin et les pays de l'Euphrate et du Tigre," *Syria*, 38 (1961): 87–158. See also studies cited above, n.34, and in Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 1: 578–79.

[38] Gyula Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 1: 577 (a different date was given in the 1st ed.; Budapest, 1942); Stein, *Bas-Empire*, 2: 707, 708 n.1. See also Piganiol, *L'Empire chrétien*, vii. My study went to press before I had seen Alan Cameron, "The Date of Zosimus' New History," *Philologus*, 113 (1969): 106–10. I endorse Cameron's results except as noted below in nn.49 and 53.

[39] Buchanan-Davis, viii–ix, following Mendelssohn, for whose view see also p. 421 below.

[40] Condurachi, "Idées politiques," 116 (citing Evagrius, as below, n.42); M. E. Colonna, *Gli storici bizantini dal IV al XV secolo*, vol. 1: *Storici profani* (Naples, [1956]), 142; and Glanville Downey, "The Perspective of the Early Church Historians," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, 6 (1965): 68. Harold Mattingly, in *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford, 1949), 968, dates the *Recent History* to the reign of Theodosius II (408–50), as do Napthali Lewis and Meyer Reinhold, *Roman Civilization. Sourcebook*, vol. 2: *The Empire* (New York, 1955), 475 n.116. The *History* was written in the late fourth or early fifth century, according to Léon Feugère, "Zosime," *Le Correspondant*, 36 (1855): 922–23; and Rubin, *Zeitalter Justinians*, 27, turns Zosimus into a contemporary of Theodosius I.

[41] Demougeot, *De l'unité à la division*, 575, states flatly "entre 450 et 480," citing no authority, but perhaps from Thomas Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders*, vol. 1 (2d ed.; Oxford, 1892), 234; the same by Gilbert Dagron, "L'empire romain d'Orient au IV^e^ siècle et les traditions politiques de l'hellénisme," *Travaux et mémoires*, 3 (1968): 76 n.244. Most other authors follow the termini 450–502 laid down by Mendelssohn.

[42] Evagrius 3. 41, in *History of the Church*, 380–81. Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, ed. Bury, 3: 207 n.71) says that Zosimus "reviles . . . even the father of his sovereign," i.e., Arcadius, who died in 408. Bury, 2: 538, corrects Gibbon's dating in line with Mendelssohn.

[43] Henri de Valois (Valesius), *Theodoreti, ep. Cyri, et Evagrii scholastici Historia ecclesiastica* (Amsterdam ed., 1695), "Annotationes," 96–97 (to p. 372 of the text); Le Nain de Tillemont, *Histoire des empereurs*, vol. 6 (Paris, 1738), 594–96. Tillemont improved on de Valois, whose reasoning was sharply criticized by Reitemeier, *Zosimi Historiae*, xvi–xvii.

[44] Mendelssohn, *Zosimi Historia nova*, xi–xii, inaccurately reproduced by Buchanan-Davis, viii. Colonna, *Storici bizantini*, 142, still considers the identification with Zosimus of Gaza very likely. Stein, *Bas-Empire*, 2: 708 n.1, endorsed Mendelssohn. Since our Zosimus lived later than Zeno, he cannot be Zosimus of Gaza (Tillemont did not altogether trust the report of his execution); the surviving work of Zosimus of Ascalon bears no resemblance to that of the historian.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

he saw as hinging upon two things: first, the passage in which Zosimus reports that Constantine imposed three unjust taxes, namely the *follis senatorius,* the praetorship, and the *auri lustralis collatio,* and mentions them as though they were no longer in existence (2. 38); secondly, the use of Zosimus by Eustatius of Epiphania, a historian of the early sixth century. Mendelssohn's understanding that the *History* of Eustatius was published in 502 made him shrink from the conclusion that Zosimus wrote only after the last of the three taxes was abolished. He contented himself with the rather broad termini 450 (abolition of the *follis* and the praetorship) and 502 (publication of Eustatius' *History*).[45] But this could hardly be mistaken for a final statement.

The solution was supplied shortly afterward by Rühl and Mommsen, who showed that the *terminus ante quem* of 502 did not apply. The *History* of Eustatius comes to an end in 502 but was not published in that year; its publication probably occurred in the reign of Justin I, that is, after 518. The plain implication of Zosimus 2. 38, which Mendelssohn had thought it impossible to accept, may then become the principal base line for dating the *Recent History.* Anastasius abolished the *auri lustralis collatio* in 498; Zosimus presupposes its abolition and, as Mommsen remarked, he does not allude to the event as though it were the latest news. As a result, the writing of the *History* almost certainly took place in the early sixth century, between 498 and 518.[46]

The limits may be narrowed further. Another contemporary touch in Zosimus suggests a relation with the disappointing Persian War of Anastasius (502–07). Like the earlier historians Eutropius, Ammianus, and Eunapius (the last of whom is almost certainly the direct source),[47] Zosimus paused at the peace of Jovian (363) to make some general observations:

> When I had reached this point in the history it occurred to me to revert to former times and to ascertain whether the Romans had ever consented to delivering over to the other side any acquisition of theirs, or, generally speaking, had permitted the other side to hold anything whatever of theirs, once it had come under their sovereignty. [Various incidents are related.] . . . [N]ot even then did [Valerian] grant the Persians freedom to appropriate these regions, for the loss of which the Emperor Julian's death alone sufficed. And, indeed, until this day the Roman Emperors have been unable to recover any of them, but have gradually lost even more peoples besides, some becoming autonomous, others

[45] Ludwig Mendelssohn ("De Zosimi aetate disputatio," *Rheinisches Museum,* 42 [1887]: 525–30) reprints the corresponding section (pp. v–xii) of the introduction to his edition.

[46] Franz Rühl, "Wan schrieb Zosimos?," *Rheinisches Museum,* 46 (1891): 146–47; Theodor Mommsen, "Zosimus," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* 12 (1903): 533 (unaware of Rühl's article). As Stein points out, the exact date of the abolition of the *collatio lustralis* was only established in 1904. *Bas-Empire,* 2: 708, n.1.

[47] Eutropius, *Breviarium* 10. 17. 1–2; Ammianus 25. 9. 9–11. The corresponding part of Eunapius is lost; on the latter as Zosimus' source, see Norman, "Magnus . . . New Evidence," and Chalmers, "Julian's Persian Expedition." It is curious that discussions on interdependence among the historians of Julian's Persian War never extend to this point. For a different view of the event, see Augustine, *De civit. dei* 5. 21, 29, and especially 4. 29, with its polemic against the pro-Julian, anti-Christian interpretation.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

surrendering to barbarians, while yet others [were] reduced to utter desolation. As our history progresses these matters will be pointed out in due course (3. 32. 1).[48]

Eunapius launched Zosimus into this gloomy (and inaccurate) meditation, but Zosimus himself brought it to a close with the characteristic promise to carry the story down to his own days. His assessment of contemporary conditions in the East may well have been colored by current events. The war that broke out with Persia in 502, after two generations of peace, began with a series of disasters, notably the loss of the city of Amida. The effects were intensified by the natural calamities—locusts, crop failure, famine, and pestilence—that had preceded its outbreak. In spite of costly preparations, the generals of Anastasius accomplished little more in the next years than to prevent a further deterioration of the situation.[49] It would not be surprising if Zosimus wrote in the midst of war, which recalled the peace of Jovian to other historians than himself.[50]

The contemporary touches in Zosimus' *History* are a valuable resource. In May 502 Anastasius abolished representations of the mine, regarded as a depraved spectacle.[51] The subject does not go unnoticed in the *Recent History,* for Zosimus identified paganism, that is, the traditional culture, with the utmost puritanism. The first step toward disaster for Rome, he tells us, was the passage from Republic to Empire. The reasons given for this judgment are chiefly that a single man, even if zealous, cannot look after everything, so that affairs are bound to deteriorate: "Indeed, that these results are the case experience of events has clearly shown in itself. These events began in Octavian's reign, when the pantomimes' dance was introduced for the first time . . . as well as other things which have been responsible for much mischief right up to the present" (1. 6. 1).[52] To us, the illustration is sur-

[48] Buchanan-Davis, 130–32.

[49] Joshua the Stylite *Chronicle* (ed. and tr. William Wright [Cambridge, 1882]), an admirable piece of history, is virtually a monograph on this war. Stein, *Bas-Empire,* 2: 92–101. Since Byzantine affairs took a turn for the better in 504 and the peace treaty was satisfactory, the war looks minor from a distance. But contemporaneously it caused profound discouragement. Compare P. J. Alexander, *The Oracle of Baalbek* (Washington, 1967), 111, and below, n.80. Admittedly, the passage quoted does not prove a chronological relation between the war and the writing of the *Recent History;* it allows only a conjecture. On the other hand, I disagree with Cameron, "Date of Zosimus' New History," 108, who infers from this passage that Zosimus wrote before the war. Zosimus' remarks seem entirely compatible with the conclusion that he wrote during the early, disastrous phase of the war, that is, up to 504.

[50] Joshua chs. 7–8 (ed. Wright), 7; John Lydus *De magistratibus populi Romani* 3. 52–53.

[51] Joshua ch. 46 (ed. Wright), 35–36. Also, *ibid.,* chs. 27, 30, 33, pp. 16, 20–21, 23, in which Joshua somberly notes the introduction at Edessa in 496 of a pagan festival with mimes. It is particularly interesting that in this matter, the pagan Zosimus shares the opinion of his Christian contemporary.

[52] Buchanan-Davis, 5. Rather than being referred to a theoretical "republicanism" (see above, n.13), Zosimus' radical doubts about the capacity of one man to fill so large an office as the emperorship should be set in the context of contemporary doubts about the administrative capacities of individual men. For example, the key measure in Justinian's reorganization of Egypt in 538–39 (*Edict.* 13) consisted in stripping the Augustal prefect of his authority over the whole Egyptian diocese and confining him to a narrower competence, "For the mind of one man cannot be equal to so many cares. . . ." Additional evidence of the same kind is available and deserves to be collected.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

prising, not to say laughable; but Zosimus brings home the point by twice associating Theodosius I, his chief villain, with "dancers totally depraved" (4. 33. 4, 50. 1) and ascribing Stilicho's inactivity to absorption with "ludicrous mimes" (5. 7. 2).[53] The mime was a live issue in this reign, and Zosimus felt bound to comment upon it. Its suppression came too late; the mischief had been done.

Zosimus is particularly striking in the ways he anticipates the treatise "On the Magistrates of the Roman State" by John Lydus, a much younger contemporary, whose literary activity falls late in the reign of Justinian.[54] Zosimus libels the first Christian emperor with the allegation that Constantine opened the way to the barbarians by withdrawing the troops from the frontiers and garrisoning them in cities (2. 34); Lydus, no pagan, tells a similar story in much more circumstantial terms.[55] The occasional glosses supplied by Zosimus to clarify the attributions or origins of various officials put us in mind of what Lydus would spin out at much greater length.[56] Like Zosimus, Lydus also thought that he could discern here and there where the mistakes had been made, when the rot had set in. A case in point was the abandonment of Latin. An oracle "delivered by Romulus" apparently said "that Fortune would desert the Romans when they forgot their native speech," and the prophecy was fulfilled when Cyrus of Egypt, who knew nothing but poetry, was elevated to the praetorian prefecture (439–41): "Thereupon he dared transgress the ancient practice and issue his decrees in the Greek language, and along with the Roman language the empire lost its fortune also."[57]

A whole book of Lydus' treatise is devoted to lamenting the gradual disintegration of the once mighty office of praetorian prefect, which Justinian, "our generous emperor, did not suffer to be completely snuffed out."[58] A half century earlier, similar thoughts had been in Zosimus' mind. In relating the administrative innovations of Constantine, he dwells at length upon the emperor's transformation of the collegiate praetorian prefecture into four

[53] *Ibid.*, 165–66, 183–84, 199. See also Priscus Frag. 20 (Ardaburius under Marcian); Lydus *De magistr.* 3. 53 (Areobindus in the Persian war of Anastasius); and Zosimus 5. 16. 5 (Leo) and 5. 25. 3 (Arbazacius). For a fuller discussion, see Cameron, "Date of Zosimus New History," 108–10. I disagree with Cameron's conclusion that Zosimus must "surely" have written prior to the ban of 502. It was not part of Zosimus' plan to celebrate the wise laws of his age; even the abolition of the *lustralis collatio* is only implied, not stated.

[54] Stein, "Remarques sur la chronologie de la carrière de Lydus et de son activité littéraire," in *Bas-Empire*, 2: 838–40. Lydus entered the prefecture in 511, but wrote in the 550s. I have not seen T. F. Carney's translation of the *De Magistratibus* (Sidney, Australia, 1965); a book on Lydus by Professor Carney, including this translation, is in press.

[55] Lydus *De magistr.* 2. 10, 3. 31, 33, 40. One of the striking traits of the treatise is that this story is repeated four times in almost identical words.

[56] Zosimus 2. 25, 43, 3. 29 *(magister officiorum)*, 2. 39. 2 *(nobilissimi)*, 2. 40. 2 *(patricius)*, 5. 2. 2 *(comes Orientis)*, 5. 32. 6 *(quaestor palatii)*. The literary convention calling for such glosses is discussed in Cameron, *Agathias*, 76–79.

[57] Lydus *De magistr.* 3. 32, quoted in P. N. Ure, *Justinian and His Age* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1951), 119. On Cyrus as poet, see Alan Cameron, "Wandering Poets: A Literary Movement in Byzantine Egypt," *Historia*, 14 (1965): 473–74, 497–98; on Cyrus as an enormously popular prefect, see Alexander, *Oracle of Baalbek*, 80–81, and Rubin, *Zeitalter Justinians*, 32.

[58] Lydus *De magistr.* 3. 1.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

regional prefectures and his institution of *magistri* as supreme generals, taking over the prefect's military attributions. He goes on:

> In this way did he detract from the prefects' authority, thereby doing harm to the affairs of both peace and war, as I shall immediately explain. For while the prefects had exacted the revenues everywhere through their agents and paid for their military expenses out of these; and while they had had the soldiery under control, submitting to punishment for whatever seemed to them to be an offense; naturally the soldiers, realizing that he who supplied their provisions was also he who punished delinquents, would not dare do anything contrary to duty, out of fear partly that their rations would be cut off, and partly that they would be punished forthwith. But at the present time, with one man as paymaster and another as arbiter of discipline, the soldiers act as they please in all respects, and to boot the greater part of the provisions falls to the gain of the general and his agents (2. 33. 3).[59]

Regardless of whether Zosimus correctly reported the administrative reorganization of Constantine, the passage reflects the preoccupation of sixth-century Byzantium with understanding the relations between past measures and present problems. A parallel to his thinking appears in a Novel of Justinian instituting a new official, the praetor of Thrace (535):

> We know that two men have their sees at the Long Wall and are both called vicars, the one commanding the military cohorts (for there are many in that place), the other supervising civil affairs; each one, moreover, bears a vicariate, the one of the most glorious prefects, the other of the very brave *magistri militum*. Neither, indeed, do they ever agree among themselves; but the fisc supplies a salary to each one and gives them the other rewards, while their one continual and unending business is to quarrel with each other eternally.[60]

In other words, the division of civil and military powers, exemplified here by the vicar of the prefect and that of the *magistri* in Thrace, was a source of sterile bickering. Justinian abolished the two offices and replaced them with a single official with combined functions, as he also did elsewhere.[61] What bearing such reforms had upon Zosimus is sufficiently clear. The sort of administrative problems remedied by Justinian were already being discussed in the time of Anastasius, and seen then, at least by one historian, as resulting from the errors of Constantine.

There is more than pedantic concern with accuracy in insisting that Zosimus be assigned his correct date, for the value of the *Recent History* is scarcely exhausted when it has been mined for information on the third and fourth centuries. The subject matter of his narrative and its terminal date, along with the tendency to think of Zosimus as a pagan die-hard, reminiscent of Libanius and Symmachus, have all contributed to obscuring the great distance

[59] Buchanan-Davis, 75–76.

[60] *Novel.* 26, *praefatio,* Rudolf Schoell and Wilhelm Kroll, eds., *Corpus iuris civilis* (6th ed.; Berlin, 1954), 3: 203; compare Jones, *Later Roman Empire,* 280; and Stein, *Bas-Empire,* 2: 466. Stein is struck by the presence of humor in this law.

[61] Notably the laws of 535–36, *Novel.* 24–31; see Stein, *Bas-Empire,* 2: 463–75; and Jones, *Later Roman Empire,* 278–83.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

between him and the age about which he wrote. How alien he was to his subject matter is touchingly illustrated by the following passage: "Indeed Constantine, wishing to contrive something really painful for the men of conspicuous wealth, would name each to the office of praetor and, using this honor as a blind, would dun each of a great weight of silver" (2. 38. 3).[62] Throughout classical antiquity, and well after Constantine, men of wealth had willingly shouldered the expensive burdens of the state, regarding their public generosity as just compensation for their unequal share of the riches of the community. The honor of a magistracy went hand in hand with its heavy cost. A whole structure of law had grown up to institutionalize these practices and surround them with necessary safeguards.[63] As late as 401 Symmachus would disburse two thousand pounds of gold to celebrate his son's praetorship and pester all sorts of people about the animals needed to make his games memorable, without its occurring to him that the burden was an unjust tax on his wealth.[64] A continuous line led back from Symmachus to Marcus Crassus and his remark that a truly rich man should be able to maintain an army out of his private resources, and further still to the *choregoi* and gymnasiarchs of ancient Athens.[65] All this was hidden from Zosimus.

[62] Buchanan-Davis, 79. The same style of history appears in certain Novels of Justinian, for example, 536 *Novel.* 38, *praefatio,* on the origins of municipal *curiae:* "Those who formerly established our state decided, in imitation of the royal city, to gather noble men in each city and to give a senate to each one, by which both public instruments might be drafted and everything might be done in a legal and orderly fashion." Similarly, in 537 *Novel.* 62, *praefatio,* the current role of the Senate is anachronistically projected into the whole imperial past.

[63] For a sketch of the system, see E. M. Steyerman, "Programmes politiques à l'époque de la crise du III[e] siècle," *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale,* 4 (1957–58): 313. On voluntary contributions as preferable to direct taxes, see A. M. Andreades, *A History of Greek Public Finance,* vol. 1, tr. C. N. Brown (Cambridge, Mass., 1933), 129–33. A. H. M. Jones (*The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* [Oxford, 1940], 166–69, 174–76, 179–80) is instructive but deprecates the practice. On legal regulation, see F. F. Abbott and A. C. Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire* (Princeton, 1926), 94–97; and Jones, *Greek City,* 179–91.

[64] Symmachus' total expenses are given in Olympiodorus Frag. 44; his correspondence on the subject is surveyed by J. A. McGeachy, *Quintus Aurelius Symmachus and the Senatorial Aristocracy of the West* (Chicago, 1942), 101ff. Other contemporary examples of approval for these practices are Claudian *Paneg. Probino et Olybrio CC.* 42–54 and *De cons. Stilich.* 3. 223–25. The problem of the praetorship as seen by Symmachus, by the government (384 *CTh* 15. 9. 1), and by the *Scriptores historiae Augustae* (*Aurel.* 15. 4–6; *Carus* 20. 3–21. 1), was not imperial greed but the mutual rivalry that led to ever costlier displays; compare Ronald Syme, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta* (Oxford, 1968), 194–95. The antecedent of Zosimus' attitude should perhaps be sought in such measures as 452 *CJ* 12. 3. 2, which decrees that consuls are to stop showering money upon the crowds and instead contribute a lump sum to the maintenance of the aqueducts. Compare 537 *Novel.* 105, *praefatio.* An indication of the same trend is that, since the early fifth century (for example, 407 *CTh* 6. 26. 13, 416 *CTh* 6. 24. 8–9, and others), elevations to the Senate as a reward for meritorious service had included immunity from *senatoriae functiones,* such as the praetorship and the *follis.*

[65] Plutarch *V. Crassi* 2. 7 (Crassus had a state army in mind, not a private retinue). For Roman practices under the Republic, see Matthias Gelzer, *The Roman Nobility,* tr. Robin Seager (Oxford, 1969), 18–27, 110–23. Gelzer sets the public obligations of the rich within the broader context of profit as well as expense. On Greece, see Andreades, *Public Finance,* 130–33, 291–94, 322–26, *passim;* W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (London, 1911), 55–58, 99–100; Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf and Benedictus Niese, *Staat und Gesellschaft der Griechen und Römer* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1910), 109–111, 126. One of the curiosities in modern treatments of the subject has been the tendency to regard taxes with equanimity while strongly disapproving of the system of Greek "liturgies" and Roman *munera,* as though they could be qualitatively distinguished. See Willy Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreiche* (Leipzig, 1900),

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Continuity had snapped: in the new age, public charges were simply taxes, in principle iniquitous, and rulers were supposed to live of their own.[66]

Zosimus had good sources about the third and fourth centuries, but he experienced that past only through his books, as though it were distant and hazy, which of course it was. We would not be surprised to encounter in his pages the sort of ridiculous anecdote about the Emperor Honorius that we later find in Procopius.[67] The same remoteness has already been observed in Zosimus' paganism. There is no regret for the deities themselves, only blame for the innovative act of abandoning their cult. The atmosphere is already reminiscent of the age of Justinian, and that is where the analogues to Zosimus are to be sought. Not his least value is as witness to his own age, which, while not that of Justinian, fell in the decades immediately preceding Justinian's accession.

At a distance of more than a millennium from the events, Gibbon sat on the steps of the Ara Coeli, gazing upon the ruins of Rome, and wondered how the fall had come about. By contrast, Zosimus sat in Constantinople, amidst the most physically visible achievement of the later Roman Empire, the city of Constantine, whose ascent as a seat of power, a fortress, and an emporium had been uninterrupted since its foundation. Yet Zosimus in his mind saw just what Gibbon saw, an empire fallen, lost not only in part or in the West, but departed, a thing of the past.[68] Even if Zosimus had borne witness only to this, his personal attitude to the world about him, he would have done enough to merit the gratitude of historians of Rome's fall.

How does a world empire fall? Or rather, how does a historian measure its passing? Zosimus thought he knew. One reviews the events and finds the follies and crimes that led to disaster. Justinian also thought he knew: his

430; Ernst Kornemann, "Das Problem des Untergangs der antiken Welt," *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 12 (1922): 242–46; and Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration*, 114–15. Steyerman, "Programmes politiques," offers an excellent corrective.

[66] See Evagrius 4. 30, on Justinian and his ambitious building program: this would have been a good work if only the emperor had carried it out with his own money. There remains to explain how, within a century, tradition could be so completely forgotten. For an important clue, see the outburst in 441 *NValent.* 10. 1. 3: "An forte contumeliosum putandum est inventum contra rationem nomen munerum sordidorum . . . per quae ad splendorem defensionis publicae pervenitur, prava appelatione censentur? . . . sine quibus nihil necessarii operis effici potest?"

[67] Procopius *B. Vandal.* 3. 2. 25–26. Even more startling is *ibid.* 3. 4. 29, where Aetius is said to have been murdered prior to Attila's devastation of "Europe." Compare the absurd definitions of Roman technical terms by Zosimus' contemporary, Hesychius of Miletus Frag. 2 (the *indictio* as a feast instituted by Augustus to celebrate the battle of Actium) and Frag. 3 (the Kalends, Nones, and Ides derive from the names of three rich men who, during a siege in the time of Antoninus, fed the people of Rome for fifteen, seven, and eight days respectively).

[68] Zosimus never says this in so many words, and his various statements on the decline of the Empire are not so categorical as to exclude the interpretation that he merely thought the Empire to be suffering grave misfortunes. Nevertheless, the implication of fallen empire follows directly from the Polybian frame of reference (Zosimus 1. 57. 1). To be sure, Rome existed before it became an empire, and so does New Rome exist after the Empire falls; but just as Polybius charted the acquisition of the imperial dimension, so does Zosimus chart its loss. The presupposition that the Empire or imperial dimension has disappeared is just as strong in Zosimus as in Gibbon, though not so self-evident to us.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

predecessors had lost the empire "by their indolence."[69] The "causes" for the fall of the empire had begun to be assembled. Doing so was an emphatic way to assert the accessibility of historical process to the powers of educated human reason. A recent author has observed that "in an age when the weight of 'divine judgment' already began to burden consciences, [Zosimus] affirmed the natural, human character of history, envisaged as an evolutionary process governed by objective laws."[70] Empire ended because of the mistakes of human agents; ordinary common sense, drawing occasionally upon its knowledge of "objective laws," could survey the events and grasp what errors had been made, thus establishing the rationality of what had happened. Whether this precisely describes the mentality of Zosimus is doubtful. He had a sense of the supernatural quality of empire and of the supernatural dimension of its loss; to him, although not to Justinian, the process of degradation was irreversible. Perhaps that is why he allowed his narrative of events to be as careless as it is. From the fifteenth century on, men with greater faith than Zosimus in the rationality of history would resume the task of probing the events in search of the soft spots, the follies, crimes, indolence that occasioned the fall of Rome's empire. The work has gone on uninterruptedly since then.

Has study of the events proved a fruitful method for measuring the passing of the Empire? After experience as lengthy as ours, the answer must surely be negative. The events are better known now than they were to Zosimus, but, as suggested before, their arrangement into a widely acceptable *histoire raisonnée* of the fall of Rome shows little improvement over the first essay in the genre. When the last massive attempt to improve upon Zosimus or Gibbon —namely, that of Otto Seeck—was published, it was dismissed by Matthias Gelzer with the remark that, while "its technical utility is beyond question," the "narrative and conception" are utterly tendentious.[71] By the 1920s, the events and institutions of the later Empire had made their point against the historians who professed to represent them as errors, follies, iniquities, and causes of decline and fall. Although the tradition of Zosimus and Gibbon has continued to be perpetuated in many derivative works, the scholars most intimately involved with the later Roman Empire have turned to writing of their subject in positive terms, no longer supposing that persons, institutions, and events are simply patches in an inexorable pattern; it was realized that doing justice to the events required abandoning the supposition that they

[69] 536 *Novel.* 30. 11.

[70] Zoe Petre, "La pensée historique de Zosime," *Studi clasice,* 7 (1965): 271. She is alluding to what Mazzarino calls "The judgments of God as an historical category" (*End of the Ancient World,* ch. 4), as conceived by Augustine and others (she does not mention Eusebius). Of course, Zosimus cannot be contrasted to Augustine in this respect except by minimizing the importance he attaches to the abandonment of the ancient gods, a trait that Petre attempts to attribute chiefly to the influence of Eunapius (pp. 264–67).

[71] Matthias Gelzer, "Altertumswissenschaft und Spätantike," *Historische Zeitschrift,* 135 (1927): 173–74 and n.1. This is altogether a remarkable article in pointing the way toward reassessment of late antiquity.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"led to" decline and fall.[72] The events are neutral or equivocal. Historians may draw upon them with equal success, and inconclusiveness, to support or to refute a pattern of decline.

The ambiguity of words being what it is, the end of an empire eludes one's grasp in a way that the bankruptcy and dissolution of a business enterprise do not. No superior court or financial newspaper assists at the termination of an empire's affairs; only the historian observes, and he is obliged to weigh ostensible change against unmistakable continuity. "The essence of empire is control," and a developed empire extends control in such a variety of directions that it presents the many-headed image of a hydra.[73] Changing patterns of artistic, literary, and religious taste; alterations in the institutions and personnel of government; the withdrawal of troops from a few provinces; the repeated sack of a city: none of these and the like add up in themselves to the end of empire. Since the life of a society is continuous at the level of events, since there have always been survivors, one may hardly fix the end of anything on a scale of happenings. From the perspective of a distant future, when events long past have a decisiveness proportional to their remoteness, nothing is so easy to proclaim as the end of an empire that, obviously, is no longer present. Rome's fall is an absolute certainty to the layman. The situation is altogether more difficult for the historian of the later Empire, who, somehow, in full awareness of discrete phenomena, has to pronounce on when, specifically, Rome's empire may be said to have ended. To him, the end of empire is a matter of time and accumulated changes, none of which is in itself terminal. Pressed to give a definite reply, the historian of today may say that the Roman Empire ended in 476 in the West and that it never ended in the East, short of 1453; but both answers are equally disputable and unsatisfactory, and so are the other definite answers.[74] Events have a continuous flow; it is not in them that so broad a question as the end of empire can possibly be found.

Yet empire does end, and it continues to be legitimate to ask how its end may be established and measured. Rather than in the events, an answer might be sought at the level that has just been mentioned: that of the layman to whom Rome's fall is most certain because the Empire surely does not exist

72 Notably in the major works of synthesis, Stein's *Bas-Empire* (German ed. of vol. 1; Vienna, 1928); Piganiol, *L'Empire chrétien;* and Jones, *Later Roman Empire.* A personal "conversion" to this point of view is documented by H. I. Marrou's *Retractatio* (Paris, 1949), a supplement to his *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique* (Paris, 1938). From a different standpoint and indicating work that remains to be done is Fritz Schultz, *Principles of Roman Law,* tr. Marguerite Wolf (Oxford, 1936), 136–39, and *History of Roman Legal Science* (Oxford, 1946), 265–66.

73 The quoted phrase appears, in different contexts, in A. P. Thornton, "Colonialism," *International Journal,* 17 (1961–62): 338, "Decolonisation," *ibid.,* 19 (1963–64): 22, and *Doctrines of Imperialism* (New York, 1965), 36. I am grateful to Professor Thornton for the third reference.

74 K. F. Strohecker, "Um die Grenze zwischen Antike und abendländischen Mittelalter," *Saeculum,* 1 (1950): 433–65. See also Johannes Straub, "Die christliche Geschichtsapologetik in der Krisis des römischer Reiches," *Historia,* 1 (1950): 52–55 (with reference to Burckhardt); Léon Levillain, review of *Menschen die Geschichte machten,* P. R. Rohden and George Ostrogorsky, eds., *Le Moyen Âge,* 42 (1932): 154 (commenting on the then raging controversy inspired by the theses of Dopsch and Pirenne); and, on the East, Paul Lemerle, "La notion de décadence, à propos de l'empire byzantin," in *Classicisme et déclin culturel dans l'histoire de l'Islam,* ed. Robert Brunschvig and G. E. von Grunebaum (Paris, 1957), 263–72.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

today. That awareness of empire lost, which is in the nature of a meditation upon the past and a sense of the observer's present, is the real source for the problem of Roman decadence. Accordingly, the passing of empire should be sought and measured in the minds of those whose notion of the events is perhaps indistinct but whose sense of their significance is clear as a conclusion that does not strictly depend on the evidence on which it is based. So considered, the end of empire—elusive and ambiguous as it is at the level of events—becomes a concrete datum of intellectual history. It happens or may be said to have happened when thoughtful men believe that it has and express this thought in terms that may be recognized as something other than momentary discouragement in the face of a local reverse.

This brings us back to Zosimus. For if the end of empire is measured by what people thought, then his affirmation that the Roman Empire had fallen acquires an importance that it has never been supposed to have. On the contrary, one of the major theses in recent historical writing about the later Empire is that the categories of decline and fall are alien to the eastern part of the Empire. Since at least the days of Ernst Stein, it has been maintained that *spätrömisch* is equivalent in the East to *frühbyzantinisch;* one flows into the other not only without breach of continuity but even as though the later situation were the desired, projected outcome of the earlier, as one might say that Constantine leads to Justinian.[75] Certain incidents of fifth-century history are marked as particularly crucial in bringing about this result, notably the anti-German movements at Constantinople under Arcadius (400–01) and Leo (471). The latter movement especially, which culminated in the destruction of the *magister militum* Aspar and his family, has been interpreted as saving the East from the fate suffered by Italy at the hands of the *magister militum* Odoacer, for Leo's successor Zeno and his Isaurians, although a fine lot of thieves, at least came from within the Empire.[76] In this perspective, the prudent, economical, and civilian reign of Zeno's successor Anastasius, who effected the "financial rehabilitation of the empire," takes on the warm colors of ancient values preserved from degradation.[77] Saved and consolidated in this way after decades of barbarian menace, Byzantium launched

[75] On Stein's periodization, see J.-R. Palanque, preface to Stein, *Bas-Empire,* 2: xi–xii, referring to an article of 1925; along the same lines, see George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State,* tr. Joan Hussey (Oxford, 1956), 26; for a strong and influential statement, see Norman Baynes, "The Decline of the Roman Power in Western Europe: Some Modern Explanations," *Journal of Roman Studies,* 33 (1943): 29–35. See also below, n.78.

[76] E. W. Brooks, "The Emperor Zenon and the Isaurians," *English Historical Review,* 8 (1893): 208–38; J. B. Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to the Death of Justinian* (London, 1923), 1: 126–35, 316–21, 389–402, 433. Bury wrote that the ascendancy of the Isaurians "had served the purpose of averting the far more serious peril of a German ascendancy, which might have brought upon the East the fate of Italy" (p. 433). Since the "fate" of Italy was the benevolent rule of Odoacer and Theodoric, one wonders why Germans were a "far more serious peril." Ostrogorsky (*Byzantine State,* 50–51, 56–58, 63) stresses the solution of Byzantium's "racial problems" as the condition for expansionism under Justinian.

[77] The quoted phrase is from Jones, *Later Roman Empire,* 235. See also Bury, 1: 429–52; Ostrogorsky, *Byzantine State,* 59–62; and Alexander, *Oracle of Baalbek,* 95–97. Alexander defends Anastasius against a very unflattering contemporary assessment of his financial policy (pp. 27–28). Modern approval of Anastasius is usually tempered by consideration of his not-so-wise religious policies.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

into the adventures and achievements of the age of Justinian, which provide Byzantium with its greatest claim to being the lineal descendant of Rome's empire. This brief outline overdramatically sums up the current doctrine regarding the East. The idea that the Empire ended is relegated to the West alone.[78]

On the plane of ideas, Zosimus makes a shambles of such doctrine. To him, the reign of Anastasius was "the unhappy state that currently oppresses us" (2. 7. 2),[79] and he was by no means alone in thinking so. The moment seemed so far from encouraging that a Christian author was moved to write an apocalyptic prophecy, and Joshua the Stylite reported how he and his fellow Edessenes were within an inch of supposing, in 502, that the end of the world had come.[80] It need hardly be pointed out that these authors were not preoccupied with Western affairs or expressing dismay at the deposition of Romulus Augustulus. Zosimus' long chapters on the West stem from his sources, especially Olympiodorus, rather than from personal concern.[81] When adverting to a "devastated state of affairs," Zosimus had in mind the one he lived amidst, with its "excessively great city" populated by "an unnecessarily large throng gathering from all parts of the world," where "dwellings [are permitted] to be chockablock, so that the city's inhabitants . . . are pressed for space and proceed at risk owing to the plethora of men and animals" (2. 34–35)—not an empire but an island of survivors, piled up one on top of the other, in a sea of barbarism.[82] When St. Ambrose said, "We are in a declining age," and when St. Jerome said, "The Roman world is falling," they were alluding to the current misfortunes of a still subsisting empire; Ammianus, for all his brooding pessimism, had faith enough in the Empire to ridicule those "men ignorant of ancient records" (*antiquitatum ignari*) who reacted to every passing calamity as if it were the end of time.[83] At a

[78] See above, n.75. Montesquieu is apparently the originator of this thesis; see Saunders, "Debate," 4. It is the premise of Bury, 1: 308–309, as well as of Friedrich Vittinghof, "Der Übergang von der 'Antike' zum 'Mittelalter' und die Problematik des modernen Revolutionsbegriffes," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, 9 (1958): 457–74. See also Marrou, *Retractatio*, 701 and n.2. Marrou suggests that the real problem for historians of "the fall" is to establish the differences between the *partes imperii* that account for their contrasting fates. Interestingly enough, this has not proved a fruitful line of investigation.

[79] Buchanan-Davis, 54. "State" should be understood in the sense of "condition."

[80] Alexander, *Oracle of Baalbek*, and "Medieval Apocalypses as Historical Sources," *AHR*, 73 (1968): 999–1008. In the latter article, he indicates that, in addition to the work he edited, two more apocalypses were written at this time. See also Joshua ch. 49 (ed. Wright), 38. Another significant indicator of the contemporary mental climate is the surge of dualist (Marcionite and Manichaean) beliefs documented by Jacques Jarry, "Hérésies et factions à Constantinople du v^e^ au vii^e^ siècle," *Syria*, 37 (1960): 364–70.

[81] Compare the view of Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome*, 113–14, 141–42, who refers Zosimus' pessimism to the West and overlooks that he makes exception for Constantinople only, not for the East in general.

[82] Buchanan-Davis, 77. Elsewhere in the chapter *strateia*, the equivalent of *militia*, is erroneously translated as "military service." The idea is "government service" of many kinds; compare, for example, Lydus *De Magistr.* 3. 28. In the same passage Zosimus disparages building in Constantinople on plots reclaimed from the sea, much as does Procopius *Anecd.* 8.

[83] Ambrose *Expos. in Lucam* 10. 10, quoted by Piganiol, *L'Empire chrétien*, 169; Jerome *Epist.* 60. 16; Ammianus 31. 5. 11: "Falluntur malorum recentium stupore confixi." It is an interesting contrast between one age and another that Procopius does not hesitate to advertise the calamities of Justinian's reign as unequaled in world history (*Anecd.* 6. 19, 8. 30, 36–37).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

century's distance from them, Zosimus regarded himself as inhabiting a successor state, in relation to which the Empire was a thing of the past. If we read the *Recent History* correctly, Anastasius was cast as the Eastern equivalent of Theodoric, Clovis, Thrasamund, and the other barbarian kings of the West.

What gives weight to the utterances of Zosimus is that those following him were hardly alien to his point of view. We have already encountered John Lydus suggesting that fortune abandoned the Empire once a praetorian prefect stopped using Latin. He deserves to be heard from again, as he juxtaposes gratitude toward the reigning emperor with melancholy consideration of the disasters falling upon his special world, the secretariat of the praetorian prefecture:

> But time, being by nature destructive, has entirely stifled or to so great an extent altered the majority of the perquisites of the office-staff attending upon the prefect that what remains survives only as a faint trace of what was formerly admired. Although the [prefectoral] magistracy is secure in its own power, the office-staff is near the point of falling into total collapse, beset as it is at one time by upheavals from without and, at another, by negligence within—if God and this utterly noble emperor were not supporting it.[84]

Lydus' abstract terminology allows us, here as elsewhere, to envision the fate of the prefect's office as a microcosm of the fate of the Empire; the degradation of the *officium* mirrors that of the state—a state, as he tells us, heading rapidly toward utter ruin.[85] The idea he expresses is also found in the Novels of Justinian and in Procopius, and all three are almost identical to Zosimus, at least in their premises.[86] They affirm that their present is different from the old Empire and by far inferior to it; this is a statement of belief, for they have little sense of that old Empire or grasp of what it was. In the *Secret History* Procopius repeatedly accuses Justinian of causing the Empire to fall.[87] The allegation is of course absurd, since Anastasius and his predecessors may hardly be regarded as presiding over a golden age of felicity and power; probably no such implication is intended. Procopius counted on his

[84] Lydus *De magistr.* 3. 39. I am much indebted to my colleague, Professor Bernard Barman, for this translation. The very different rendering of Kaegi (*Byzantium and the Decline of Rome*, 212–13) illustrates the abstract terminology of the treatise. In Lydus' usage, the words Kaegi translates as "Empire" and "order" mean, respectively, "the magistrate (i.e., praetorian prefect)" and "the office-staff."

[85] *Ibid.* 3. 76; see also 2. 5, 3. 43. 46, 54, 56. I find it difficult to accept the label of *naive Jasager* that Rubin, *Zeitalter Justinians*, 168–71, pins upon Lydus. Lydus often approves and sounds consistently naive—Stein, *Bas-Empire*, 2: 734, taxes him with "senile clumsiness and negligence" —but there are discernible undercurrents. It is suggestive that, though he wrote in the later 550s and specifically described a Syrian campaign of Chosroes (540), he chose to end the treatise, on a note of high but obviously disappointed hope, with the advent of Phocas to the prefecture (532)—a prefecture that lasted less than a year (compare the praise of Phocas by Procopius *Anecd.* 21. 6). Can one entertain the possibility that Lydus was crafty and ironical rather than naive? The account of his own career, together with what Procopius says of men like him (*Anecd.* 24. 30–33), suggests that he too had reason to hate the regime.

[86] Lydus on the destructive effects of time echoes 535 *Novel.* 7. 2; 538 *Novel.* 69. 4. 1; 539 *Novel.* 84, *praefatio*. For the other thematic parallels, see nn. 87–88.

[87] *Anecd.* 6. 1, 25; 7. 1; 9. 1; 13. 39; 14. 19; 15. 17. Throughout the book Procopius appears to assume that all was well with the Empire until Justinian came along.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

audience to agree that the present world was one of fallen empire; provided this premise were accepted—and Procopius hardly doubted that it would be—the audience would also be glad to be told who was responsible, what was the cause, for the currently lamentable state of affairs.

Perhaps Justinian himself is the best proof of all that Zosimus had voiced what was commonly believed. Justinian shared the premise of fallen empire. His allegation was that laziness was the cause—a charge that also occurs in Zosimus and, emphatically, in Lydus.[88] That humbled condition of the Empire was why the situation had to be retrieved. True religion, manifested by the repression of heterodoxy and unbelievers; the application of incessant personal labor by day and by night; collecting "formerly confused" laws and revising them; the exploitation of diplomatic advantage by military means—these and other remedies would bring back lost greatness. Where Zosimus had pointed to past errors, Justinian could point, after a few years, to present achievements:

> For after the Parthian wars were abated with an eternal peace, after the Vandal people was put down, and Carthage, or rather all Lybia, was again joined to the Roman Empire, [Providence] also granted that the ancient laws, disfigured by age, should by our watchfulness attain new beauty and manageable size: something which no emperor before us had hoped [to do] or even considered at all possible for human skill [to accomplish].[89]

Although the achievements were real enough, it remained to be seen whether the industry of one emperor could offset the indolence of his predecessors. For was empire really a matter of events, lost by foolishness or negligence, and gained by wise actions? Trusting to God and his favor, Justinian came close to affirming that it was. With God's help, the Empire was necessarily destined now to a greatness exceeding that of the old Romans. Such had been the Christian theory of progress elaborated by Eusebius and expressed by the other Church historians.[90] Elevated to the plane of action, it was also Justinian's reply—the Christian reply, as he believed—to the conclusion that Zosi-

[88] 536 *Novel.* 30. 11 and 539 *Novel.* 80. 10; Zosimus 4. 50. 2 (about Theodosius 1, perhaps from Eunapius Frag. 49); and Lydus *De magistr.* 2. 15, 3. 55 (former emperors), 2. 11 (sons of Theodosius 1). In the passage of Lydus quoted at n.84, negligence or sloth (*rathumía,* the operative word in all these passages) and disasters are mentioned as perhaps a standard pattern of internal and external causation. Zosimus features the element of negligence, but using another word, in 1. 23. 1, 26, 28. 3, 73; 2. 49. 1; and 4. 28. On the legal aspect of Justinian and the Roman past, see K. H. Schindler, *Justinians Haltung zur Klassik* (Cologne-Graz, 1966), 6–11.

[89] 533 Const. *Tanta, praefatio,* in *Digesta* (Theodor Mommsen and Paul Krueger, eds. *Corpus iuris civilis,* vol. 1 [12th ed.; Berlin, 1911]), 13. In 535 *Novel.* 1, *praefatio,* the subjection of the Tzani is similarly celebrated as an unprecedented divine gift to the Roman state. See also 534 *CJ* 1. 27. 1. 5–6, celebrating the reconquest of Africa as an act of divine favor, a boon that was never merited by his predecessors, who not only were not allowed to liberate Africa but even saw Rome itself sacked by the Vandals.

[90] Its development is traced in T. E. Mommsen, "St. Augustine and the Christian Idea of Progress," *Journal of the History of Ideas,* 12 (1951): 356–63; and Michel Meslin, "Nationalisme, état et religions à la fin du IV^e^ siècle," *Archives de sociologie des religions,* 18 (1964): 3–20. For the successors of Eusebius, see Downey, "Early Church Historians," 57–70; and Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome,* 176–206. See also R. A. Markus, "The Roman Empire in Early Christian Historiography," *Downside Review,* 81 (1963): 340–54.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mus had drawn from the abandonment of the ancient gods. Long ago, in the West, St. Augustine had known better.

St. Augustine has an obvious place in this discussion, for he epitomizes how, in the western part of the Empire, a single disastrous event was so transmuted on the plane of ideas as to bring about a fundamental change in outlook. The fourth-century West had been as open as the East to acceptance of the Christian theory of progress. As late as 403 the poet Prudentius had stressed that the Christianized Empire enjoyed greater temporal felicity than had pagan Rome.[91] When the Visigoths sacked Rome seven years later, Christians were severely shaken in their faith, since they instinctively shared the premise of paganism that right worship ensured earthly prosperity.[92] How could such a calamity befall a Christian Empire?

In restoring calm to troubled souls, Augustine did not limit himself to the conventional answer that the Romans were sinful and in need of exemplary correction. He directly challenged the premise on which the anguish of the faithful was based and broke through the facile disguise of a pagan outlook in Christian dress. What Christ had brought was not success but salvation:

> They had hitherto wished to see the eternity of their city and Empire secured by the protection of the true God; they had wished to enjoy the old security in the *Pax Romana* and now had to realize that God lets his sun shine on the good and the wicked, and allows rain to fall on the just and the unjust . . . [They had to recall] that the righteous had much to suffer, that after [Adam's sin] no eternal realm of peace could again arise, that all states are fated to fall.[93]

Assisted by the shattering impact of the event of 410, Augustine was able to bring home to his audience that the eternal salvation given by God was wholly different from the temporal salvation offered by the state and other human institutions. Enjoining Christians to cut loose from the inveterate materialism of pagan religion, he divorced their future from any particular political structure. Whether the Empire fell or not remained a matter of deep concern to the Christian as sentient human being; Augustine had no desire to see its passing. Nevertheless the Christian as believer was freed from dependence upon the Empire. He could be at peace with any successor that offered him the liberty to practice his religion.[94]

[91] *Contra Symm.* 1. 538–43. For further analysis of Prudentius along the same lines as Mommsen, see Manfred Fuhrmann, "Die Romidee der Spätantike," *Historische Zeitschrift*, 207 (1968): 556–59.

[92] In addition to the works cited in nn.90, 91, and 93, see Straub, "Geschichtsapologetik," 52–81; Courcelle, *Histoire littéraire*, 19–55; Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1967), 287–329; F. G. Maier, *Augustin und das antike Rom* (Stuttgart, 1965); Friedrich Vittinghof, "Zum geschichtlichen Selbstverständnis der Spätantike," *Historische Zeitschrift*, 98 (1964): 529–74; and Paolo Brezzi, "Romani e barbari nel giudizo degli scrittori cristiani dei secoli IV–VI," *Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto medioevo, Settimane di studi*, 9 (1962): 565–93. This is a fraction of the constantly growing bibliography.

[93] Johannes Straub, "Augustins Sorge um die *regeneratio imperii*," *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 73 (1954): 49.

[94] *De civit. dei* 5. 17: "quid interest sub cuius imperio vivat homo periturus, si illi qui imperant ad impia et iniqua non cogant" (and, in general, *ibid.*, bks. 4–5). Straub ("Augustins

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It seems hardly coincidental that, from then on, quite regardless of the continuity of emperors to 476, we encounter personalities in the West expressing ideas that are altogether relevant to a post-imperial world: the pagan Rutilius Namatianus transfiguring the Roman past into a pure *mission civilisatrice;* Salvian setting Romans and barbarians on a plane of moral equality; Leo the Great assimilating the glory of Rome to that of Saints Peter and Paul; Sidonius Apollinaris exemplifying a perhaps unconscious Augustinianism by remarking, "[Euric] imagines that [his] success . . . comes from the genuine orthodoxy of his religion, where it would be truer to say that he achieves it by earthly good fortune."[95] By the time Theodoric the Ostrogoth was in possession of Italy, Cassiodorus would express the essence of the Roman way of life in the secular term *civilitas,* a quality of law-abidingness accessible to barbarians and Romans alike that, superficially at least, had nothing to do with power and domination.[96]

As events contemporary to ourselves suggest, a polity need not be the worse for losing its empire or another the more fortunate for retaining the one it has. The fifth-century West was no doubt overrun by barbarians, but it also witnessed one of the wonders of history, the abandonment of a traditional outlook and the acceptance of a genuinely novel conception of man and God and their mutual relations. On the day-to-day level, the usual struggle for security, wealth, and power went on, and these mundane affairs had something to do with the Roman Empire. But the misanthropic illusion of empire —that a specific slice of humanity and its bag of tricks was endowed by Providence with eternity—had been shed long before 476. Westerners learned to live in a world where men were in principle helpless and certain power resided only with God, who exercised it in accordance with his hidden designs. Although men of letters were sufficiently numerous, no author presumed to relate the decline and fall of the Empire.[97] The movement of ideas

Sorge," 40–60) stresses Augustine's continuing concern for the Empire, though at a subordinate level of importance. Gerhard Ladner (*The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers* [Cambridge, Mass., 1959]) allows one to see these ideological developments in a setting encompassing more themes than merely the Christian idea of progress.

[95] Rutilius *De reditu suo* 47–164, esp. 55–66, with which compare Claudian *De consul. Stil.* 3. 136–49. Salvian *De gubernatione dei* 4. 12–14, 17; 5. 2–5, 10–11; 6. 2, 6–9; Emilienne Demougeot ("L'idéalisation de Rome face aux barbares," *Revue des études anciennes,* 70 [1968]: 401–02) interprets Salvian as saying that the barbarians were not equal to the Romans of old, but sin had so corrupted the Romans of his time as to allow the Germans to triumph over them. Leo I *Sermo* 82, and more extensively, Czesław Bartnik, "L'Interprétation théologique de la crise de l'Empire romain par Léon le Grand," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique,* 63 (1968): 745–84, esp. 760. Sidonius *Epist.* 7. 6. 6 (tr. W. B. Anderson [London, 1965]), 319.

[96] On *civilitas,* see Wilhelm Ensslin, *Theodorich der Grosse* (Munich, 1947), 223–26; and Fuhrmann, "Die Romidee," 547–48 n.51. Equally significant is Cassiodorus' usage of the word *imperium,* notably in *Variae* 2. 12 (ed. Mommsen), p. 52 l. 27, and 3. 51, p. 105 l. 12. Heinz Löwe ("Von Theodorich dem Grosse zu Karl dem Grosse," *Deutsches Archiv,* 9 [1952]: 353–79) gives an illuminating portrayal of the loosening of emotional ties to Rome in the fifth- and sixth-century West.

[97] The lost *Historia Romana* of the later Symmachus (father-in-law of Boethius) may have been an exception to this; at least it appears to have originated the idea that the year 476 marked the end of the Empire in the West. See M. A. Wes, *Das Ende des Kaisertum im Westen*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had stripped that particular question of the absorbing interest with which it was formerly, and might still have been, endowed by the course of events.

By applying the old schema of *translatio imperii* to the phenomena of intellectual history, one might say that the ideological burden of empire migrated to Constantinople in company with its "felicity." Along with an intensified sense of being privileged by Providence, there came the nagging question whether control over earthly affairs was growing or diminishing and the eschatological anxiety that accompanied all current successes and setbacks. The disaster that allowed the West to shake itself loose from the belief that Providence was necessarily committed to the Empire had an opposite effect upon the East. Strengthened rather than jeopardized by storms and turmoil experienced chiefly by the western provinces, the Christian theory of progress became more comfortably seated in the general consciousness. The Huns might grind the Balkans underfoot, but the laws of Theodosius II still mouthed traditional hypocrisies and even amplified them:

> Thus does it profit barbarian peoples to surrender to the empire of our divine authority, thus will our victories seem fruitful to the obedient. . . .
>
> In the most felicitous times of our empire. . . .
>
> We indeed always take counsel for individual and collective matters with that majesty of forethought by which the Roman state [*res Romana*] gradually advances to empire over the whole terrestrial globe. . . .
>
> When account is taken as much for the security of the provincials and the felicity of our empire. . . .
>
> Since we strive with the greatest attention and all our strength that the cities subject to our rule remain in perpetual felicity. . . .
>
> In proportion with the greatness of the benefits by which, by unique benevolence toward ourselves, the Supreme Majesty has increased the empire of the Romans. . . .[98]

Moreover, the lawyers who wrote Church history in the footsteps of Eusebius drew the lesson suggested by the security of the new Rome: ". . . an emperor through diligent performance of good works and recourse to prayer might successfully intercede with God for divine favor and protection against all enemies, internal and external."[99] A doctrine sanctioned by Christian opinion as well as the imperial court turned the felicity, the breadth, and the eternity of the Empire into matters of faith divorced from fact. Joshua the

des römischen Reiches (The Hague, 1967). But this was a defense of the Roman past, rather than an inquiry into Rome's fall. Compare Arnaldo Momigliano, *Studies in Historiography*, 185–86.

[98] The passages are drawn from the preambles of the following laws: 439 *NTh* 16, *NTh* 17. 1, 440 *NTh* 7. 3, 441 *NTh* 5. 3, 443 *NTh* 23, 444 *NTh* 7. 2. A chronicle of contemporary events may be drawn from E. A. Thompson, *The History of Attila and the Huns* (Oxford, 1948), 77–94: October 439, Carthage falls to the Vandals; 440, great fears of Vandal raids, an expedition against them, and a raid by Persians into Armenia; 440–41, serious troubles with the Huns; 443, major Hunnic raid followed by an ignominious peace, after which Theodosius returned from refuge in Asia.

[99] Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome*, 206; Downey, "Early Church Historians."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stylite wrote a monograph about some recent calamities, but he could nevertheless say that "believing emperors have always reigned from that time [ca. 363] until the present day [ca. 507], and by the help of Heaven their power has been strengthened."[100] Current disasters fell upon sinners for their chastisement and correction; they had no bearing upon the Empire, whose present, with God's help, was as victorious and felicitous as its past.

The pretensions of the court and Church historians, who treated blind luck as the favor of Providence, aroused corresponding extremes of pessimism from the secular historians, who could hardly avoid contrasting the felicity of a receding past with the miseries of current events. Nostalgia for the ancient gods as such was not the motivating factor of this dissent; we find it in all the secular historians, of whom Zosimus alone disparages Christianity. The almost total loss of the extensive contemporary histories by Priscus, Malchus, and Candidus reduces the evidence prior to the sixth century to the merest fragments. Nevertheless, the famous dialogue reported by Priscus between himself and a Greek merchant prospering as a refugee in Attila's kingdom affords a rare glimpse into an Eastern Empire where the contrast between sanctified appearance and sordid reality weighed on the consciences of thinking men.[101]

Recent authors have severely judged Priscus for his part in this dialogue, which, in the words of E. A. Thompson, reveals him to be so "complacent and content with the *status quo*" as to cast "a sinister light on his ability to record with understanding the history of his age."[102] It has also been said that Priscus cannot have believed the merchant's fierce criticism of conditions in the Empire, for if he had he could easily have sought asylum among the Huns.[103] Such commentators overlook that, regardless of whether the encounter actually took place or not, the reported conversation flowed entirely from Priscus' pen and is not a transcript by a third party. The merchant's side of the dialogue, full of seriousness and conviction and without a trace of satire, is as much Priscus' work as his own reply, of whose artificiality he was no doubt as aware as we are.

Other works of the age mention the Roman subject who flees to freedom among the barbarians;[104] uniquely, Priscus introduces us directly to such a person—not even a renegade, but a formerly enslaved captive who has risen from nothing among the Huns—and makes him explain why life in a bar-

[100] Joshua ch. 8 (ed. Wright), 7. Compare Cosmas Indicopleustes, as quoted by Kaegi: "I declare confidently that although hostile barbarians may rise briefly against the Roman Empire to correct us for our sins, yet through the strength of him who maintains us the empire will remain undefeated . . ." (p. 212).

[101] Priscus Frag. 8; for translations, see Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, 1: 284–85; and C. D. Gordon, *The Age of Attila* (Ann Arbor, 1960), 85–89.

[102] Thompson, *Attila*, 186–87; see also Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ed. Bury, 3: 429. Bury's comment (*Later Roman Empire*, 1: 285 n.1) is astonishingly weak.

[103] Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome*, 209. For a better understanding of the passage, see Impellizzeri, *Letteratura bizantina*, 147–48.

[104] Ammianus 31. 6. 6; Salvian *De gub. dei* 5. 5, 7, 8; Zosimus 5. 42. 3 (slaves). Lydus *De magistr.* 3. 70, mentions provincials who prefer barbarians to the state's tax collectors.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

barian land is preferable by far to the defenselessness, oppression, and chicanery of life in the Empire. The merchant's speech is at least as convincing as Salvian's impassioned explanation of why a Roman would take flight; Priscus worked hard at making it a circumstantial indictment. As for the historian's reply, its appeal to abstract theory and progressive jurisprudence was just as truthful as the indictment it was meant to counter. There was one side of reality; here, the other. They kept uncomfortable company. In the end, the merchant, shedding tears, was left to draw the moral of the dialogue: "The laws are beautiful and the polity of the Romans is excellent; but the rulers are not like-minded with the men of old, and are pulling down the state into ruin."[105] We are already close to Zosimus' allegory of the Empire as a horribly mutilated, moribund corpse whose eyes alone show life (4. 21. 2).[106] A few years later Malchus, writing of a military mutiny, had the participants cry out against "a faintheartedness that was utterly destroying all cities and all the strength of the Roman people, because everyone with power was cutting off whatever he wished."[107] The premise of Zosimus—that the Empire was at an end—was already in circulation. It only remained for him to spell it out.

Seconded by the Church historians, the Eastern emperors had shackled Providence to the ongoing fortunes of their state, setting the everyday injustices and failings of the administration under God's aegis together with the occasional success. What could an honest historian reply? Zosimus said, "The doctrine of the Christians could wash away any crime," just as it had cleansed Constantine of the guilt of murdering his son and wife (2. 29. 3).[108] In place of the promised progress, the clear-sighted observer saw only innovations, departures from the old, good ways of fighting wars and conducting government. If current events were a fair sample of imperial felicity with God's blessing, then the real Roman Empire, which ruled the world and gave it just laws, must be a thing of the past. Somewhere in the course of time it had perished, trodden under the feet of the lesser men of recent times. To expect its revival was as illusory as to ask pygmies to perform the tasks of full-grown men.[109] In this way, as a meditation upon the past and a judgment upon the present, the first history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire came into existence.

[105] Translation by Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders*, 2: 80. Hodgkin is also hard on Priscus for his answer (p. 79).

[106] Buchanan-Davis, 154: "The body of a man was seen lying on the road, like one who has been lashed from top to toe, altogether immobile save that his eyes were open and looked out upon those who approached him. . . . He was reckoned neither as alive (because his entire body was motionless) nor yet as wholly dead (because his sight appeared unimpaired) The portent bespoke the condition of the State, which would continue to suffer beatings and lashings, like a person breathing out his last, until it was completely destroyed by the wickedness of its magistrates and rulers. And indeed it will appear, as we survey events one by one, that this prediction was true." Zosimus set the incident in 378, as Valens went to meet the Visigoths. Was the passage inspired by Eunapius?

[107] Frag. 16, tr. by Bernard Barman, to whom I am much obliged.

[108] Buchanan-Davis, 71.

[109] Lydus *De magistr.* 3. 53 (about Arrian) clearly indicates the sense of himself and his contemporaries as a lesser breed.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The value of Zosimus is not exhausted when one has catalogued him as a representative of debased Greek literature, remarked upon his rarity as a reader of Polybius, absorbed his disparagement of Constantine and praise of Julian, mined his pages for details of third- and fourth-century history, or pigeonholed him among the apologists of paganism.[110] Zosimus speaks for a definable moment in the life of the Eastern Empire, and in doing so, he casts a light on his past, present, and future that we very much need to clarify our own ideas of Rome's fall.

To begin with, his work allows us to appreciate the futility of that genre of history of which it was the first representative. His collection of events represented as "causes" for the fall suffices to discredit any attempt to relate "the history of a great epoch" as a series of mistakes leading to a foreknown result. Zosimus, Gibbon, and all the others were wrong. Events, when treated seriatim, with due attention to the very limited consequences of each one, explain neither the growth nor the decline of empires—hence the remark that Rome's empire, like Britain's, was created in a fit of absence of mind, and the temptation, at the other end of the time spectrum, to suppose that Rome's fall is a myth.[111] Though certainly related to events and external realities, empire is a phenomenon of intellectual history. In investigating questions as abstract as the rise and fall of empires, the subject of inquiry should be what contemporaries thought, not only what they did.

That Zosimus regarded the Roman Empire as fallen is therefore the invaluable contribution of his *History*. Moreover, his outlook directly refutes the conclusion offered by the modern historians of the later Empire who have accredited the general proposition that the Empire fell in the West only while surviving integrally in the East. Their conclusion is based above all on an assessment of the events rather than of contemporary opinion. But should it be? Are even the events suitably interpreted when they are divorced from what contemporaries thought of them? That Anastasius defended the frontiers and piled up gold in the treasury may well be outweighed by the fact that, in his reign, a historian bade farewell to a vanished supremacy.

In the West as well as the East, what men thought bore something else than a direct relationship to the course of events. Within a few months after the disaster of 410 it became clear that the sack of Rome had been no more decisive than the defeat of Adrianople.[112] But where Ammianus had countered Adrianople with a reference to *antiquitatum ignari*, St. Augustine

[110] For the relations of Zosimus to Polybius, see Fritz Taeger, *Charisma* (Stuttgart, 1960), 2: 641.

[111] For imperialism by absent-mindedness, see Max Cary, *History of Rome* (2d ed.; London, 1954), 226. Cary is not, I am told, quite faithful to what Sir John Seeley meant about the British Empire. For Rome's fall as a myth, see R. M. Haywood, *The Myth of Rome's Fall* (New York, 1958). Haywood actually means the "myths," that is, erroneous opinions, about the subject. Nevertheless, impatience with the idea that Rome fell, in the sense that the phrase is a gross oversimplification for a phenomenon of uncertain length and great elusiveness, is an understandable reaction in the student of the period.

[112] Courcelle, *Histoire littéraire*, 80–89; Johannes Straub, "Die Wirkung der Niederlage bei Adrianopel," *Philologus*, 95 (1941): 255–86.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

responded to the later disaster by distinguishing the Providence-guided course of history from the transitory course of empire. Rather than give comfort for Rome's future, the disasters of Rome's past (like that of its present) illustrated the merely temporal dimension of human institutions. The Christian participated in these institutions, but, regardless of what Eusebius, Prudentius, and even Orosius implied, the aspect of his life that mattered did not depend on mortal kingdoms (*peritura regna*).[113] After this, the question whether the Western Empire revived or passed away dwindled to the subordinate level of mundane concerns. The Christian could accommodate himself to either eventuality, for, whatever happened, the old Empire, exemplifying God's will in its acts, was a thing of the past.[114]

The course of events in the fifth-century East was neither outstandingly fortunate nor especially calamitous. It has never been proved that holding barbarians at bay was necessarily preferable to learning to live with them, or that Zeno was any more "Roman" than Odoacer, or that religious dissidence in Egypt and Syria was less divisive than the political fragmentation of the West.[115] What is clear is that the supposedly "surviving" East produced a historian of the fall of the Empire, whereas the "fallen" West, though not bereft of historians, produced none. In other words, there is a marked contrast in the manner in which the two *partes* interpreted the course of events. While Westerners observed the fate of the Empire with relative equanimity and were soon to write with praise of barbarian kings,[116] the Easterners continued to face the problem of reconciling the Christian theory of progress with occasional disasters, the headlong pace of legal change, everyday corruption, and ineradicable human weakness. Wedded to the ordinary failings of the government, the theory degenerated into a shallow rhetoric of success that the secular historians could not reconcile with the tradition of truthfulness that was their heritage.[117] The answer they gradually evolved was that the Roman Empire had fallen, that the present disclosed only "a faint trace of what was formerly admired."[118] Zosimus, the outstanding spokesman for this point of view, is hardly alone. From Malchus to Procopius the fall of the Empire was a common premise, the conceptual link between a glorius past and a present regarded as sordid.

That this point in intellectual history should have been reached on the

[113] Orosius, though writing after 410 and ostensibly inspired by Augustine, returned to a naive conception of imperial progress under the aegis of Christianity. Compare Brown, *Augustine*, 295–96. For some sensitive words about Orosius, see Demougeot, "Idéalisation," 401.

[114] In the wake of all that has recently been written about 410 and Augustine's response to the event (see above, nn. 90–94), general histories might do worse than recognize that the "end of Rome" in the West should, for all practical purposes, be dated from that time—a return to Biondo, after many detours.

[115] Kilian Lechner, "Byzanz und die Barbaren," *Saeculum*, 6 (1955): 292–306; Endre von Ivánka, "Der Zerfall der antiken Kulturwelt als geistesgeschichtlicher Vorgang," *ibid.*, 3 (1952): 237–54. Ivánka makes a comparison between East and West, with the former, for a change, seen as relatively poorer.

[116] Most notably, Cassiodorus, Gregory of Tours, and Isidore of Seville.

[117] On truthfulness, see Eunapius Frag. 28.

[118] Lydus *De magistr.* 3. 39, as above, n.84; compare 2. 5.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

eve of the age of Justinian casts a particularly interesting light upon the great enterprises of that reign. In relation to the view of the past that Zosimus represents, Justinian appears to have made deliberate efforts, motivated by religious sentiment, to restore the credibility of the Eusebian conception of history. While in agreement with the secular historians about the recent condition of the Empire, Justinian nevertheless believed in the possibility of renewed greatness, with God's help, through the activity of a zealous, energetic emperor. He would complete what the Christian emperors had begun, repair what negligent emperors had allowed to become disfigured, and accomplish some tasks, such as the compilation of the Digest, that no earlier emperor had deemed possible. In these terms, the renewal of the Empire did not call for any sort of imperial vocation among the subjects;[119] it was simply a matter for the emperor, confident in the historical proof that God would waft the Empire to greater victories if he were properly worshipped. Little wonder, then, that the neo-imperialism of Justinian was without tomorrows. The idea that the greatness of a state was ensured by a pact between God and its ruler was as sterile as the belief of Zosimus that the Empire had been upheld by the flawless performance of certain ritual acts. Far from awakening a sense of imperial mission among the Byzantines, Justinian so thoroughly discredited energy in emperors that, eventually, Phocas would be preferable to Maurice, and Heraclius would spend the larger part of his reign as though paralyzed.[120]

The question finally deserves to be asked: Should we not abandon the current thesis that the two parts of the later Empire had contrasting fates, and instead endorse the conclusion of Zosimus and his contemporaries that, not long before them, the Empire, all of it, had indeed fallen? The events do not bear out this conclusion any more or less than they support another thesis, but the data of intellectual history offer a sufficiently concrete basis. In addition to the help this might bring to the perennially debatable matter of periodization, there is reason to suppose that the detailed study and interpretation of the period would also benefit from such a revision. The contrast between East and West, though not without basis, is in many respects misleading. Among other things, acceptance of this contrast overlooks the possibility that one polity may choose to "fall" to the same extent that another chooses to "survive"; it presupposes that life with barbarians is less desirable than a ceaseless, barbarizing struggle to keep them at bay; it cannot assess religious division in one sphere as at least comparable in its effects to political

[119] For example, 535 *Novel.* 8. 10. 2, a little sermon indicating that the subjects' role is to pay taxes promptly, the magistrates' to collect them, and the emperor's to spend the proceeds on great enterprises agreeable to God, such as the subjection of the Vandals, and even greater conquests to come: "Wherefore if you promptly obey the magistrates, they indeed render us an easy and expeditious account of the tributes, and we shall praise the magistrates for their zeal and approve you for your intentions, and on all sides a single harmonious concord will exist between the governors and the governed."

[120] Jones, *Later Roman Empire,* 313–17; P. Lemerle, "Quelques remarques sur le règne d'Héraclius," *Studi medievali,* 3d ser., 1 (1960): 347–61.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

division in the other; it assumes an intellectual superiority of the East that is hardly proved; most of all, it obscures a parallelism in the economic, social, and institutional developments of East and West that has yet to be seriously brought forth from the evidence.[121]

The idea that Rome in the East prolonged its existence through the fifth century without breach in continuity may well have outlived its usefulness. Zosimus wrote on the Roman Empire just as Justinian would soon write on Roman law and John Lydus on the Roman magistrates; in doing so, they wrote about things they knew from books and other monuments, much as we grope in even a quite recent past for the "origins" of a contemporary world that bears the dimmest resemblance to its progenitor. Their object was not primarily to write about themselves; and yet, when their sources are set to one side, is not that post-Roman self-revelation their most precious contribution?

121 See above, n.115. On socioeconomic developments, see D. S. Angelov, "Byzance et l'Europe occidentale," *Études historiques*, vol. 2: *à l'occasion du XIIè Congrès international des sciences historiques—Vienne* (Sofia, 1965), 47–61. Angelov, proceeding from Marxist premises, concludes, "Il s'agit d'une seule et même voie," and criticizes Western historians for insisting on a contrast. From different premises, H. J. Scheltema (*An den Wurzeln der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft*, pt. 2: *Das oströmische Reich* [Oslo, 1958], 85–152) points in the same direction.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Scientific Establishment and the Transmission of Quantum Mechanics to the United States, 1919-32

STANLEY COBEN

During the first half of the twentieth century large numbers of Americans achieved high eminence in almost every scientific field. No aspect of that development was more surprising—or fruitful—than the appearance in American universities late in the 1920s of dynamic centers for research and study in modern theoretical physics. This advance was tied inextricably to the transmission from European universities of quantum mechanics, the foundation of modern atomic and subatomic theory. After 1927, as physicists applied quantum mechanics to the study of the atomic nucleus, molecular particles, solids, liquids, gases, and the principles of chemical bonding, the generation of Americans trained during the 1920s and their students moved into the forefront of the world's physicists as theoretical innovators. The rapid communication of quantum mechanics to the United States strikingly indicates the importance of those factors that contributed to the general upgrading of American science. Research by other scholars suggests that similar factors may have encouraged advances in some of the social sciences also.[1]

Until the late nineteenth century American scientists in all but a few fields —geology, astronomy, and physiology were among the exceptions—had, compared to their European counterparts, neglected basic research and were particularly deficient in theoretical studies. Colleges and industry depended

I am grateful to John G. Burke, University of California, Los Angeles; Daniel J. Kevles, California Institute of Technology; Thomas S. Kuhn, Princeton University; and Charles Weiner, American Institute of Physics, for their indispensable assistance in connection with the scientific aspects of this subject. Research for this article has been supported by a Faculty Research Fellowship from the Social Science Research Council and grants from the Committee on Research, Academic Senate, University of California, Los Angeles.

[1] On parallel developments in the social sciences, see Barry D. Karl, "The Power of Intellect and the Politics of Ideas," *Daedalus*, 99 (1968): 1002–35; *idem*, "Presidential Planning and Social Science Research: Mr. Hoover's Experts," *Perspectives in American History*, 3 (1969): 347–409; George W. Stocking, Jr., *Race, Culture, and Evolution, Essays in the History of Anthropology* (New York, 1960), 270–307. Stocking raises questions about the potentially unfortunate consequences of cooperation between the academic professions and institutional and governmental sources of funds, which cannot be explored within the limited framework of this article. His allusion to possible comparisons between the government's use of anthropologists as spies during World War I and the more recent Project Camelot (pp. 272–73) suggests parallels with the dilemma of atomic scientists during and after World War II.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

largely upon European research for fundamental innovations. Historians attempting to explain these deficiencies cite several major causes: Americans placed a relatively low value on work that was not immediately useful or profitable; aristocratic patrons willing to support pure science did not exist in the United States after the early nineteenth century and the businessmen who might have assumed this role were ruthless in pursuit of quick profits; college professors may have been mildly esteemed as teachers but until late in the nineteenth century they commanded little respect as researchers and thinkers and were consequently heavily burdened with class work.[2] Josiah Willard Gibbs, the one American theoretical physicist who thought creatively about the important problems in his field during the late nineteenth century, was virtually ignored by his fellow countrymen and worked almost unknown even among students and most fellow faculty members at Yale. Nine years after his appointment as professor of mathematical physics at Yale and seven years after he started publishing his classic series of papers on thermodynamics, the college still did not pay him a salary. Not until he was on the verge of moving to Johns Hopkins in 1880 did Yale's administration reconsider his worth to the college and grant him $2,500 a year.[3]

Between the 1880s and the mid-1920s, however, conditions that would promote a vastly improved level of fundamental inquiry were created in the American physics profession, making possible the dramatic changes of the 1920s. The number of physics students and faculty within United States colleges and universities expanded dramatically, encouraging specialization. Pedagogical improvements in American higher education included the creation of these universities and an effort to staff them with well-trained scientists. Consequently, the general level of knowledge and intellectual leadership among experimental physicists at the finest universities gradually rose to a quality comparable with that of good European universities. Funds for postdoctoral research in physics became available on a large scale for the first time, and new theories and techniques—especially quantum mechanics—infused intellectual stimulation and attracted outside funds.

[2] Richard H. Shryock, "American Indifference to Basic Science during the Nineteenth Century," *Archives Internationales d'Histoires des Sciences*, no. 28 (1948–49): 3–18; I. B. Cohen, *Science and American Society in the First Century of the Republic* (Columbus, 1961); *idem*, "Some Reflections on Nineteenth Century Science in America," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 45 (1959): 666–67. Edward Lurie seems to dissent from the conventional view of mid-nineteenth century U.S. science, but he does not suggest the existence of underappreciated American work in theoretical physics. "An Interpretation of Science in the Nineteenth Century: A Study in History and Historiography," *Journal of World History*, 8 (1965): 681–706. Another dissenter, Nathan Reingold, also acknowledges theoretical deficiencies in nineteenth-century America science, especially in physics. Reingold, ed., *Science in Nineteenth Century America, A Documentary History* (New York, 1964), 251–52, 315–17.

[3] Henry A. Rowland of Johns Hopkins, first president of the American Physical Society, wrote Gibbs in 1879: "Mathematical physics is so little cultivated in this country and the style of work is in general so superficial that we are proud to have at least one in the country who can uphold its honor in that direction." Quoted in Lynde Phelps Wheeler, *Josiah Willard Gibbs* (New Haven, 1951), 97; see also 87–93.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The number of graduate students and Ph.D.'s awarded in physics rose rapidly in the United States beginning in the 1880s, as they did in other scholarly fields. Most disciplines expanded especially quickly during the 1920s; total graduate students and degrees tripled between 1920 and 1930. The number of doctorates in physics awarded in the United States rose from 31 in 1920, and 37 in 1921, to 106 in 1930; a total of 729 were given during the decade, almost all by fifteen universities.[4] By the mid-1920s, then, graduate training in physics at major universities could no longer be left to two or three professors. Indeed, the best universities could now justify clusters of two, three, and even four specialists in crucial subfields like quantum mechanics—a long step toward eliminating the intellectual isolation that had handicapped American theoreticians. Students interested in the most esoteric specialties in atomic physics could find knowledgeable associates among their peers as well as among their teachers. Finally, the increased number of physicists meant that when new theories and techniques and postdoctoral research fellowships became available, an abundance of young scientists would be prepared to master the innovative ideas and methods during years of study and research made possible by the fellowships.

A group of leaders arose within the American physics profession between 1910 and 1920, able both to understand the new theories and to cooperate with foundations and the federal government in organizing and operating the fellowship programs. These influential scientists contributed little beyond experimental data to the conceptualization of quantum physics. By 1920, however, most of them were well aware of the ferment within theoretical physics in Europe and of its potential effect upon the entire profession. As a consequence, during the period before young theorists became available to introduce courses in quantum theory, some of the most eminent American experimental physicists—among them Robert A. Millikan at Chicago and the California Institute of Technology, Karl T. Compton at Princeton, Arthur H. Compton at Chicago, Harrison M. Randall at Michigan, and George W. Pierce at Harvard— attempted to teach the subject or important aspects of it themselves.[5]

[4] L. R. Harmon, "Physics Ph.D.'s . . . Whence . . . Whither . . . When?" *Physics Today*, 10 (1962): 21–28; Bernard Berelson, *Graduate Education in the United States* (New York, 1960), 26. For an over-all perspective on the twentieth-century expansion of science, see Gerald Holton, "Scientific Research and Scholarship: Notes toward the Design of Proper Scales," *Daedalus*, 91 (1962): 362–99; and Derek J. de Solla Price, *Little Science, Big Science* (New York, 1963).

[5] Pierce, whose research seminar had been entitled, "Radioactivity and Electromagnetic Waves," retitled it "Radiation and the Quantum Theory" in 1915. When Edward C. Kemble began teaching courses at Harvard in quantum theory in 1919, Pierce changed the title of his seminar to "Radiation and Applications of the Quantum Theory to Radiation." In 1929, when both Kemble and John C. Slater were teaching quantum theory, Pierce removed the term "quantum theory" from his course description altogether. Harvard University Catalogue, 1912–13, p. 380; 1915–16, p. 416; 1919–20, pp. 383, 385; 1929–30, p. 236; Princeton University Catalogue, 1919–20, p. 311. Millikan's notes for his lectures in quantum theory are preserved in box 1, "Lecture Notes," Robert A. Millikan Papers, California Institute of Technology; see especially "Atomic Structure," Summer 1915, and "Quantum Theories and Theories of Atomic Structure," Summer 1920. Millikan's lectures on this subject are discussed in an interview with Robert S.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Between 1910 and 1925, when the teaching of modern theory in the United States lagged well behind its formulation in Europe, the over-all professional training obtainable in American physics departments reached a high level. American experimental competence and achievements ranked high by any standards, as attested to by the work during this period of world-renowned scientists like Millikan, Pierce, the Comptons, Albert A. Michelson of Chicago, Joseph S. Ames and R. W. Wood of Johns Hopkins, Irving Langmuir of the General Electric Company, and Percy W. Bridgeman and Theodore Lyman of Harvard.[6] Furthermore, in some universities—Berkeley and Caltech, for example—members of the chemistry department kept fully abreast of developments in physical theory. In others—like the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Princeton, and Chicago—mathematicians of enormous ability stood ready to help prepare students for the rigorous mathematical demands of modern theory and in a few cases contributed to the solution of problems in quantum theory. Counterparts to the institutes of theoretical physics at Göttingen, Copenhagen, Leiden, Paris, Munich, Leipzig, and Berlin did not exist in the United States early in the 1920s. Scores of American graduate students, nevertheless, were being prepared to understand the most difficult articles in *Zeitschrift für Physik,* to take part in the most advanced theoretical seminars in European universities, and to attempt to solve for themselves the most abstruse theoretical problems.

In yet another respect leaders of the United States physics profession during the 1920s served the next generation of physicists well. They developed a system for the dissemination of favored ideas very similar to that which Barry D. Karl describes among social scientists of the same era.[7] Through influence upon important administrative as well as academic appointments, over publication by both publishings houses and journals, on the arrangement of professional programs and other avenues of publicity within their disciplines, and especially over the distribution of philanthropic

Mulliken, Feb. 1, 1964, p. 4, Archive for the History of Quantum Physics; and in an interview with Harrison M. Randall, Feb. 19, 1964, pp. 16–46, American Institute of Physics. Copies of the interview transcripts and supplementary manuscript material, including correspondence and lecture notes, collected for the Archive for the History of Quantum Physics (hereafter AHQP), are deposited in the American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia. Copies of almost all of the material are also located at the University of California, Berkeley, and the Institute for Theoretical Physics, Copenhagen. For a description of the project, see Thomas S. Kuhn, John L. Heilbron, Paul L. Forman, and Lini Allen, *Sources for History of Quantum Physics, An Inventory and Report* (Philadelphia, 1967). The other major collection of interviews and manuscripts pertinent to this topic is stored in the Center for the History and Philosophy of Physics, American Institute of Physics (hereafter AIP), New York City. Most of the Institute's interviews were conducted by Charles Weiner, director of the Center and head of the Institute's Project for the History of Recent Physics in the United States.

[6] Of this list of ten, five were awarded Nobel Prizes: Millikan, Michelson, Arthur Compton, Langmuir, and Bridgeman.

[7] Karl, "The Power of Intellect." Joseph Ben-David traces the present United States superiority in basic scientific research to origins in the differences between American and European university systems that became apparent early in the twentieth century. *Fundamental Research and the Universities* (Paris, 1968), especially pp. 29–44.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

funds, these national politicians of the academic communities exercised a large measure of control over the intellectual direction taken by their professions. Most academic leaders of American physics realized by 1920 or shortly thereafter that their university departments would have to develop strong theoretical components, especially in quantum theory, if the experimental sections were to retain their vitality.

Political leadership in academic physics during this period almost invariably derived originally from a proven ability to generate ideas. Within the national discipline an aptitude for politics and public relations could seldom be translated into lasting influence unless accompanied by well-established intellectual powers. Consequently the leaders of American academic physics during the 1920s not only understood their profession's need for well-trained quantum theorists but were able to explain this necessity effectively to donors of funds, university officials, and members of their own departments. Thus they arranged first for the training of the young theorists and then for their rapid assimilation into the profession.

Among these leaders of American physics were the very experimentalists —Millikan, the Comptons, and Pierce—who had demonstrated their awareness of the new field's importance by attempting to teach quantum theory themselves. In addition, Lyman, Ames, Randall, Wood, John T. Tate of Minnesota, and Charles E. Mendenhall of Wisconsin used their influence to hasten the education and employment of a large group of quantum theorists. In dealing with foundations and university officials they consistently gave this task first priority. Typical of their attitude and their actions was Karl T. Compton's statement in 1925 written in support of a grant application submitted by Frank Hoyt, a young teacher of quantum theory at Chicago who wanted funds for study in Berlin: "There is no field in physics at the present time which is of such great importance and in which there is more to be done than the field which Dr. Hoyt has chosen. He is quite right in saying that in this country we have carried the experimental side to a high degree of achievement, but that the theoretical developments at the present time are coming largely from Germany."[8] Furthermore, while the American postdoctoral students completed their education at the European institutes, the political leaders of physics in the United States obtained permanent positions at their universities for over a dozen of the most accomplished young European theorists.

Basic changes in American philanthropy provided time for young scientists to master their field and to complete original research, thought, and

[8] Karl T. Compton to H. A. Moe of the Guggenheim Foundation, Dec. 18, 1925, Karl T. Compton Papers, Department of Physics, Princeton University. Hoyt received the grant. Earlier the National Research Council had supported Hoyt for a year at Copenhagen. The largest collection of such correspondence is in the National Research Council Manuscripts, National Academy of Sciences–National Research Council, Washington. This collection is supplemented by the K. Compton Papers, the Robert A. Millikan Papers, the George Ellery Hale Papers, California Institute of Technology, and the Oswald Veblen Papers, Library of Congress.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

writing. Starting early in the twentieth century the original donors of foundation funds and the associates they chose to help disburse their money began to step aside in favor of professional foundation staffs and advisors from national academic associations.[9] This shift coincided with similar changes in large business organizations. The professional managers in both industry and philanthropy were more receptive than their predecessors had been to suggestions that funds be committed to projects without immediate practical applications. More specifically they, and top government officials as well, were convinced by the 1920s that long-term national welfare depended upon basic research of the kind best carried out in universities.

The experience of World War I hastened this change in attitude among philanthropic, industrial, and governmental officials, and also affected the academic leaders with whom they increasingly consulted. The scholar-politicians were brought together in various wartime government organizations and given an opportunity both to establish working relationships and to discover how much could be accomplished with sufficient application of money, organization, and cooperation between universities and donors of financial assistance. Apparatus and chemicals for gas warfare, instruments to detect submarines, and psychological techniques for mobilization flowed from research projects coordinated by academic scientists. On their part, the philanthropic, business, and government officials who observed the wartime scientific achievements became more willing to rely upon the judgments of academic leaders. They discovered during the war, moreover, that men with demonstrated ability as leaders within their scholarly disciplines had a good deal in common with professional managers in other sectors of the society.[10]

The Rockefeller fortune served as the crucial source of funds for physics research during the 1920s. From that accumulation came most of the money granted through the National Research Council, the International Education Board, and the General Education Board, three agencies that pioneered large-scale subsidization of basic research in physics.

The National Research Council (NRC), chartered by the federal government but controlled by the scientific associations through the American Association for the Advancement of Science, launched a program of post-doctoral fellowships in 1919 with a gift of $500,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation. Rockefeller officials had been considering the establishment of a research institute for the physical sciences analogous to the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. When presented with a choice, however,

[9] Merle Curti and Roderick Nash, *Philanthropy in the Shaping of American Higher Education* (New Brunswick, 1965), 212–37.

[10] Daniel J. Kevles, "George Ellery Hale, the First World War, and the Advancement of Science in America," *Isis*, 69 (1968): 427–37. A good deal of this cooperation can be followed in the letters of Robert A. Millikan to Hale, Hale Papers, microfilm roll 25.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they decided to postpone implementation of this idea in favor of supporting fellows chosen by the NRC.[11] Physicists obtained over one hundred of these fellowships during the 1920s; seventeen of them were for study solely in aspects of quantum theory, others for related work that was partly experimental. Most grants were renewed; support for three years was not unusual, and some received grants for four years. Although the funds were supposed to be used in American universities only, the NRC permitted most of the young quantum theorists it supported to study in Europe. The International Education Board awarded similar postdoctoral fellowships starting in 1923, and the Guggenheim Foundation began its program in 1925. These agencies used roughly the same selection process as the NRC, and they frequently supported scientists who had already received NRC funds.[12] As a result the young American physicists considered most promising by the profession's established leaders were removed from the drudgery customarily assigned to young instructors: supervising freshman laboratory experiments, lecturing to introductory physics classes, and grading papers. Instead they enjoyed years of research, reading, contemplation, and writing at universities that excelled in their specialties.

The immense contributions of the International Education Board and the General Education Board to the advancement of American physics during the 1920s originated in policies conceived by Wickliffe Rose, who served as president of both organizations from 1923 to 1928. Rose had ascended rapidly in the Rockefeller philanthropic empire after he moved to foundation administration in 1907 from his position as professor of philosophy at Peabody College in Tennessee. As director of the Rockefeller Foundation's International Health Board just before World War I, Rose had instituted policies similar in pattern to those that became familiar to physicists during the 1920s. First he helped to start schools to train public health officials at the universities best prepared for that work: Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Toronto, São Paulo, London, Prague, and Warsaw. Then an international system of fellowships brought carefully chosen students to these universities. Finally, a series of world-wide programs to control various

[11] "Plans for the Promotion of Research in Physics and Chemistry Prepared by the Research Fellowship Board of the National Research Council, May, 1920"; Millikan Papers, box 5; Arthur A. Noyes to Robert A. Millikan, May 7, 1920, *ibid.;* Abraham Flexner to Hale, Sept. 18, 1919, Hale Papers, microfilm roll 14; Raymond B. Fosdick, *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation* (New York, 1952), 145–46.

[12] National Research Council, *National Research Fellows 1919–1938, Physical Sciences* (Washington, 1939), 13–22; "Report of the National Research Fellowship Board in Physics and Chemistry of the National Research Council, Washington, D. C., October 1, 1922"; undated report on NRC fellows, mid-1920s, Millikan Papers, box 5. For statistical information on all NRC grants to physicists to May 20, 1928, see "Analysis of Advanced Fellowships in Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry," undated copy enclosed with Neva E. Reynolds, assistant secretary, National Research Council, to Veblen, June 9, 1928, Veblen Papers, box 28. Of twenty theoretical physicists born during the decade 1895–1905 whose names appear on a list of the most prominent U.S. physicists prepared by the American Institute of Physics, all but two received NRC, International Education Board, or Guggenheim fellowships during the 1920s. Both exceptions—Eugene Wigner and George Uhlenbeck—were European-trained scientists who held research positions in European universities.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

diseases made use of the public health organizations managed by the officials that the board had helped to train.

At some point in his prewar career as a public health administrator Rose decided that broad improvements in medicine depended upon the expansion of knowledge in the physical sciences, on which, in his opinion, the other sciences were based. During World War I Rose served as director of the Rockefeller Foundation's relief efforts in Europe. Like many other educated observers he emerged with deepened respect for organized scientific research. "This is an age of science," he recorded in his private notebook early in the 1920s. "All important fields of activity from the breeding of bees to the administration of an empire, call for an understanding of the spirit and the technique of modern science. The nations that do not cultivate the sciences cannot hold their own." If the physical sciences, especially, were stimulated to further accomplishments, Rose concluded, researchers in other fields, including the social sciences, would be encouraged to adopt the quantitative techniques and inductive reasoning that made that success possible.

Again Rose attempted to promote additional development in the world's major centers of learning with grants for specific purposes to selected institutions. A concurrent fellowship program sent the most promising young scientists to these institutes. This time the nation best prepared to take advantage of Rose's plan was the United States, which had the most young scientists ready for postdoctoral training and the universities eager to employ them. When his fellow trustees asked Rose to head the General Education Board, which was restricted by its charter to operations in the United States, he made his acceptance contingent upon the establishment of an international organization whose activities he could mesh with those he planned for the General Education Board. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. demonstrated his unbounded faith in Rose by creating the International Education Board and donating twenty-two million dollars to it for Rose's use over the next five years. After discussions with leading American scientists, Rose toured Europe for five months, visiting fifty European universities. In each institution he tried to gauge the ability and willingness of the finest scientists to train additional advanced students and the extent to which an injection of money would increase the flow of ideas or improve the training of scientists.

Soon after Rose returned to the United States funds began streaming into Europe's scientific institutes and into fellowship grants for young scientists, especially from Europe and the United States. The first large appropriation was for the expansion of Niels Bohr's Institute for Theoretical Physics at the University of Copenhagen. Other sizable grants went to expand mathematics and theoretical physics facilities at the universities of Göttingen and Paris. The University of Leiden received a smaller grant. It was agreed that these institutes would welcome not only qualified Inter-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

national Education Board fellows but physicists sent by the NRC as well. At least as many European scientists studied in the United States under these programs as Americans studied in Europe, but most of the European visitors were experimentalists attracted by superior American equipment, while most of the Americans supported in Europe were theoreticians. All but one of the Americans returned to posts in the United States, but dozens of Europeans were induced to remain in America, including several fine young theoreticians like Fritz Zwicky and Otto La Porte, both of whom first came to the United States as International Education Board fellows.

In the United States Rose halted the General Education Board's contributions to university general endowment funds, which had reached sixty million dollars when he assumed the presidency. He inaugurated instead a program to subsidize the few strongest university science departments in the expectation that "the high standards of a strong institution will spread throughout a nation and will even cross oceans." Over the next seven years the board distributed about nineteen million dollars to a handful of carefully chosen science departments—almost half to Caltech, Princeton, and Chicago—in an effort, Rose declared, "to make the peaks higher." In each case the university was obliged at least to match the funds granted by the board. The full endowment, however, remained under control of the departments for creation of research chairs, fellowships, and additional faculty positions, particularly in new fields like quantum theory.[13] Thus the academic politicians—who directed the NRC, gave decisive advice to the foundations, and managed the departments enriched by Rose's policies—began to direct the flow of large amounts of money, mostly outside the jurisdiction of university administrators. Observing this process in the social sciences, Barry Karl has commented, "This takeover by the academics of the management of their own resources was the heart of the intellectual revolution which took place in the 1920's."[14]

The fourth precondition for the advancement of American theoretical physics was the formulation of quantum mechanics, which provided the essential mathematical tools for studying atomic and subatomic physics. Quantum theory remained in a disorganized state until mid-1925. That hodgepodge of hypotheses and theorems nevertheless solved many perplexing questions that had resisted explanation by classical theory. Wide agree-

[13] Rose's statement in his private notebook is quoted in Raymond B. Fosdick, *Adventure in Giving, The Story of the General Education Board* (New York, 1962), 229. On Rose and his accomplishments, see Fosdick, *Rockefeller Foundation*, 30–43, 135–43; George W. Gray, *Education on an International Scale, A History of the International Education Board 1923–1938* (New York, 1941), v–xiii, 3–15, 16–51; and Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller Jr., A Portrait* (New York, 1956), 369–73. Historians have granted Rose the anonymity he sought but since his death is no longer necessary. He is not mentioned in Curti and Nash, *Philanthropy in the Shaping of American Higher Education*. For the details of the board's change of policy, see *Annual Report of the General Education Board, 1924–1925* (New York, 1926), 6–8. Until the board's files are opened to scholars, the scramble of the universities after Rose's largess can best be followed in the papers of Millikan, Hale, Veblen, and K. Compton.

[14] Karl, "The Power of Intellect," 1007.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment existed among eminent physicists in Europe and in the United States that quantum theory was, as G. W. Stewart of the University of Iowa asserted in December 1922, "the most attractive problem in physics." Addressing the American Association for the Advancement of Science as its vice president and chairman of its physics section, Stewart continued, "The quantum theory seemed a few years ago to be a curious as well as a remarkable element in Planck's theory of radiation, the oddity of the quantum reflecting merely the difficulties of the problem. Today, we regard a quantum theory more seriously. . . . But the attack upon the problem has but begun. The allurement remains."[15]

Beginning with Werner Heisenberg's suggestion of matrix mechanics in the summer of 1925, an elaborate and logically consistent theory was produced over approximately two years, with contributions from scores of scientists in Europe and the United States. Reviewing the effects of this intellectual accomplishment, historian-physicist Max Jammer writes, "Never has a physical theory given a key to the explanation and calculation of such a heterogeneous group of phenomena and reached such a perfect agreement with experience as has quantum mechanics."[16]

The new mechanics acted powerfully to reinforce the other circumstances advancing theoretical physics in America. The sudden solution of crucial difficulties within quantum theory and the obvious importance of these theoretical advances made it even easier for the leaders of the discipline to convince foundation and university officials that additional research grants and faculty appointments were needed. Young theorists, seeking these funds and appointments, enjoyed frequent success, adding to the "allurement" of this "most attractive problem."

The conditions that accelerated improvement in American theoretical physics—enlargement of student bodies and faculties, a high level of knowledge and leadership in the profession, subsidization of research by foundations, and the formulation of quantum mechanics—also encouraged the clustering of quantum theorists in a handful of major universities. Those faculties that already included the finest mathematicians and physicists received the bulk of the endowment funds distributed to science departments by the General Education Board. Furthermore, almost half the physicists who received NRC grants for postdoctoral study in quantum theory chose to use them at Caltech, and of the others, all who studied in the United States attended Harvard, Berkeley, Chicago, or Princeton.[17] These concentrations

[15] G. W. Stewart, "Certain Allurements in Physics," Address presented to Section B, Physics, American Association for the Advancement of Science, Boston, Dec. 1922; reprinted in *Science*, Jan. 5, 1923, pp. 1–6.

[16] Max Jammer, *The Conceptual Development of Quantum Mechanics* (New York, 1966), 365.

[17] Two of these physicists received financial assistance during additional study, in one case at Yale and in the other at the University of Wisconsin. As a whole, the physicists and chemists who received postdoctoral NRC grants tended to concentrate at these same institutions. A

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of promising students made it even easier for the leading departments to collect groups of outstanding quantum theorists. Thus, centers for study and research in modern theoretical physics were created in the United States. One of the results was that by 1930 young American physicists no longer found it necessary to visit Europe for theoretical training.

In the early 1920s only Caltech among American universities even remotely resembled the European institutes where quantum theory was developed. This unique physics faculty was formed largely through the efforts of Robert Millikan, who himself had been cajoled away from the University of Chicago in 1921. With aid from a scientifically enlightened university administration, generous local businessmen, and his connections with leading physicists and government and foundation officials, Millikan transformed the small Pasadena engineering school into a modern scientific center.[18]

One of the first leaders of the American physics profession to comprehend the consequences for physics of quantum theory, Millikan immediately set out to build a modern theoretical faculty. First he persuaded Paul Epstein of Munich, a young theoretician of proven capability, to move from Leiden—where he was replacing the renowned physicist Paul Ehrenfest for the year—to Caltech in 1921. Epstein was the forerunner of an influential group of brilliant young European physicists who emigrated not as refugees but because of greater opportunities in the United States for young men whose ambitions were blocked in Europe by static academic hierarchies and by quotas limiting the addition of Jews to faculties. Among them were George Uhlenbeck and Samuel Goudsmit from Leiden and Otto La Porte from Munich, brought to Michigan in 1926; Gerhard Dieke, who moved from Leiden to Berkeley in 1925; Fritz Zwicky, who came to Caltech from Zurich in 1925; and John von Neumann and Eugene Wigner, hired by Princeton from Berlin in 1929.

During the early 1920s Epstein was the only academic physicist in the United States who consistently published significant papers on quantum theory. At first he shared the feeling of isolation felt by almost every quantum theorist in America until the late 1920s. In Moscow, where he had started his career, as well as in Munich and Leiden, he recalled, "you could rely on friends to point out things of interest you may have missed. But that was not possible here."[19] But Millikan soon arranged to have at least one

NRC report issued in the mid-1920s showed that 91 of 120 NRC fellows had used their grants at Berkeley, Caltech, Chicago, Harvard, and Princeton. Undated report, Millikan Papers, box 5. "Analysis of Advanced Fellowships" indicates that this situation continued through 1928.

[18] Robert A. Millikan, *The Autobiography of Robert A. Millikan* (New York, 1950), 212–31, 244–50; Helen Wright, *Explorer of the Universe, A Biography of George Ellery Hale* (New York, 1966), 333–51.

[19] Interview with Paul S. Epstein, May 25–26, 1962, pp. 1, 7, 11, AHQP. Epstein was chosen by Millikan after the leading American mathematical physicists were considered and rejected as inadequate. At that point Millikan declared, "I have been looking over the young European physicists for some time with this very thing in mind." Millikan to Hale, July 28, 1920, Hale Papers, microfilm roll 25.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

leading European theorist visit Caltech every year to lecture and to participate in research. Albert Einstein from Berlin, Paul Ehrenfest from Leiden, Arnold Sommerfeld from Munich, C. G. Darwin from Cambridge, and Max Born from Göttingen served as visiting faculty during the years 1921 to 1926. They were drawn to Pasadena by Millikan's fame, charm, and persistence; by the thriving scientific institute itself; and by the large sums for salaries made available to Millikan by the General Education Board and other donors; but perhaps most of all by the giant telescopes and renowned astrophysicists at Caltech, great attractions to scientists seeking evidence that would prove that their theories were universally true.[20] Millikan also hired established theoreticians Richard C. Tolman, director of the army's Fixed Nitrogen Laboratory in Washington and a leading theorist among physical chemists, and Harry Bateman from Johns Hopkins, a mathematician who specialized in the problems of theoretical physics. Both Tolman and Bateman had studied the mathematical bases of modern physics in Germany a generation earlier. Tolman, who had taught at Berkeley and the University of Illinois before 1918, was the only academic representative of the physical sciences invited to deliver a paper at the American Physical Society's colloquium on quantum theory at the society's annual meeting in 1921.[21]

A group of exceptionally talented young theoretical physicists, most of them sponsored by the National Research Council or the International Education Board, quickly gravitated to Pasadena. Among them were Gerhard Dieke, Carl Eckart, J. Robert Oppenheimer, Linus Pauling, William V. Houston, Howard P. Robertson, and Fritz Zwicky, all of whom went on to illustrious scientific careers. George Uhlenbeck marveled that Carl Eckart should have written articles in 1926 suggesting plausible solutions to the major problem—the coexistence of wave and particle mechanics—facing those who sought a coherent quantum mechanics while studying in what Uhlenbeck termed "the wilds" of Pasadena. Eckart's interest in the problem, however, had been aroused by one of Born's lectures at Caltech, and the crucial mathematical suggestions came from Epstein, who overheard Eckart discussing his project with Zwicky. This quality of communication was common at Göttingen, Leiden, and Berlin, but probably could have occurred only at Caltech among American universities in the mid-1920s.[22]

Students at Harvard during the early 1920s learned quantum theory in a

[20] Bulletin of the California Institute of Technology, 1926, pp. 22–24; interview with Epstein, 1–25; interview with Linus Pauling, Mar. 27, 1964, pp. 16, 25, AHQP; Born to John H. Van Vleck, Nov. 25, Dec. 14, 1925, Jan. 13, 1926, John H. Van Vleck File, AHQP. Occasionally visitors acknowledged the attractiveness of Pasadena's balmy climate, not yet affected by the smog that subsequently afflicted that area of the Los Angeles basin. Correspondence between Millikan and these visiting physicists can be found in Millikan Papers, box 25.

[21] "Proceedings of the American Physical Society," *Physical Review*, 19 (1921): 374. Tolman spoke as representative of Section B, Physics, American Association for the Advancement of Science. The other symposium speakers were H. B. Phillips, M.I.T., for the American Mathematical Society, and Saul Dushman, General Electric, for the American Physical Society.

[22] Bulletin of the California Institute of Technology, 1926, p. 73; interview with George Uhlenbeck, Mar. 30, 1962, p. 2, AHQP; Jammer, *Conceptual Development of Quantum Mechanics*, 275.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more desultory fashion; nevertheless their training prepared several of them for further work at the European institutes. Edward C. Kemble, who received permission in 1916 to write the first doctoral dissertation at Harvard on a theoretical topic, began teaching quantum theory at Harvard in 1919. At least five other eminent Harvard experimental physicists imparted considerable knowledge of quantum physics to their graduate classes. Percy W. Bridgeman, George W. Pierce, Theodore Lyman, Frederick A. Saunders, and William Duane gave one graduate student, John C. Slater, the impression during the early 1920s that "practically everybody around [was] really working on atoms."[23] Slater, who was appointed to the Harvard faculty in 1924, claimed that the training available there was superior to that offered in the Institute for Theoretical Physics at Copenhagen, where he had taken part in what he considered an unsatisfactory collaboration with Niels Bohr and his chief assistant Hans Kramers during 1923–24. Harvard, Slater recalled, "was not on the outskirts looking in. Harvard was one of the places that really were doing modern physics."[24] Slater's contention, however, is contradicted to a large extent by other evidence, including the publications of the Harvard faculty and the testimony of his fellow students, especially John H. Van Vleck and J. Robert Oppenheimer, two of the great teachers of theoretical physics in their generation. Van Vleck, Slater's neighbor in Conant Hall, recalled little concern or even conversation at Harvard about the crisis in quantum theory. In the United States during that period Van Vleck claimed, "you always had a little of the feeling that you were one lap behind compared to what was going on in Europe."[25] Oppenheimer, who served as Bridgeman's laboratory assistant for two years and studied under Kemble and Slater, shifted to Cambridge University in 1925. There he immediately found himself in a considerably different atmosphere: listening to and taking part in conversations about the most recent hypotheses, carefully reading all the physics journals as soon as he could lay hands on them, and meeting a succession of visiting theoreticians from nearby Continental universities.

Urged by Ehrenfest and Born, Oppenheimer visited the theoretical institutes at Leiden and Göttingen. At Leiden, he recalled, "I decided to learn the trade of being a theoretical physicist. By that time I was fully aware that it was an unusual time, that great things were afoot." Asked whether a similar state of excitement had existed at Harvard, Oppenheimer replied, "This implies what for Harvard in '24 and '25 was not true; namely an awareness of the theoretical picture on a grand scale." At Göttingen the

[23] Interview with John C. Slater, Oct. 3, 1963, p. 11, AHQP. Kemble switched to a largely experimental topic and Van Vleck in 1922 became the first Harvard student to complete a theoretical dissertation.

[24] *Ibid.* For Slater's view of his collaboration with Bohr and Kramers, see Slater to Van Vleck, July 27, 1924, Van Vleck File.

[25] Interview with Slater, pp. 11–14; interview with John H. Van Vleck, Oct. 2, 1963, p. 29, and Oct. 4, 1963, p. 6, AHQP. Van Vleck participated in the interview with Slater and commented upon it then and when interviewed himself later.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

contrast with Harvard was even more striking: "In the sense that had not been true in Cambridge and certainly not at Harvard, I was part of a little group of people who had some common interests and tastes and many common interests in physics. Gradually they gave me some sense and perhaps more gradually, some taste in physics." Oppenheimer, later known—apparently to his dismay—as father of the atomic bomb, asserted in 1963 that "perhaps the most exciting time in my life was when [Paul] Dirac arrived [at Göttingen] and gave me the proofs of his paper on the quantum theory of radiation."[26]

At Princeton, Göttingen-trained Edwin P. Adams taught the formal mathematics underlying quantum theory thoroughly enough to prepare students for the most difficult European seminars and to prepare Eckart for his remarkable work at Caltech. Until the mid-1920s, however, the Princeton catalogue stated that Adams' graduate seminars in statistical mechanics, including quantum theory, would be offered only when "sufficient demand" existed. Karl T. Compton's seminars on atomic structure, although oriented toward the training of experimentalists, stressed the hypotheses of Niels Bohr and other modern theorists. Nevertheless Eckart, who obtained his Ph.D. at Princeton before the NRC sent him to Caltech in 1925, found Pasadena more exciting. "It was much more international than at Princeton. There was a constant flow of visitors." Also, at Caltech more students and faculty members fully understood and discussed both the crisis in quantum theory and the proposed solutions.[27]

Outside Caltech, and possibly Harvard and Princeton, advanced training in quantum theory remained at a low level in the United States during the early 1920s compared to any of a dozen European institutes or to the best American universities in 1930. John T. Tate of the University of Minnesota, an experimental atomic physicist and editor of the *Physical Review*, was one of the earliest leaders of the profession to recognize the necessity of building a strong theoretical component within his department. First John Van Vleck and Gregory Breit from Harvard, then Edward U. Condon from Princeton were brought to Minnesota, but each departed quickly. Van Vleck remained longest—four years; Breit left after only one. Condon began pleading with friends to arrange for his return to Princeton three months after he arrived. The chief complaint of all three was intellectual isolation. Van Vleck remarked, "In Minnesota after Gregory Breit left there was nobody in any kind of professional capacity that I had to talk to about any of these problems that worried me. If I didn't understand a particular algebraic point, or a point that was not clear in a paper, I had to slug it out for myself."[28]

[26] Interview with J. Robert Oppenheimer, Nov. 18, 1963, pp. 1–21, and Nov. 20, 1963, pp. 1–6, AHQP. The quotations are from Nov. 18, pp. 12, 17, and Nov. 20, pp. 4, 6, in that order.

[27] Princeton University Catalogue, 1919–20, p. 311; interview with Carl Eckart, May 31, 1962, pp. 9–11, AHQP.

[28] Interview with Van Vleck, Oct. 2, 1963, pp. 6, 8–9, 14, 28–30 (Van Vleck's statement is from

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Frank Hoyt, the lone theoretical physicist on Chicago's faculty from 1923 to 1928, heard little discussion there about the formulation of quantum mechanics in 1925–26. "I don't seem to have had a very great deal of contact with other theorists at that time. . . . I was a little bit isolated at Chicago." Gerhard Dieke, the first of Ehrenfest's Leiden pupils to be hired by an American university, wrote to Goudsmit in 1925 that at Berkeley "the only one who does know something about modern quantum theory is Raymond Birge." Meanwhile, Birge, who would play the major role in building Berkeley's physics department, was complaining to Kemble that "I am not much of a theoretical man." He found the new ideas in quantum theory terribly difficult. They were "one reason I have done no productive research for some time. I have been spending all my spare time reading up on just those things."[29]

I. I. Rabi, a graduate student at Cornell and Columbia between 1923 and 1927, considered the level of physics instruction at both institutions "incredibly low. . . . The essence of physics never came through to me. It seemed to be the sort of thing where you measured the resistance of copper to another decimal point." Quantum theory, he asserted, "just didn't exist either at Cornell or at Columbia so far as course work is concerned." When Rabi arrived in Germany in 1927 for two years of study, he discovered that the foremost American physics journal, the *Physical Review*, was so lightly regarded that the University of Göttingen waited until the end of the year and ordered all twelve monthly issues at once to save postage. Uhlenbeck verified the low esteem in which European theoreticians held contributions published in America. "When I was in Leiden up to 1927 the *Physical Review* was one of the funny journals just like the Japanese, which you looked at once in a while, but never really considered very much."[30]

By 1930 the situation had altered drastically. As Van Vleck declared, "In 1920–25, there were very few people [in the United States] who understood the theoretical quantum physics of the time. . . and then things changed very suddenly. [During the late 1920s] America came of age in physics, for although we did not start the orgy of quantum mechanics, our young theorists joined it promptly."[31]

p. 14); Raymond T. Birge, "History of the Physics Department, University of California, Berkeley," vol. 8, p. 42, MS, AIP. Birge sponsored Condon's Ph.D. work at Berkeley; his account of his pupil's subsequent career, however, should be read with Condon's comments in Condon to Birge, Jan. 9, 1967, Raymond T. Birge Papers, AIP.

[29] Interview with Frank C. Hoyt, Apr. 28, 1964, pp. 15–16, AHQP; Dieke to Goudsmit, Sept. 26, 1925, Gerhard Dieke Papers, AIP; Birge to Kemble, Feb. 6, 1923, Edward C. Kemble File, AHQP.

[30] Interview with I. I. Rabi, Dec. 8, 1963, p. 29, AHQP; interview with Uhlenbeck, 20. Actually, quantum theory was treated at Cornell during Rabi's period of graduate study there in courses taught by Earl H. Kennard. The Register of Cornell University, 1921–22, p. 110; 1922–23, p. 110. For Rabi's ambiguous and amusing account of Kennard as a teacher, see interview with Rabi, 7.

[31] Van Vleck, *American Physics Comes of Age*, Albert A. Michelson Award Address, Case In-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American theoreticians could have developed their abilities considerably during the 1920s without leaving the country, assisted as they were by European journals, foundation fellowships, and the vastly expanded number of visits to the United States made by leading European theoretical physicists like Ehrenfest, Einstein, Born, Sommerfeld, and Paul Dirac. They would have missed, however, sustained contact with an almost indefinable spirit that demanded a steady high level of intellectual effort—mixing philosophical with mathematical scientific speculation, cooperative yet competitive—that permeated the great European institutes of theoretical physics. Association with scientists who thoroughly understood the bases of the new theories during their daily struggles to solve the immense problems of quantum theory evoked similar intellectual effort on the part of the American participants.[32]

The Americans entered an atmosphere of intense intellectual excitement and competition, similar in that respect to other eras when professionals have been aware that great discoveries were near at hand. Probably never before, however, had so many extraordinary scientists taken part in competition for precedence in one field. As Slater recalled, "Almost every idea occurred to several people simultaneously. No one had time to follow through a line of work without having someone else break in on his developments before they were finished."[33]

Van Vleck's experience in Copenhagen during the spring of 1926 provides a classic illustration of the fierce competition encountered by the young American theorists and their response to it. After working out an equation demonstrating that an important hypothesis of Dirac's could be verified using the new quantum mechanics, Van Vleck brought his paper to Niels Bohr and "found that Werner Heisenberg had sent in a paper doing just that thing. . . . I was rather discouraged. The next day or so I brought around a paper reckoning out the mean value of $1/r^4$ by this same Dirac method and found that [I.] Waller had just sent in a paper doing that." Next he sent a paper to *Nature* that was returned for condensation; but before he could complete the revision, "it was, I think [Lucy] Mensing who beat me to it." Undeterred, Van Vleck soon completed yet another article; this time Wolfgang Pauli published first. Earlier Van Vleck had passed through a period in which his papers were consistently duplicated or barely

stitute of Technology, Dec. 11, 1963 (Cleveland, n.d.), not paginated; quotation on [p. 7]. A copy can be found in AIP.

[32] On the European scientific institutes during this period and the role of philosophical speculation in the development of quantum physics, see Jammer, *Conceptual Development of Quantum Mechanics,* 166–80; Paul Forman, "The Environment and Practice of Atomic Physics in Weimar Germany" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1968); and Charles Weiner, "A New Site for the Seminar: The Refugees and American Physics in the 1930's," *Perspectives in American History,* 2 (1968): 190–233.

[33] Robert K. Merton has published a sizable literature on this subject; see especially his "Priorities in Scientific Discovery: A Chapter in the Sociology of Science," *American Sociological Review,* 20 (1957): 635–59. See also John C. Slater, "Quantum Physics in America Between the Wars," *Physics Today,* 21 (1968): 44.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

preceded by either Bohr or Kramers. Slater, working in competition with Dirac, found himself in a similar dilemma: "Clearly we were running a race, and clearly he was a smart guy, and I decided I'd better shift to something else. . . . If I kept on without shifting I'd just find every paper I wrote was written by him first." Michigan's David M. Dennison completed his first important paper at Zurich, only to learn that Heisenberg had just announced identical conclusions in Copenhagen. Carl Eckart had the misfortune of publishing a superb article demonstrating the mathematical equivalence of matrix mechanics with Erwin Schrödinger's wave mechanics, which would have been recognized as one of the classics of modern physics except that Schrödinger published similar calculations at approximately the same time.[34]

Despite their failure to contribute many ideas crucial to the advancement of quantum theory during the 1920s, the young Americans who took part in that development in Europe were eminently prepared to instruct the following generation at home. There was a special quality in the teaching of these men, Oppenheimer claimed: "Some of the excitement and wonder of the discoverer was in their teaching."[35] When they returned, mostly in 1927–29, they changed both the structure and the quality of American physics departments. For the first time groups of creative theoretical physicists became important members of almost every major department.

By 1930 at least five American universities—Caltech, Berkeley, Chicago, Michigan, and Princeton—had created theoretical physics faculties of the first order. Six other faculties—Columbia, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, M.I.T., Cornell, and Wisconsin—were not far behind. At Caltech, Oppenheimer, Houston, Pauling, Tolman, and Zwicky had returned after lengthy European study. Houston and Zwicky joined Epstein and Bateman in directing an advanced seminar in theoretical physics in addition to their specialized theoretical courses. Oppenheimer gave difficult lectures in quantum theory in a course with few enrolled students but many auditors. Pauling and Tolman undertook pathbreaking teaching and research in the application of quantum theory to chemistry, especially to chemical bonding.[36]

[34] Interview with Van Vleck, Oct. 2, 1963, pp. 5–7; Dennison to Van Vleck, July 21, 1926; Van Vleck to Ralph Kronig, Sept. 18, 1926; Van Vleck to H. A. Kramers, Sept. 22, 1924; Kramers to Van Vleck, Nov. 11, 1924, all in Van Vleck File; interview with Slater, 39; Oscar Klein to Dennison, Nov. 1, 1926, David M. Dennison File, AHQP; Jammer, *Conceptual Development of Quantum Mechanics*, 275–76. The Americans were not the only victims of this severe competition. Enrico Fermi, for example, informed Paul Dirac with exquisite sarcasm that the latter's recently published theory of ideal gas was "practically identical" to the theory published by Fermi in the world's major physics journal eight months earlier. "I suppose you have not seen my paper," Fermi concluded. Fermi to Dirac, Oct. 25, 1926, Paul Dirac File, AHQP.

[35] Oppenheimer, *Science and the Common Understanding* (New York, 1953), 36.

[36] Bulletin of the California Institute of Technology, 1929, pp. 155, 159, 160; 1931, pp. 158–59; interview with Carl Anderson, June 30, 1966, p. 13, AIP. Anderson, a Nobel Prize winner in 1932, had enrolled in Oppenheimer's quantum theory course in 1929. He quickly realized the extent of his unpreparedness and told Oppenheimer that he would have to drop the class. Oppenheimer replied that every other student already had withdrawn—although thirty or forty continued to audit the lectures. In order to retain his sole student, and his course, he persuaded Anderson to remain with a promise of generous grading.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Berkeley became the chief training ground for American theoreticians, largely because Oppenheimer gradually concentrated upon teaching there rather than at Caltech.[37] Uhlenbeck recalled that when Oppenheimer visited Leiden in 1927 "he was clearly a center of all the younger students. . . . He was really a kind of oracle. He knew very much. He was very difficult to understand, but very quick, and with a whole group of admirers." Again at Berkeley, starting in 1929, a cult of admirers began clustering around Oppenheimer. At Berkeley as at Caltech, most graduate students in physics avoided registering for his courses, complaining that they simply could not follow his explanations. The department chose not to assign him any undergraduate classes at all. William H. Williams' graduate seminar in theoretical physics consistently enrolled more students than Oppenheimer's. From among Oppenheimer's disciples, however, emerged what his colleagues regarded as an astonishing number of fine theoreticians. In some years during the 1930s most NRC fellows with grants for study in theoretical physics chose to work at Berkeley with Oppenheimer.[38]

In a lucid account of his attitude at Berkeley, Oppenheimer recalled:

> I didn't start to make a school; I didn't start to look for students. I started really as a propagator of the theory which I loved, about which I continued to learn more, and which was not well understood but which was very rich. The pattern was not that of someone who takes on a course and who teaches students preparing for a variety of careers, but of explaining first to faculty, staff, and colleagues and then to anyone who would listen what had been learned, what the unsolved problems were.[39]

Arthur Compton created another formidable theoretical faculty at Chicago, largely by persuading Robert S. Mulliken and Carl Eckart to join Frank Hoyt at that university in 1928. Mulliken's theoretical work during the late 1920s in the borderlands between physics and chemistry remained unverified until high-speed computers could be used to test the evidence. After this corroboration he received a Nobel Prize in 1967.[40]

Probably the two most successful efforts to build modern schools of theoretical physics in the United States during the 1920s took place at the University of Michigan and at Princeton. Michigan, a financially poor

[37] "Millikan loathed Oppenheimer, wouldn't match the promotions we gave him here, and harassed him maliciously," without a sign that Oppenheimer cared, Birge recalled. Quoted in Nuel Pharr Davis, *Lawrence and Oppenheimer* (New York, 1968), 52. Finally Niels Bohr visited the two California schools, grasped the situation, and suggested to the Berkeley administration and to Oppenheimer that the physicist move almost completely to Berkeley. *Ibid.*, 52–53.

[38] Interview with Uhlenbeck, 8; Robert Serber, "The Early Years," *Physics Today*, 20 (1967): 35–39; Birge, "History of the Physics Department," vol. 9, p. 30, app. 14; interview with Oppenheimer, Nov. 20, 1963, p. 30; Davis, *Lawrence and Oppenheimer*, 51. In 1931–32 total registration for Oppenheimer's graduate course in theoretical physics (Physics 290), taught in the fall semester, was thirty. Registration for the same course (Physics 290), taught by Williams in the spring semester, was eighty-two. Birge, "History of the Physics Department," app. 14.

[39] Interview with Oppenheimer, Nov. 20, 1963, p. 30.

[40] Interview with Mulliken, 20–22. On Mulliken's theoretical papers during the 1920s, see Jammer, *Conceptual Development of Quantum Mechanics*, 235–36.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

state university, which furthermore was denied the foundation support that proved effective at Princeton, nevertheless moved purposively and quickly to add a group of brilliant young theorists to its faculty. In contrast, Princeton's physics department, though favored with money, prestige, and mathematicians eager to expand the university's curriculum in theoretical physics, acted comparatively slowly to modernize its theoretical program.

The moving force in the University of Michigan's development, Harrison M. Randall, demonstrated perfectly how superior leadership could substitute for money in the formation of a distinguished university department. By the early 1920s Randall realized that theorists elsewhere were using data published by Michigan experimentalists and "were enjoying the reputation which I thought belonged to us." Also, Randall and Walter F. Colby were attempting to teach theoretical courses at Michigan without the intensive training in quantum physics necessary to keep up with recent developments. Unable to hire any of the bright, young theorists attached to the major universities, Randall arranged for the proper training of a promising Michigan student, David Dennison, meanwhile recruiting other young theorists in Europe.[41]

Fortunately, the genial Colby knew many of the profession's leaders as a result of rather desultory study throughout Europe. In the summer of 1926 he called upon Ehrenfest in Leiden, hoping that either Samuel Goudsmit or George Uhlenbeck, Ehrenfest's most accomplished pupils, could be induced to come to Michigan. When Colby arrived, Uhlenbeck recalled:

> Ehrenfest gave him an impassioned speech, in which he said that this was a very bad idea, to try to get one man to Ann Arbor. Because there was nobody there—just wilderness. You must have more than one, he said, otherwise they have nobody to talk to. Even better, more than two. . . . He could talk so seriously about how science develops. He made an enormous impression on Colby.[42]

Two or three weeks later Goudsmit and Uhlenbeck, already well-known in their mid-twenties for their discovery of the "electron spin," were offered appointments at Michigan. Goudsmit, especially, balked, although he knew that it would be years before he could expect a professorship in the hierarchical European universities. "If it had been Egypt or somewhere like that," he reminisced, "I would have gone right away, or China, or even India, I always wanted to go to exotic places; but America seemed terribly dull and uninteresting." Ehrenfest urged them to accept. Only in Russia and the United States, he argued, was university education, particularly in physics, steadily improving. Goudsmit finally gave in, and Uhlenbeck then consented also.[43] By this time Dennison had completed his European studies and agreed to return to Ann Arbor. Otto La Porte, one of Sommerfeld's

[41] Interview with E. K. Plyler, Apr. 7, 1964, p. 10, AIP; interview with Randall, 2–16, 46.
[42] Interview with Uhlenbeck, 14.
[43] Interview with Samuel A. Goudsmit, Dec. 5, 1963, pp. 32–33, AHQP.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Munich students, in Washington for a year as an International Education Board fellow at the Bureau of Standards, also was engaged, giving Michigan four fine young theoreticians. Goudsmit, Uhlenbeck, La Porte, and Dennison, with Colby, offered a comprehensive graduate program in modern physical theory, including a variety of courses in quantum theory, atomic structure, theoretical mathematics, theory of spectra, recent thermodynamics, kinetic theory, and molecular vibrations.[44]

The men Randall had collected were retained with the aid of a generous system of paid leaves that enabled each of them to leave Ann Arbor periodically to work with others in their field throughout the world. When the young men still complained about their isolation, a summer symposium for theoretical physics was established, which made Ann Arbor the favorite summer gathering place for theoreticians from Europe as well as the United States. The number of graduate students at Michigan multiplied, and the number of Ph.D.'s in physics awarded annually grew from an average of one or two early in the 1920s to an average of seven late in the decade. Thus, from an ordinary American college physics faculty, Randall swiftly transformed Michigan's department into a superior training ground for modern physicists.[45]

Karl T. Compton, the most influential member of the Princeton physics department, fully understood his faculty's need for a group of modern theorists with a complete grasp of quantum mechanics. In 1928 nevertheless, as the young theorists streamed home from Europe, Compton, about to become department chairman, acknowledged that the subject still was not taught systematically at Princeton.[46] One great obstacle to the flourishing of modern physics at Princeton was the university administration's reluctance to create the research and graduate teaching positions necessary to compete for the returning theoreticians. Princeton's official leadership remained committed to the institution's traditional emphasis on undergraduate liberal arts education, supplemented by a small graduate program accenting the humanities.[47]

The ideals long dominant at Princeton were undermined by a variety of influences pressing the school toward the role of a twentieth-century university, but most directly and immediately by the intervention of Wickliffe

[44] Interview with Otto La Porte, Jan. 31, 1964, p. 3, AHQP; University of Michigan General Register, 1928–29, pp. 223–24.

[45] Interview with Goudsmit, 37; interview with Uhlenbeck, 19; interview with Randall, 16, 29, 48–49; Goudsmit, "The Michigan Symposium in Theoretical Physics," *Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review*, May 20, 1961, pp. 178–82; Wilfred B. Shaw, ed., *The University of Michigan, An Encyclopedic Survey* (Ann Arbor, 1944), 689. Offered a higher-paying position at Columbia in 1929, Goudsmit declined, pointing to the conditions established by Randall—the light teaching schedules, the leave system, and the presence of Uhlenbeck, La Porte, and Dennison—as reasons for his unqualified refusal. Goudsmit to H. Knauss, Jan. 8, 1930, Samuel A. Goudsmit File, AHQP.

[46] K. Compton to H. A. Moe, Dec. 18, 1925; K. Compton to Condon, Feb. 3, 1928, K. Compton Papers.

[47] Laurance R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago, 1965), 241–48.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rose and the General Education Board. The leaders of the university's comparatively small science departments reminded Rose in a series of memorandums and conversations of the crucial role of mathematics in basic scientific research and pointed to the excellence of Princeton's mathematicians. "Moreover, there has spontaneously developed within the mathematics department during the last several years, a coordination and concentration of effort upon the big problem now before the mathematical world: namely that of establishing a mathematical basis for an attack on the problems set by the new physical theories of matter." The supplicants also supplied evidence of the very high standing of Princeton's scientists and of the cooperation already taking place among them. The board responded in 1925 with a grant of one million dollars to the endowment funds of five Princeton science departments, stipulating that an additional two million must be raised from other sources and donated for the same purpose: graduate instruction and research. Half of the three million dollars was used to endow six chairs for research professors—two in physics, and one each in mathematics, chemistry, biology, and astronomy—all with extraordinarily high salaries. The other half went into a research fund to be managed by the five departments.[48]

Despite the sizable reservoir of money available for manipulating the terms of new appointments and the example of successful efforts at Caltech, Chicago, and Michigan before him, Compton at first did not act decisively to build a theoretical physics staff. Then, wisely resisting the natural temptation to distribute the money among themselves, the physicists and mathematicians who controlled half of the research endowment drew up a list of theoreticians acceptable to leaders of both departments. After receiving polite rebuffs from the two most obvious candidates, Albert Einstein and Werner Heisenberg, Compton and Oswald Veblen of the mathematics department in spring 1928 persuaded Herman Weyl, the great Zurich mathematician and physicist, to come to Princeton. As a research and teaching assistant for Weyl, Howard P. Robertson, one of the most highly regarded young American theoretical physicists, was recruited from Caltech, also through use of the General Education Board grant.[49]

[48] Karl T. Compton, Edwin G. Conklin, and Henry B. Fine, "Memorandum for Dr. Wickliffe Rose, President of the General Education Board, in Support of the Application to the General Education Board for Its Support in the Fundamental Sciences at Princeton University," undated, copy in Veblen Papers, box 29. I am indebted to Professor Daniel J. Kevles of the California Institute of Technology for bringing this manuscript to my attention. See also Compton, Conklin, and Fine, "Memorandum of Conversation [on May 22, 1925] with Dr. Wickliffe Rose on the subject: 'Support for Research in the Fundamental Sciences at Princeton University,' " undated. Veblen Papers, box 29. On Princeton's struggle to raise the matching funds, see Fine to Hale, Mar. 31, 1926, Hale Papers, microfilm roll 50; and Fine to Veblen, Nov. 28, 1928, Veblen Papers, box 5. The negotiations between Rose, his representatives, and the Princeton scientists and administrators can be followed through correspondence and other manuscripts in the Veblen Papers, boxes 5, 29.

[49] K. Compton to J. G. Hibben, Jan. 30, 1928; K. Compton to Heisenberg, Jan. 30, 1928, both in K. Compton Papers; Veblen to Einstein, Sept. 16, 1927; Einstein to Veblen, Sept. 17, 1927; Veblen to Weyl, May 4, June 15, 1928, all in Veblen Papers, box 4.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the midst of his negotiations with European scientists and with Robertson, Compton persuaded another promising American theorist, Edward U. Condon, to join the Princeton faculty. "We all hope," Compton wrote to Condon in February 1928, "that your appointment may be the first step in bringing together a stimulating group of men interested in theoretical physics." Condon, twenty-seven years of age, fresh from postdoctoral study in Europe, never before a member of a university faculty, was promised that his only responsibility would be a graduate seminar in quantum mechanics. He was also promised that he would be recommended for promotion to associate professor at the end of his first year.[50]

Before Condon even started his service as assistant professor at Princeton he was offered a full professorship at Minnesota. At about the same time he received proposals from Berkeley, Columbia, Wisconsin, and New York University. "The market conditions for young theoretical physicists continues to surprise me," he observed to his department chairman. With Condon's arrival, Compton surrendered all pretense that he directed a department responsible primarily for undergraduate education. A rumor reached Condon that an elementary physics course might be added to the graduate seminar promised him, and he immediately protested to Compton: "When I learned that I might be expected to do some freshman recitation work I concluded that I must have misunderstood you. . . . Now that a comparison [among positions] has to be made I am especially anxious to know exactly what my teaching obligations are at Princeton." Compton found time on a Fourth of July holiday to reply reassuringly: "You are quite right in assuming that your only obligation [is] the graduate course in quantum mechanics. As regards the freshman section . . . , I am certain that if you feel that this would interfere with your research productivity and would in the long run not be to the best interests of theoretical physics in Princeton, none of us should want you to undertake it." Although further promises from Compton kept Condon at Princeton for one year, he then left for Minnesota, and Weyl returned to Zurich, prompting Veblen to remind Compton that "we are, of course, at the stage where we must concentrate a bit on the problem of making all this money do the job it was intended for.[51]

In the fall of 1929 Princeton invited two of the great theoretical physicists of the younger generation to join both the mathematics and physics departments. Eugene P. Wigner and John von Neumann had grown up together in Hungary and started university work in Berlin at about the same time after World War I. During the 1920s they worked together as researchers and as teaching assistants in Berlin and Göttingen. By 1929 physicists who understood the recent momentous developments in their field recognized

[50] K. Compton to Condon, Feb. 3, July 4, 1928, K. Compton Papers.

[51] Condon to K. Compton, June 19, July 14, 1928; K. Compton to Condon, July 4, 1928; Veblen to K. Compton, Oct. 19, 1929, all in *ibid.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Wigner and von Neumann as significant contributors to this progress. Scientists who knew von Neumann generally agreed with Wigner that he "had a brain which was phenomenal." Eckart remembered listening to von Neumann's lectures on statistical interpretations of quantum theory at Berlin in 1927–28. "Von Neumann was so abstract that at the time none of us really understood what he was talking about. It wasn't until one got his book, which was then being written, that one began to see what his ideas were and how they related to the whole problem." This monumental volume, *Mathematische Grundlagen der Quantenmechanik* (1932), based in part on revisions of papers published in 1927, presented what remains, with the possible exception of Dirac's work, the most comprehensive mathematical explanation of quantum theory. In a series of articles, also beginning in 1927, Wigner introduced the mathematical concepts of group theory into quantum physics; these became indispensable instruments for the study of elementary particles.[52] In 1927 Wigner was twenty-four and von Neumann twenty-five years of age.

At Princeton Wigner was at first miserable, unable to speak English fluently or to make friends in the small college town. He felt sure that no one in the physics department, except perhaps Robertson, shared his and von Neumann's deep interest in quantum theory. "In Berlin," Wigner explained, "we had a colloquium, as I remember, every Thursday afternoon. Schrödinger organized it. And after the colloquium, we always went to . . . a coffeehouse. . . . And then we talked about physics, about everything almost. And that I missed. You see, there's no coffeehouse, to begin with, at Princeton."[53] Nevertheless, at the end of the academic year 1929–30, Wigner and von Neumann agreed to fill two of the new research professorships at Princeton. Their agreement with the physics and mathematics departments stipulated that they could spend half of every year in Berlin. Like the arrangement for rotating leaves of absence made for the theorists at Michigan, this was a drastic departure from past procedures at American universities.

Princeton's growing theoretical physics staff—Edwin P. Adams, Robertson, Wigner, and von Neumann—was further augmented by Condon's return from Minnesota and by the arrival of Rudolf Ladenburg from the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin to succeed Compton in 1930 as Brackett Research Professor. By the early 1930s the university's graduate program in physics had been broadened and upgraded significantly. Wigner offered quantum field theory, a course covering the quantum theory of radiation, and second quantization, a problem introduced to physicists in papers by Wigner, Pascual Jordan, and Oscar Klein in 1927–28. Von Neumann taught advanced quantum mechanics, and Wigner, von Neumann, Robertson, and Condon together conducted a seminar in mathematical physics.

[52] Interview with Eugene P. Wigner, Nov. 21, 1963, pp. 2, 6, AHQP; interview with Eckart, 12; Jammer, *Conceptual Development of Quantum Mechanics*, 343, 367, 376.

[53] Interview with Wigner by the author, Oct. 10, 1966; interview with Wigner, Nov. 30, 1966, p. 4, AIP. The quotation is from the AIP interview.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Condon directed the basic graduate course in quantum mechanics; Adams continued to train students in the bases of modern mathematical physics. Henry P. Smyth taught a two-semester course on the most advanced atomic physics, and with Ladenburg and Gaylord P. Harnwell led a seminar in nuclear physics.[54]

Despite the clear intent to build a great physics department at Princeton and the considerable amount of money devoted to the undertaking Wigner did not immediately believe that he had joined a community of scientists on the level of Göttingen or Berlin. The quality of physics, especially theoretical physics, when he arrived at Princeton struck him as

> very rudimentary and very, very elementary. I felt that a great deal had to be done and often I felt that I engaged in baby-talk. However, after a couple of years, I realized that their interest was sincere, that they didn't want baby-talk, that they wanted to learn, or at least wanted me to teach the young people. . . . I did not realize that at first. I first thought it was sort of an extravagance of the Americans that they wanted two people from Berlin, and that perhaps it has no significance. But after a couple of years I realized that what they wanted was a transformation of the theoretical physics school into a modern, progressive, powerful school.

Within a few years Wigner's students were, to use his term, "fantastic." His first graduate students included Frederick Seitz, John Bardeen, and Cornelius Hering, who were among the founders of modern solid state physics.[55]

After the rapid dissemination of quantum mechanics in the United States, Americans soon took the lead in pressing on to major applications of the new theories. Making use of evidence on the molecular structure of hydrogen published by the Germans Walter Heitler and Fritz London in 1927, Pauling, Slater, Millikan, Tolman, and Van Vleck demonstrated to chemists how quantum mechanics could help explain chemical bonding, eventually bringing all of chemistry under the influence of quantum physics. European chemists, declared Pauling, did not study advanced mathematics and quantum physics as American physical chemists did. The result, according to Pauling, was "the failure or inability of European chemists to contribute very much to the development of modern physical chemistry or structural chemistry. The United States has been the leader in that field."[56]

[54] Princeton University Catalogue, 1930–31, p. 349; 1932–33, p. 368. On the appointments of von Neumann and Wigner, see "Minutes of the Department of Physics (Permanent Staff), March 19, 1930," Department of Physics, Princeton University; von Neumann to Veblen, Nov. 13, 19, 1929; Veblen to von Neumann, Dec. 10, 1929; J. G. Hibben to Wigner, Dec. 10, 1929, all in Veblen Papers, box 4.

[55] Interview with Wigner, Nov. 21, 1963, pp. 18–19, and Nov. 30, 1966, pp. 22–23.

[56] Jammer, *Conceptual Development of Quantum Mechanics,* 343; interview with Pauling, 19; interview with Harold C. Urey, Mar. 24, 1964, pp. 1–2, AHQP; interview with Van Vleck, Oct. 2, 1963, pp. 25–28; Van Vleck, "The New Quantum Mechanics," *Chemical Review,* 5 (1928): 467–506.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Sometime in the 1920's," Harold C. Urey recalled, physicists realized that "quantum mechanics applied to the [atomic] nucleus also." Thus began the most consequential application of the new atomic theories. "People like Heisenberg," Rabi remembered, "were beginning to talk about the nucleus in late 1928 and 1929, even though they might still have been working on something else, and to say that this was coming. . . . It was part of the general gossip." Arthur Compton traced his interest in nuclear energy to a lecture by Ernest Rutherford at Princeton before World War I in which the British physicist described his discovery of the atomic nucleus. Following Ernest Lawrence's visit to Chicago in 1929, during which he discussed his projected cyclotron, designed to break open the atomic nucleus by high voltage bombardment, Compton "made sure that the new physics laboratory which we were then building at Chicago would include space for super voltage equipment."[57] In his research notebook Compton began speculating at least as early as 1930 about the exact amount of energy that could be released from the uranium atom. Writing to Henry Ford in 1931 to request support for basic scientific work, especially at Chicago, Compton declared: "Typical of the fundamental scientific problems whose solution should lead to important industrial consequences are, for example, the release of atomic energy, which experiment has shown to exist in quantities millions of times greater than is liberated by combustion."[58]

This research into the possibility of releasing atomic energy coincided with the economic and political events that brought Western civilization to a second world war. Almost inevitably, an atomic weapons program was started as part of the American military effort. The dramatic—and terrifying—consequences demonstrated all too literally the accuracy of Wickliffe Rose's prophecy in 1924 that the future belonged to nations that cultivated the sciences. The bitter controversies and voluminous literature engendered by the use of these weapons have obscured the original objectives and fundamental accomplishment of modern physics: a new understanding of the nature of all matter, especially at the atomic level. The leading American physicists in the middle of the twentieth century were, for the most part, theoreticians who had entered a field that at the time was largely without obvious practical applications. With the aid of farsighted foundation officials and leaders of their profession these university professors had brought to the United States the most advanced quantum physics and then created the framework for a great theoretical physics profession where some had said that none could ever exist.

[57] Interview with Urey, 6; interview with Rabi, 33; Arthur Holly Compton, *Atomic Quest, A Personal Narrative* (New York, 1956), 3–4, 13–14.

[58] Arthur H. Compton Research Notebook, entry dated July 23, 1930, Arthur H. Compton Notebooks, Washington University, St. Louis, and AIP. A. H. Compton to H. F., May 18, 1931, AIP.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Good Old Economic History

A Review Article by R. M. HARTWELL
and ROBERT HIGGS

DAVID S. LANDES. *The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1969. Pp. ix, 566. Cloth $8.50, paper $2.95.

David Landes' *The Unbound Prometheus* is about economic growth and industrialization in Western Europe. The two big problems Landes tackles are the explanation of technological change and the influence of technological change on growth. In his concern with economic growth he joins a very large band of social scientists and historians. But while economists write explicitly about growth and political scientists about modernization, historians write about "the rise of capitalism" and "the industrial revolution," often confusing the two. Economists have a precise definition for growth: sustained rising per capita real income, or, even more precisely, "a discernible rise in total and in per capita income, widely diffused throughout occupational and income groups, continuing for at least two generations, and becoming cumulative."[1] They also have a clear idea of the problems to be investigated, as we shall see below. Political scientists have burdened themselves with an undefinable and unoperational concept, which is now, unfortunately, being used by some historians. And historians, as usual backward in the exact definition of concepts and in the precise specification of problems, persistently avoid clarification of what they have been doing in their studies of industrial revolutions and industrialization. Economists seek to understand growth for good, practical reasons, and although they have gone far in the theoretical and empirical analysis of growth, they have found the problems of explaining past growth and of providing blueprints for future growth, especially in the underdeveloped economies, formidable. Economists nevertheless have identified many of the sources of growth—for example, technological progress—and have analyzed them in some detail. Historians, however, have only gradually come to realize that what they

[1] Benjamin Higgins, *Economic Development: Principles, Problems, and Policies* (rev. ed.; London, 1968), 147.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have been studying in the history of industrialization is largely economic growth.[2]

Certainly now many historians are aware that the period in which they live is part of a distinct epoch in history, an epoch of economic growth, in the sense defined above, that can be precisely dated in its beginnings to the economic and social changes that occurred in England in the late eighteenth century and are known as the Industrial Revolution. Time was when modern history was universally dated from the Renaissance and the rise of capitalism, but increasingly historians have been forced to recognize the Industrial Revolution as "the great discontinuity" of modern history[3] and to seek an understanding of the contemporary world in the study of such phenomena associated with industrialization as the population explosion, urbanization, the rise of the industrial labor force, and the growth of the world economy. The adjectives "industrial" and "pre-industrial"[4] are more and more used to differentiate eras as distinct from each other as "medieval" and "modern" were once alleged to be.[5]

It is for such reasons that there is now widespread interest in "the first industrial revolution," which produced "the first industrial nation"[6] and a spate of literature on the industrial revolutions of the advanced economies of Europe. Indeed, the historical literature on industrialization, like that of the economists on growth, is now very large, although most of it is still about particular economies or industries and not about industrialization as a generalized phenomenon or as an aspect of growth. Except for textbooks, some of which admittedly stand as fine scholarly works in their own right,[7] there have been until the last decade few important attempts at a comparative historical analysis of industrialization and growth. Apart from a few classics—like Max Weber's *General Economic History* (1927) and Werner Sombart's *Der moderne Kapitalismus* (1921–28)—teachers of that almost universal course on "the economic development of the great powers" (pre-1939 usage) had to depend on a small number of textbooks written by historians. In the last decade, however, more comparative studies have ap-

[2] For a discussion of the historians' failure to define the Industrial Revolution, and the consequences, see R. M. Hartwell, "Introduction" and "The Causes of the Industrial Revolution: An Essay in Methodology," in R. M. Hartwell, ed., *The Causes of the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1967), 1–30, 53–79.

[3] See R. M. Hartwell, "The Great Discontinuity," *Historical Journal* (New South Wales), 1 (1970): 3–16.

[4] See, for example, Pierre Léon, *Économies et Sociétés Préindustrielles, 1650–1780* (Paris, 1970). It would be more accurate to describe economies according to whether or not they are experiencing economic growth.

[5] For discussion of the discontinuity of the Renaissance, see W. K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), *passim*.

[6] Phyllis Deane, *The First Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge, 1965); Peter Mathias, *The First Industrial Nation* (London, 1969).

[7] For example, Herbert Heaton, *Economic History of Europe* (New York, 1936, and subsequent editions). See also M. M. Knight, H. E. Barnes, and Felix Flügel, *Economic History of Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928); and Witt Bowden, Michael Karpovich, and A. P. Usher, *An Economic History of Europe since 1750* (New York, 1937).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

peared, again by historians,[8] that demonstrate an increasing awareness among historians of the value of such studies.

Even more important for the comparative study of industrialization and growth has been the work of economists in two areas: first, the construction of statistical time series describing economic growth, culminating in the remarkable comparative studies of Simon Kuznets;[9] second, theoretical and empirical work on the process of technological change, for example by W. E. G. Salter, Jacob Schmookler, Edwin Mansfield, Dale Jorgenson, and Zvi Griliches.[10] On the basis of such work, "new economic historians" have been able to produce a quite different kind of comparative economic history of growth and industrialization, as can be seen, for example, in the work of Richard A. Easterlin, J. R. T. Hughes, Paul Bairoch, and Angus Maddison.[11] How does David Landes fit into this era of changing scholarship?

The Unbound Prometheus first appeared in 1965 as a long chapter in volume 6 of *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*. It now appears separately, with the 1965 text, covering 1750–1914, almost unchanged but with the substantial additions of an introduction, a conclusion, and two new chapters that carry the history from 1914 to the present. The book is conventionally organized along chronological lines: after an introduction follow chapters on the Industrial Revolution in Britain and on the early industrial revolutions on the Continent; then one chapter each on the periods 1850–70, 1870–1914, 1918–39, and post-1945; and finally there is a conclusion. Within each chapter the arrangement varies between the functional and the geographical; the chapter on Britain's Industrial Revolution, for example, begins with a general discussion of the causes of growth, followed by an industry-by-industry survey of change with great emphasis on technological change. With 555 pages of text the book is by modern standards very long; it is extremely detailed, very learned, packed with facts and the most fascinating minutiae of technology, and draws on a wide range of sources in many languages. There is in this one book a skillful distillation of the now considerable literature by historians on industrialization, a com-

[8] John U. Nef, *The Conquest of the Material World* (Chicago, 1964); Rondo E. Cameron, *France and the Economic Development of Europe, 1800–1914* (Princeton, 1961); Carlo Cipolla, *The Economic History of World Population* (London, 1962); W. O. Henderson, *The Industrial Revolution on the Continent: Germany, France, Russia, 1800–1914* (London, 1961).

[9] Kuznets' findings appeared in a series of ten articles in the journal *Economic Development and Cultural Change* between 1956 and 1967. They are conveniently summarized in his book, *Modern Economic Growth: Rate, Structure, and Spread* (New Haven, 1966). See also his *Economic Growth and Structure* (New York, 1964).

[10] W. E. G. Salter, *Productivity and Technical Change* (Cambridge, 1960); Jacob Schmookler, *Invention and Economic Growth* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966); Edwin Mansfield, *The Economics of Technological Change* (New York, 1968); *idem, Industrial Research and Technological Innovation* (New York, 1968); Dale Jorgenson and Zvi Griliches, "The Explanation of Productivity Change," *Review of Economic Studies*, 34 (1967): 249–82.

[11] Richard A. Easterlin, "Economic Growth, I, Overview," *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (1968), 4: 395–408; J. R. T. Hughes, "Industrialization, I, Economic Aspects," *ibid.*, vol. 7: 252–63; Paul Bairoch, *Révolution industrielle et sous-développement* (3d ed.; Paris, 1969); Angus Maddison, *Economic Growth in the West* (New York, 1964), and *idem, Economic Growth in Japan and the USSR* (New York, 1969).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

parative summary of more than a generation of European historical effort, especially in Britain, France, and Germany. Anyone in doubt about the breadth and depth of Landes' scholarship should consult his remarkable bibliography—itself a formidable work of scholarship—in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe,* and, alas, lacking in *The Unbound Prometheus.* While scholars of any particular economy may still prefer the literature of that economy for detailed research, anyone interested in the industrialization and economic growth of modern Europe on a comparative basis can best start with Landes' book, which is unique in its coverage and impeccable in its historical scholarship. It is impossible not to admire the vast range of facts that Landes commands and the way he has organized them into a readable and purposeful account of European industrialization. Certainly this book will long remain the historians' textbook on the economic growth of modern Europe; its strength and virtue are obvious and have already been widely applauded; it is in the nature of being a historical best-seller. But is it more than that? Does David Landes add substantially to knowledge by altering our views, either about how economic change occurred in Europe or about how economic history should be written? We think not.

In most ways Landes belongs to the traditionalists rather than to the innovators in economic history; he is a distinguished "old economic historian" and certainly not a "new economic historian"; he is always historian rather than economist; he is in the English empirical tradition rather than in the tradition either of the old-style Continental conceptualizers, like Weber, or of the new-style American quantifiers and theorizers, like Kuznets; he has more in common with Clapham than with Schmookler. This leads Landes to a strange neglect of both theory and statistics. Thus, although concerned primarily with technological change, he ignores (or is ignorant of?) the large and important literature by economists on technological change.[12] Again, although much of what he deals with is susceptible to statistical analysis, to graphing, tabling, and mapping, he firmly remains a historian of figures rather than a statistician of economic change. The book has only sixteen tables to cover the period up to 1914. Only one of these—on pig-iron output (p. 96)—pertains to the Industrial Revolution in Britain, and only two—on cotton manufacturing, Haut-Rhin (p. 160) and raw cotton consumption, Western Europe (p. 165)—to the early industrialization of Europe. There is not one graph or map. This is not to say that Landes does not use figures; on the contrary the book is packed with them, but they are presented in an inconvenient and unsystematic fashion, imbedded in prose rather than in tables and graphs, and not systematically used for statistical inference. This,

[12] No reference is made, for example, to Jacob Schmookler, Zvi Griliches, Edwin Mansfield, Richard Nelson, Dale Jorgenson, or Robert Solow; only one reference is made to W. E. G. Salter. For these authors, see above, and Richard R. Nelson, ed., *The Rate and Direction of Inventive Activity* (Princeton, 1962), *idem et al., Technology, Economic Growth, and Public Policy* (Washington, 1967); and R. M. Solow, "Investment and Technical Progress," in K. J. Arrow *et al.*, eds., *Mathematical Methods in the Social Sciences* (Stanford, 1960), 89–104.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to us, seems almost perverse. How much more easily Landes' text could be followed if he had used more tables and some graphs. The complete absence of maps is particularly unfortunate. Landes quite rightly bases his economic history firmly in economic geography, but no one can be expected to follow his detailed geography of economic change without a map or series of maps.

There is no doubt, as can be deduced from the many methodological comments in this book, that Landes has a profound skepticism of the methods of economists. When he compares the techniques of the economist and the historian (p. 535) he asserts that economists are simple-minded about causation—"the construction of simple explanatory models"—while historians seek "the wholeness of reality, however complex it may be" and make "an effort to see things as they are, not as manifestations of idealistic models" (p.535)."When all is said and done," Landes affirms on the causation of growth, "neither empirical evidence nor theoretical reasoning is likely to settle the dispute"; and he goes on to argue that we will continue to believe what we "find not only plausible but congenial" (p. 357). Other methodological comments are similarly hostile to economic theory (for example, pp. 357, 510, 520, 525). We are not sure whether Landes voices views commonly held by American general historians, views presumably of a profession more skilled in writing than in counting, but we think that such views are methodologically naive and belied by the remarkable development of modern economics. And they lead to confusion and error. Landes never makes explicit, for example, that industrialization and growth are not necessarily the same thing, and although his main avowed theme is technological change, much of his book is about growth. He also assumes, at least implicitly, that the growth sequence of modern times is that of technological change, industrial development, and economic growth. Again, he defines the Industrial Revolution as an improvement in manufacturing through technological change and therefore seems to imply that the unprecedented increase in man's productivity was due mainly to improvements in machinery (p. 1). It is more useful, we think, to see the Industrial Revolution as growth and industrialization interacting simultaneously and to seek the causes of increasing productivity within the framework of the economic theory of production. We do not think that Landes' avowed historical method leads to more understanding of, and firmer conclusions about, the processes of industrialization and growth. A careful consideration of his text, and particularly of the introduction and conclusion, can only lead the reader to as much skepticism about the historical method as Landes has of the economic method. Landes' strength lies not in theory but in what might be called high empiricism.

Growth economists have had two main, and closely related, aims in their work: first, to identify the sources of growth and to show how they interact to explain movements in output; second, to explain how growth gives rise

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to changes in the structure of the economy, some of which produce feedback effects on the growth process. These, surely, should also interest the historian. In the discussion of growth sources the interest and effort of economists have centered primarily in material capital accumulation, education, and technological change, with dispute varying from estimates that attribute most growth to technological change to estimates that attribute most growth to capital accumulation, education, or other sources.[13] These basic disagreements in growth analysis have not yet been resolved, and since adequate empirical evidence to help solve them must necessarily relate to long periods of time, the wealth of material in historians' accounts of growth should have some value in suggesting answers. Equally important, however, the recognition of such problems can act as guidelines to historians. It seems to us particularly necessary that Landes come to terms with the problems regarding technological change that economists have made explicit. In spite of their disagreements virtually all economists still believe that technological progress either directly or indirectly is an extremely important, if not the most important, source of growth.[14] Economists, therefore, have investigated at great length what determines the rate of technological change, one important hypothesis being that investment in technology is motivated by market forces; they have inquired also whether there is a factor bias in technological change toward relatively more labor saving than capital saving; they have studied at length the relation between industrial concentration and technological change. The historical implications of such questions are obvious and important, and looking at Landes' magnificent mass of factual data it can reasonably be asked why he did not use his history to test the economists' theories of technological change. The answer obviously lies, as we have already argued, in Landes' skepticism of economists. But this skepticism and his empirical approach to the complex problems of technological change and economic growth lead to paradox, and even error, in his historical analysis and to weakness in his conclusions. "If there is some general conclusion to be drawn from all this," Landes argues at the end of his book, "it is the complexity of economic development" (p. 544). "It is impossible," he further asserts, "in the present state of our knowledge to evaluate the parameters of economic development" (p. 359). Perhaps the only theoretical conclusion that Landes argues with conviction concerns the operational role of free enterprise in economic growth. He believes that market rationality is the basis of change and growth; the secret of growth lies in the market. "It is no coincidence," he points out, "that the areas of most rapid industrial growth in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

[13] Dale Jorgenson and Zvi Griliches in "Explanation of Productivity Change" argue that in one sense almost no growth can be attributed to technological change. But see the important criticisms of this work by Edward F. Denison, "Some Major Issues in Productivity Analysis," *Survey of Current Business*, 49, pt. 2 (1969): 1–27.

[14] See, for example, Kuznets, *Modern Economic Growth*, 1–85; and Robert Higgs, "American Inventiveness, 1870–1920," to be published in the *Journal of Political Economy*, 79 (1971).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were those free of supervision and constraints" (p. 549). Similarly Landes explains the earlier growth of Europe, and within Europe of Britain, by "the scope and effectiveness of private enterprise" that ensured "the rational manipulation of the human and material environment" (p. 15). We have much sympathy with this view, but the thesis is not a novel one, and Landes does little to explain either how free enterprise was established—although there are two illuminating pages on legal change (pp. 198–99)—or how market institutions developed over time.

It is on technological change that Landes gets into the most trouble. He is quite certain that improved machinery is the main cause of increasing productivity—at least a debatable proposition—and he shows no awareness of the large relevant literature on productivity measurement (pp. 317, 419–20, 431). More important, however, is his theory that technological change is mainly a response to wage increases. High wages, according to Landes, induce technological change: "High wages were a stimulus to innovation and technological change" (p. 116); "the very slowness of certain technological changes is negative evidence of abundant labor" (p. 138); "the effort of labor to wrest improvements from the employer was a stimulus to innovation" (p. 321).[15] Landes does not recognize that wage increases need lead only to the substitution of capital for labor and not necessarily to technological progress. Nor, as he asserts (p. 115), does mechanization necessarily lead to growth. Nor is best-practice technology always the most capital-intensive technology, a belief that makes it difficult for Landes to explain the persistence of "obsolete" technology (pp. 181, 191, 471). Least-cost methods can hardly be considered obsolete, no matter how labor-intensive they are; the entrepreneur's object, after all, is to maximize his wealth. Nor, as Landes believes, are there necessarily diminishing returns to innovation (pp. 235, 237, 277, 466). Nor is it obvious, as he claims, that there are certain discontinuities in the trend of technological progress (pp. 235, 249, 284, 421, 520, 539). Such measurements of the movement of total factor productivity as we have show no such breaks, and it is only candid to admit that we do not have a viable method for measuring the rate of purely technological change. Landes writes, however, as if he knows the rate of technological change (pp. 319, 326, 420, 433, 474, 519–20), although he gives no evidence for his statements.

There are many other issues, nearly all of them concerned with the use of economic theory, on which we would challenge Landes: among them the explanation of the climacteric of the late nineteenth century (pp. 232–34); confusion about the notion of sunk costs (pp. 272, 353, 462, 470); the economics of education (pp. 340, 348); the magnitude of the social problem of the industrial labor force (p. 42); the idea of the exhaustion of opportunities for technological advance (pp. 235–37); and the assertion of entrepreneurial stupidity in various countries (pp. 263, 349, 463, 472, 147, 356, 542). Finally

[15] For similar statements, see 115, 137, 161, 190, 420.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

we would argue strongly against Landes' dismissal of the hypothesis of balanced growth to describe what happened in Britain in the eighteenth century (p. 78), for there is no doubt in our minds that the Industrial Revolution in Britain was a classic example of balanced growth.[16]

Landes' basic aims are to explain technological change itself and the influence it exerts on economic growth, but his book is not a general treatise; it consists primarily of the description of selected techniques, their invention, innovation, diffusion, and economic effects. Whenever Landes moves from description to explanation and generalization, there is uncertainty or assertion, mainly, we would argue, because he is not familiar with the relevant economic theory and often displays an ignorance of basic economics. Not being informed by theory, the book is not unified and has no obvious theme; it has nothing to hold it together or to guide the reader. It remains, therefore, a brilliant encyclopedia of facts, a monument of effort, a magnificent piece of old economic history, but in no way a pioneering volume. For us, Landes' book raises a question of considerable relevance to a wide variety of research in economic history: can economic history be satisfactorily written in isolation from economic theory? Our answer is that it cannot.

[16] See R. M. Hartwell, "The Industrial Revolution as an Example of Balanced Growth," in his forthcoming *Essays on the Industrial Revolution and Economic Growth*.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reviews of Books

GENERAL

B. I. MARUSHKIN. *Istoriia i politika: Amerikanskaia burzhuaznaia istoriografiia sovetskogo obshchestva* [History and Politics: American Bourgeois Historiography of Soviet Society]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Vseobshchei Istorii.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1969. Pp. 393.

It is difficult to review this book. Mr. Marushkin's announced purpose is to analyze American historiography of Soviet society, and one would welcome a careful and balanced work that did so from the point of view of a Soviet scholar. These pages, however, are so filled with such invidious terms as "falsification," "tendentious," "distorted," and other favorites from the Soviet *Schimpflexikon* that it becomes almost an exercise in self-flagellation to search out the few points on which Marushkin's views may have some portion of validity. He does write of a number of absurdities onto which Americans have fastened as explanations of the rise and continuance of the Soviet regime, and there are perhaps some who would agree with his criticisms of a purportedly unhealthy relationship between the American academic community and various agencies of government or business, but these are buried in such a torrent of invective that they lose any real force. Indeed, when it is noted that Mr. Marushkin's denigration of American scholarship is coupled with resounding and uncritical praise of all facets of Soviet reality and policy, one feels that his pages might well come from a textbook illustration of the term "paranoia." Such outpourings would not ordinarily seem to have any place in the publications that appear under the sponsorship of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, and one can only wonder at what aberration in the Soviet system could lead anyone to assume that Marushkin had much to contribute to a subject that might well respond to a calmer and more judicious approach. The hundred or so Soviet books and articles bearing such titles as "A New Sally of a Falsifier of the History of American Intervention in Russia," which are listed in the footnotes, would seem to indicate that Marushkin is not without his co-practitioners in the substitution of hard words for hard thought and analysis.

ROBERT V. ALLEN
Library of Congress

MILADA BLEKASTAD. *Comenius: Versuch eines Umrisses von Leben, Werk und Schicksal des Jan Amos Komenský*. Prague: Academia. 1969. Pp. 892. Kčs. 148.

Milada Blekastad, a Czech scholar living in Norway, has given us a comprehensive biography of Jan Amos Komenský, known better in the learned world as Comenius. The book, written in German, appeared simultaneously in Oslo and in Prague, an impressive tribute to a man of international reputation. Both the author and the Norwegian Research Council, which subsidized the publication, deserve credit for this attractively printed volume.

Prior to its appearance three biographies of Comenius were available to anyone interested: an authoritative but rather ponderous study in Czech by J. V. Novák, which was completed by Josef Hendrich; a readable monograph in French by Anne Heyberger, which was originally a dissertation presented

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to the Sorbonne; and a sympathetic portrait of "that incomparable Moravian," done in English by Matthew Spinka. The largest of these three books, Novák-Hendrich, usually served as a springboard for more detailed research or re-evaluation of Comenius' place among the educators and thinkers of the seventeenth century.

Writing fifty years after Novák, the Czech-Norwegian author derived substantial advantage from the progress of research in which scholars of many nationalities have participated. She was able not only occasionally to correct biographical data but also to make full use of several writings by Comenius of which scholars of the earlier generation seldom knew more than the mere titles. The most significant contribution to elucidation of Comenius' activities was made by Dmitrij Tschiževskij, who located at Halle (Saale) the long missing draft of the most ambitious work that Comenius was preparing for publication in the latter period of his life, "De Rerum Humanarum Emendatione Consultatio Catholica" (The General Consultation about the Improvement of Human Affairs). Subdivided into seven parts, the Consultation was to cover a wide range of topics, some of which Comenius assigned to his collaborators for a more adequate treatment. As it can be established from Comenius' correspondence that he conceived the idea of the Consultation in 1645, it is obvious that its planning and drafting carried him away too often from his earlier obligations, especially educational reform.

By paying due attention to Comenius' intensive occupation with the grandiose, but chimeric, scheme of universal reform of the world, Milada Blekastad adds new dimensions to the story of his life and endeavors. To present adequately the hitherto less explored aspects of Comenius' personality the author gleaned a good deal of information from the half-finished Consultation and from unpublished fragments of another writing, for which Comenius chose the symbolic title *Clamores Eliae* (Elijah's Outcries). Other biographical sources, available partly, at least, in modern critical editions, were also consulted so that the book represents the present state of research.

While the earlier biographers of Comenius usually focused attention on his tireless efforts to contribute to the liberation of his homeland from the Habsburg rule, Milada Blekastad reconstructs the tragic conflict between dedication to concrete projects, such as the reorganization of the school system in Sweden and Transylvania and the noble ambition to bring together the peoples estranged by the Thirty Years' War and other bloody campaigns, by doctrinal polemics, and by diverging scientific methods. She also establishes more clearly the links between Comenius and his illustrious contemporaries, especially the English and Scandinavian admirers of his endeavors.

There is an enormous wealth of information in this book, both in the smooth-flowing narrative and in the bibliographical lists. Of the few omissions I noticed the most regrettable is the absence of reference to Matthew Spinka's biography, to his translations of Comenius' works into English, and to his several articles.

The tercentenary of Comenius' death (he died November 15, 1670) was observed on a large scale. An international conference was held in Prague with the Consultation as a central theme. The first volume of Comenius' writings in a modern edition appeared under the auspices of the Pedagogical Institute at Prague. But the most significant literary product of revived interest is Blekastad's biography.

OTAKAR ODLOZILIK
University of Pennsylvania

GIORGIO TAGLIACOZZO, editor. *Giambattista Vico: An International Symposium.* Co-editor, HAYDEN V. WHITE; consulting editors, ISAIAH BERLIN *et al.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1969. Pp. xxvi, 636. $12.00.

When the *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* appeared in the mid-1930s, the entry for Giambattista Vico filled a single page. By contrast, in the 1968 edition of the *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* the Vico article had grown to three and a half pages. On November 23, 1969, the New York *Times Magazine* considered him sufficiently important and of interest to its readers to publish an article by Isaiah Berlin who referred to Vico in his title as "One of the Boldest Innovators in the History of Human Thought." In the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

United States Vico's fame has been slowly growing since 1944, when the Fisch-Bergin English translation of his *Autobiography,* prefaced by an excellent survey of his fame and influence, was published. Previously, Giambattista Vico had been a name known only to a few who had met him either via Croce, Collingwood, possibly Michelet, or even Joyce. For many today Vico still remains a somewhat hermetic thinker, and his works continue to be considered confused and obscure by those who demand clarity of expression in a writer. Despite these reservations, however, during the past quarter century American scholars have become increasingly aware that the Neapolitan philosopher, born in 1668 and dead by 1744, made important contributions to modern intellectual developments. One of the contributors to this excellent *Symposium* writes that "Vico stands as one of those thinkers whom everyone can read with profit, in whom everyone finds some element of contemporary thought embodied or foreshadowed. . . . every philosophical ism since the eighteenth century, including the most recent—idealism, positivism, naturalism, pragmatism, existentialism—after proclaiming its own originality, has found itself confronted with Vico. . . . If we look at some of the more extensive bibliographies consecrated to his historical influence, we sometimes wonder whether Vico has not been responsible for the entire intellectual state of the contemporary world in all its vagaries and contradictions as well as in its more progressive and positive aspects" (pp. 483–84). This quotation may well be considered the aim and goal of the *Symposium:* to illustrate how Vico anticipated many concepts, now part of the modern *Weltanschauung.*

This *Symposium* is but one of the many tributes paid to Vico in 1968 to commemorate the tercentenary of his birth. In this year scholars from different disciplines hailed him as one of the seminal minds of our age. It would seem that Vico has arrived. Yet, like his own theory of *corsi* and *ricorsi,* Vico's fame and fortune have moved in cycles. Largely ignored by the eighteenth century—though not to the extent once believed, as Enrico De Mas points out in his contribution "Vico and Italian Thought"—he enjoyed considerable fame outside Italy during the Romantic era, thanks to Coleridge and especially to Michelet. In Italy the patriots of the Risorgimento honored him, without on the whole really understanding his ideas, because he was an Italian, as I have pointed out in my article, "Giambattista Vico and the Risorgimento" (*Harvard Library Bulletin,* July 1969). Once Italian unification was achieved, Vico seemed to have had little to say to his compatriots. Outside Italy late nineteenth-century thought appeared far removed from Vico's conceptual analysis of man and his history. At the beginning of the twentieth century Benedetto Croce, disillusioned with Marxism, resurrected Vico. Thus began what was to be a life-long study of all aspects of Vico's thought and a dedicated effort to assure Vico the recognition that Croce believed he deserved. Croce's first *Bibliografia vichiana* was presented to the Neapolitan Accademia Pontaniana in 1903, and his *Filosofia di Giambattista Vico* was published in 1911.

This *Symposium,* which is the result of the work and determination of Giorgio Tagliacozzo, presents an incredibly rich survey of Vico's place in the history of Western thought. Thirty-nine American and foreign scholars have contributed essays ranging from literature to sociology and psychology. What emerges is that Vico cannot be neatly categorized under the rubric of "historian" or "philosopher" but needs to be associated with the most varied approaches to and theories on the study of man. To reflect this universality or all-embracing quality of Vico's thought the book is divided into four parts: "Comparative Historical Studies"; "Vico's Influence on Western Thought and Letters"; "Vico and Contemporary Social and Humanistic Thinking"; "Vico and Modern Philosophy, Pedagogy, and Aesthetics."

In the first part Vico's intellectual debts to preceding thinkers and his influence or kinship to those who followed, but may not have been aware of his work, are discussed. Thus Vico's admiration for Plato, Tacitus, Bacon, and Grotius is analyzed in Enrico De Mas's "Vico's Four Authors"; Santino Caramella's "Vico, Tacitus and Reason of State"; and Dario Faucci's "Vico and Grotius: Jurisconsults of Mankind." Yvon Belaval encapsulizes

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Vico's own philosophical position in "Vico and Anti-Cartesianism." George A. Wells once again reviews the apparent similarities between Vico and Herder and concludes that, while undoubtedly many of Vico's ideas were known to Herder, the differences between the two men's historical systems are greater than the superficial similarities. Thus Wells rejects J. G. Robertson's thesis that "the whole wonderful conception of Herder's *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* is unthinkable without a knowledge of the *Scienza nuova*" (p. 99). Most interesting is Eugene Kamenka's brief but illuminating piece on "Vico and Marxism." Though Marx referred to Vico directly only once in a footnote in *Das Kapital* (bk. 1, pt. 4, ch. 13, n. 89), and in two letters of April 28, 1862, one to Lasalle and the other to Engels, he revealed more than a passing knowledge of Vico's works and expressed regret at not having been able to get his legal writings. Moreover, Marx seems to have been aware of the discussion then going on in German periodicals on the relationships between Wolf's and Vico's views on Homer and between Vico's and Niebuhr's interpretations of Roman history. Kamenka goes on to point out that Marxists have appreciated some aspects of Vico's views on man's historical evolution, but have never really studied him. Only Antonio Gramsci, the Italian Communist leader and theorist, seriously tried to incorporate Vico's ideas into his own methodology. In Russia, Kamenka notes, historians have been at best lukewarm toward Vico; at worst, they have either ignored or criticized him.

The first five papers in the second part survey Vico's role in Italy, France, nineteenth-century Spain, prerevolutionary Russia, and eighteenth-century England and Scotland. Together they provide the reader with a comparative view of Vichian influence in different countries at different times and illustrate well the *corsi* and *ricorsi* of his fame. Very illuminating is the last essay in this section by A. Walton Litz on "Vico and Joyce." Since Joyce "demonstrated that Vico's ideas hold a special vitality and relevance for the modern artist" (p. 245), Litz attempts to identify what drew Joyce to Vico. In Joyce's own words: "My imagination grows when I read Vico and it doesn't when I read Freud or Jung" (p. 245). Evidently Joyce felt an empathy with Vico, and Litz concludes that "it was Vico's creative interpretations of poetry and language that appealed to Joyce" (p. 255).

The essays in the third part show the timeliness of many Vichian ideas in social and humanistic thinking today. In "Vico's New Science of Myth" David Bidney writes that "it was Vico's unique achievement to have expressed clearly the idea of a comparative science of ethnology or socio-cultural history" and that he "most nearly anticipates modern ethnological science, in his conception of the evolutionary, social mentality of human societies and the corresponding stages of socio-cultural evolution" (p. 263). Bidney's essay weighs carefully what was innovative and is still valid in Vichian thought and what has been superseded by modern studies. For instance, Bidney points out that "the *New Science*, although mistaken in its allegorical interpretation of myth as ethnohistory, was nevertheless destined to promote ethnological and sociological thought and to open up new horizons in the history of civilization for . . . scholarly research" (p. 277). Closely related to Bidney's essay are Werner Stark's "Giambattista Vico's Sociology of Knowledge" and Edmund Leach's "Vico and Lévi-Strauss on the Origins of Humanity." Together these three essays emphasize that aspect of Vico's ideas that today is claimed by sociology rather than by history or philosophy. All indicate that Vico with considerable justification may be considered a precursor of many modern sociological interpretations.

Since Croce's whole outlook is indissolubly linked to that of Vico, while reading Croce's interpretation of Vico one must be careful to distinguish between what Vico really wrote and what Croce interprets him to have written. Hayden V. White's "What Is Living and What Is Dead in Croce's Criticism of Vico" neatly points up the limitations in the Vico studies by Croce and Fausto Nicolini, Croce's *alter ego*. No one would deny that more than any one else in this century they brought about the present *ricorso* in Vichian studies, but some Vico scholars may agree with White that many of the Croce-Nicolini interpretations of Vico's ideas were "biased and restricted" (p. 379). White believes that this bias and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

restrictiveness resulted from trying to see in Vico an intellectual ancestor of Croce's "philosophy of the spirit." To do this, Vico's attempts to establish a science of society and a philosophy of history were neglected, for they contradicted the Crocean world view. An analysis of whether White is in turn taking a "biased and restricted" look at the Crocean world view could well lead to an interesting debate on contemporary historical world views. What he has to say, however, on the Croce-Vico dichotomy is provocative and illuminating.

A thorough analysis of each essay is obviously impossible, but no aspect of Vico's present-day relevance is neglected. For instance, Antonio Corsano's "Vico and Mathematics" proves particularly instructive for a reviewer whose familiarity with and interest in Vico spans some two decades. The reader will also find Max H. Fisch's "Vico and Pragmatism," Enzo Paci's "Vico and Cassirer," James M. Edie's "Vico and Existential Philosophy," and Raffaello Franchini's "Vico, Historical Methodology, and the Future of Philosophy" useful in assessing Vico's place in modern thought. To conclude, this *Symposium* is like a rich fruit cake, yielding appetizing morsels wherever one cuts into it. It belongs on the bookshelf of anyone interested in Vico, next to the works of Vico himself and those of his commentators and bibliographers: Croce, Nicolini, Berlin, Fisch, Caponigri, Collingwood, Mazlish, De Mas, Fassò, Corsano, and Gianturco, to name only a few. Even for those not particularly drawn to Vico this book provides stimulating reading for it presents, with Vico as the unifying constant, a spectrum of modern thought. Rarely does a symposium give the impression of such unity and continuity. Above all, it shows clearly that Vico is now certainly enjoying a *ricorso*. It is to be hoped that he will not once again sink into neglect and have to be resurrected by a future generation to go through a new *corso* and *ricorso*. Perhaps this *Symposium*, which brilliantly shows the universality of Vico's mind, may help to keep interest in him alive and to stimulate further study on the many facets of his thought.

EMILIANA P. NOETHER
University of Connecticut

ROBERT E. SCHOFIELD. *Mechanism and Materialism: British Natural Philosophy in an Age of Reason*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1970. Pp. vi, 336. $9.50.

In this book Mr. Schofield has led us through to a level of much more satisfactory understanding of British eighteenth-century natural philosophy. By focusing upon concepts of matter, he seems to have identified an area that gives coherence to British thought on several apparently unrelated topics. He rescues the British from that realm of dead uncreativeness to which they were consigned by those who followed the mathematical theme from Newton to Leibnitz to the Bernoullis, to Euler and Lagrange, to Laplace and a new sort of mathematical physics.

He offers, however, a tour that begins even more specifically with Newton. He solves, indeed, what has been called "the doctrine of the two Newtons." Some years ago I. Bernard Cohen was misunderstood in his explanation of a seeming paradox in Benjamin Franklin's view of himself and his work in electricity as Newtonian—a paradox because Franklin knew absolutely nothing of Newtonian mechanics or of the great achievements of the *Principia*. Yet, not only he but most scientists in the English-speaking world, despite the strangest differences in approach, proclaimed themselves Newtonians.

Now, Mr. Schofield, working from a background of detailed study of aspects of British science, finds that there are indeed two specific and quite different threads running from Newton in the writings on matter. One view he identifies as mechanistic; this followed Newton in the elaboration and application of "dynamic corpuscularity," spreading its influence through many fields including theology. About 1740 criticism, continental writings, and diverging approaches shifted the emphasis toward materialistic explanations—which advocates asserted with equal force to have been derived from Newton. These built upon such concepts as ether, electric and magnetic fluids, caloric, and phlogiston. Then from 1760 to 1789, Schofield feels that there was a shift back to mechanistic explanations, which ultimately come out in fluid dynamics and field concepts.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This scheme makes it possible to relate a remarkable range of writings, and it will provide an essential framework for future scholars. The canvas, of course, is too large for all the characterizations to ring true, and informed readers are bound to react against some complex concepts being ticked off lightly and men of breadth being shot into ill-fitting holes. Yet Mr. Schofield's success in showing Lavoisier as an antimechanist and Cavendish as a Newtonian are vignettes of the power of his analysis and the utility of his scheme.

BROOKE HINDLE
New York University

SEYMOUR DRESCHER. *Dilemmas of Democracy: Tocqueville and Modernization.* [Pittsburgh:] University of Pittsburgh Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 302. $6.95.

Professor Drescher's book is undoubtedly the most probing and convincing study of Tocqueville's ideas on social structure, economic development, and political trends. If I understand Drescher correctly, Tocqueville turned out to be a rather weak analyst of Western man's political evolution because he failed to see the positive correlations among these three factors. And his weakness resulted from the fact that he was more of a *moraliste* than a *positiviste,* that is, he was less concerned about what is than about what ought to be. His vision was too narrowly formed by his limited experiences in Orleanist France and Jacksonian America.

As an aristocrat he paid little attention to newly developing industry and more modern forms of behavior among the urban population. Rather he saw the future in terms of agricultural needs and argued that democracy would grow out of the more equitable distribution of land and individual independence. The degree of freedom enjoyed by self-employed farmers was Tocqueville's indicator of modernization. The mass society he foresaw would be an undifferentiated collection of individuals, enjoying easy social mobility resulting from personal capacity rather than group or class action. An additional indicator of modernization, however, was the growth of state action and resulting centralization. From a premodern society in which man depended on man (the poor on the rich) there would result one in which man depends on the state.

Drescher, in his reading of Tocqueville's published and unpublished writings, relies as much on his own analysis of societal facets neglected by Tocqueville as on those fully described by the Frenchman. This technique has allowed Drescher to give a more complete description of Tocqueville's mind and of its limits than other writers have done. The study of what a man does not say is as important as what he does say. In order to clarify a writer's contribution, it is essential to discover the blind spots in his vision. Drescher has also gone extensively into letters and unpublished manuscripts to find information to help him understand Tocqueville's mental processes. Since Tocqueville did not write extensively on social and economic matters—save as regards penology and slavery—Drescher has done a very good job in bringing out the main concerns of his subject, and, just as important, his interpretation of the data breaks out of the rather narrow shell of traditional intellectual history in order to bring to bear some of the contributions of the behavioralists.

LEO A. LOUBÈRE
State University of New York, Buffalo

CARL H. SCHEELE. *A Short History of the Mail Service.* Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press; distrib. by Random House, New York. 1970. Pp. 250. $6.95.

The volume under review is almost wholly concerned with the mail service in this country, and it should have been so titled. It is divided into three parts. Part 1 (thirty pages), entitled "Old World Background," gathers a miscellany of references to letter-carrying practices in such countries as ancient Egypt, Greece (dealt with in a mere thirteen lines), and Rome, and even including in the "old world background" ancient China and Japan (fourteen lines). The last selected postal area, Great Britain, is the only real background included for the mail services of this country, since part 2 is given over to the thirteen colonies. Part 3 (125 pages) covers the years from 1775 to 1967; it brings the total narrative to 155 pages.

The listing of sources for so short a history

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

seems out of all proportion. The footnotes number over six hundred, and the bibliography (entitled "References") has 271 items, including some that seem hardly necessary, such as philatelic articles and postage stamp catalogues, and, for example, titles such as "Great Britain, Acts," Herodotus, *The Book of ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, etc.*, and "The Holy Bible, Authorized version." (Mr. Scheele is curator of philately and postal history at the Smithsonian Institution.)

Part 3 has much useful information, especially on the mechanization of the services, but it is so broken up—into some thirty subdivisions—that the flow of the narrative is interrupted.

The viewpoint is largely laudatory, in sharp contrast both to objections to a service under political-party control and to the report in 1968 of a commission on postal organization appointed by President Johnson. This commission found conditions so "chaotic" that it recommended the removal of the Post Office from political interference by making it an "independent corporation"—and Congress has acquiesced.

Beyond identifying so-called "junk mail" as "nagging" (p. 186), the author offers no discussion of a category of mail that has become an intolerable nuisance but that has nevertheless been encouraged by government agencies that sell lists of addresses to advertisers at so much per reel. Mr. Scheele's final judgment on the mail service is that it has "continued to function with remarkable success" (p. 188).

HOWARD ROBINSON
Oberlin, Ohio

THORKILD HANSEN. *The Way to Hudson Bay: The Life and Times of Jens Munk.* Translated by JAMES MCFARLANE and JOHN LYNCH. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1970. Pp. 348. $7.95.

The Northwest Passage through and above arctic North America has engaged the interest of navigators and explorers for centuries. So, similarly, has it engaged the interest of chroniclers and historians of the numerous exploring expeditions and the scientific and not so scientific activities attending thereto. There has been a spate of publications on a wide variety of English, Dutch, United States, and Canadian expeditions—almost to the point of being repetitious. Therefore it is timely and pleasantly surprising to find an account of a little-known Danish expedition, little-known, that is, outside Denmark. The talented young Danish author Thorkild Hansen collaborated with Peter Seeberg and published in Copenhagen in 1965 *Jens Munks minde ekspedition.* This book has been translated into English by James McFarlane and John Lynch, published first in England as *North West to Hudson Bay* (1970) and in a somewhat abridged version in the United States in 1970 as *The Way to Hudson Bay: The Life and Times of Jens Munk.*

"Jens Munk's life centers on the sea. He was one of the intrepid [seventeenth]-century explorers who navigated the Arctic seas with inadequate ships, faulty charts and primitive instruments" according to the book jacket. Significantly, Munk was but one of three, from a crew of sixty-five, who survived an expedition that reached into Hudson Bay in 1659, suffered a severe winter, buried his dead in the forbidding land, and by sheer dint of massive will power returned to Denmark with a fantastic diary and other accounts. The surviving records, together with the products of a wealth of research in the archives and libraries of Denmark particularly, and with an extraordinary fund of information on the contemporary scene gleaned by the authors from many sources, have made it possible for them to write a remarkable account not only of Munk's voyage to Hudson Bay but, indeed, to prepare a lengthy, detailed biography of that explorer. Although the title of this book emphasizes "The Way to Hudson Bay," fully 250 pages are biographical and not related to that subject. These pages are a well-written account of Munk's life, his numerous piratical, king's-protector exploits, and personal feuds. Excellent descriptions of Munk's activities and of the settings in which they took place are provided. The account of Munk's remarkable voyage to Hudson Bay is dramatically and beautifully described. This book is exceptionally well written, spicy at times, and, to the extent that the records permit, appears to be reasonably objective. It is very well illustrated with reproductions of contemporary maps,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sketches, landscape views, and plans and designs of ships.

Most regrettably this book lacks definitive documentation, though abbreviated references to sources are occasionally woven into the text. There is no bibliography or a related discussion of sources. The serious reader who will be impressed by the literary skill with which the book is written cannot but be concerned about its objectivity—is this fact or fiction?—except of course where the text relies on the *Journal,* which is in the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

HERMAN R. FRIIS
The National Archives

CHRISTINE BOLT. *The Anti-Slavery Movement and Reconstruction: A Study in Anglo-American Co-operation, 1833–77.* New York: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations, London. 1969. Pp. 197. $4.95.

ADELAIDE WEINBERG. *John Elliot Cairnes and the American Civil War: A Study in Anglo-American Relations.* London: Kingswood Press. n.d. Pp. 224. $6.50.

Significant in the American antislavery crusade, especially during the 1830s and 1840s, were funds and encouragement received by American abolitionists from Englishmen of wealth, status, and political power. American abolitionists were bitterly surprised, therefore, when the British government, from 1861 to 1863, sympathized with the South. These two books examine the responses of English abolitionists to this official policy during the American Civil War and Reconstruction era.

Christine Bolt, relying heavily upon newspaper sources, adds English evidence to historians' recent recognition that emancipation in America did not end efforts by former abolitionists in behalf of Afro-Americans. After emancipation, English abolitionists, and their American counterparts, did not feel displaced and retire from responsibility, nor did they bemoan the loss of a worthy cause. British freedmen aid societies raised an average of £24,000 annually for the relief and education of emancipated American slaves and arranged preferential rates with British shipping and railway lines to transport food and clothing.

Bolt's discussion of these deeds and the arguments directed at British public opinion are the strongest parts of her book. Less convincing is her claim that British reformers were well informed about Reconstruction and fully supported it. She fails to answer satisfactorily Wendell Phillips' charge that the British allegiance to radical Reconstruction was primarily "an old clothes movement." Suggesting that English racism eventually undermined sympathy for freedmen, she slights the presence of racism prior to emancipation. Many American historians now acknowledge that antislavery feelings before the war were not synonymous with equalitarian ones, but Bolt unconvincingly depicts widespread British racism as mostly a postwar development.

The late Adelaide Weinberg's book analyzes and reprints some essays and correspondence of John Elliot Cairnes, the distinguished Irish classical economist. *The Slave Power,* a thorough and well-known pamphlet published by Cairnes in 1862, warned Englishmen and Americans of the danger and economic inutility of the South's peculiar institution. Inevitable soil exhaustion, the inefficiency of slave labor, Southern territorial aggression, and that section's dependence on the interstate slave trade were fundamental to Cairnes's economic argument. But he also noted that Southern passions, habits, and politics perpetuated slavery. Laissez-faire economics, he concluded, falsely assumed that public and private good were synonymous. He deeply feared for the life of America, one of "only two great free nations in the world."

Weinberg renews Cairnes's importance for historians by clearly explicating his antislavery position and support for enfranchising the freedmen during Reconstruction. She does not discuss, however, Cairnes's sources: he depended heavily upon F. L. Olmstead and G. M. Weston, and his critics have argued that his failure to utilize also the work of Robert Russell, J. D. B. De Bow, and Edmund Ruffin invalidated his conclusions. While Weinberg obviously disagrees with Ulrich Phillips that Cairnes's analysis of slavery was filled with "grotesqueries," she concedes too readily the obsolescence of Cairnes's soil erosion argument because she uncritically accepts the findings of Avery Craven and Lewis Gray. Unavailable to Weinberg until her manuscript neared publication was Eugene Genovese's

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Political Economy of Slavery, which promises to avoid Cairnes's "simplistic and mechanistic notions" but admittedly accepts most of his view of slavery—with the notable exception of the Englishman's conviction that the North represented political democracy. Had Adelaide Weinberg lived to complete her plan to revise the manuscript she surely would have said more than this about Genovese's book: "Cairnes's reasoning here as well as in other places derives much support."

TILDEN G. EDELSTEIN
Rutgers University, New Brunswick

EDMUND IONS. *James Bryce and American Democracy, 1870–1922*. New York: Humanities Press. 1970. Pp. 339. $12.75.

In 1927 H. A. L. Fisher published a two-volume biographical study of his friend James Bryce. Such works had been standard in Victorian and Edwardian England; clearly, neither the war nor the example of Lytton Strachey had seriously undermined the "life and letters" convention. Edmund Ions, turning to the same subject four decades later, expresses gratitude for the earlier volumes; but he suggests that Fisher did not "do justice either to the life, in all its various pursuits, or to the letters, in their range and volume" (p. 305). One's appetite is whetted; one looks for a modern biography that is less dominated by the requirements of friendship and the traditions of an earlier historical scholarship. The surprise—and it is that—is that Ions has written a biography that might just as easily have been published forty or more years ago. One has become so accustomed to reading "modern biography" that one finds Ions' study of Bryce a throwback to an earlier genre. This, to give only a single example, is how Ions describes the woman Bryce married when he was already past fifty. Ions writes: "Thomas Ashton's daughter Marion shared her father's devotion to good works and liberal causes. Both at home and on civic occasions she often met her father's friend James Bryce, whose law lectures at Owens College drew large and appreciative audiences. Marion Ashton also possessed beauty, charm and intelligence. In April 1889 her engagement was announced to Professor James Bryce, M.P. They were married in July. It was a perfect match and their married life was one of great felicity" (p. 142).

It may be that our tastes have been too rudely used these last years to accept this kind of expression. Such a portrait is simply not credible to readers today. It is not only that the whole psychological dimension is missing in this biography, but that Ions has ignored the social dimension as well. We are given the most explicit information on where Bryce went, whom he visited, what he read, what he wrote, and where he lectured; but there is no analysis of what tied him to that very special group of Americans he came to know so well. How is one to explain the Anglo-American connection that developed in certain intellectual and social circles toward the middle and end of the nineteenth century? What significance did these connections have? Why was there such an easy communion between Bryce and his American friends? Why were there not analogous relations between these Americans and French or German scholars? Mr. Ions does not think to ask this kind of question. The book, inevitably, lacks both the psychological and the social dimension we have come to expect of modern biography. Ions' book reminds us of a vast literature that used to be written in the Anglo-American world earlier in this century. This is not necessarily a criticism of the work; it simply indicates why one is so surprised when one starts to read it.

STEPHEN R. GRAUBARD
Brown University

JOHN B. BLAKE, editor. *Safeguarding the Public: Historical Aspects of Medicinal Drug Control*. Papers from a conference sponsored by the National Library of Medicine and the Josiah Macy, Jr. Foundation. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1970. Pp. xi, 200. $7.50.

This book is essentially a verbatim report of the papers delivered at the Conference on the History of Medicinal Drug Control held in 1968 at the National Library of Medicine in Bethesda, Maryland, where participants were "asked to consider . . . problems relating to controls of the purity, quality, safety, and efficacy of drugs prescribed by physicians

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rather than problems relating to out-and-out quackery, narcotic control, or price control." And the central theme that emerges from these papers is that as developing science and technology begin to solve the problems of drug control in one period, they not only create new problems for the next, but also produce difficulties for governments and professional groups in their efforts to keep pace with the new discoveries in order to ensure the safety and efficacy of therapeutic agents used by physicians to treat the sick.

This race between scientific advances and the efforts of government to provide safeguards is illustrated in several papers. James Harvey Young in "Drugs and the 1906 Law" makes clear that because the major concern of the Food and Drug Law was with foods, the Food and Drug Administration initially paid little attention to prescription drugs except for misbranding and adulteration. Young suggests that the FDA did not begin to scrutinize manufacturers closely in the 1920s partly because of the policies of Republican administrations. David F. Cavers demonstrates that despite a new law in 1938 and new administrative policies and machinery, it was some time before the regulative machinery became effective, for Congress continued to starve the FDA of funds. The therapeutic revolution ushered in by the sulfa drugs in the mid-1930s, moreover, created many new problems.

Obviously it is impossible to discuss all the interesting papers in this book, or to detail the very many striking insights on the problems of drug controls that are to be found in the commentaries and discussions at the end of each session. An enlightening paper by Alex Berman on "Drug Control in Nineteenth-Century France" discusses a situation where legislation was ahead of science and technology, but the lack of basic knowledge in chemistry and physiology led to drug laws that were inflexible, conflicting, and often unenforced. The information contained in the many essays and discussions in this volume provides useful insights into the difficult problem of supervising new drug discoveries.

MORRIS W. GARBER
Rutgers University, New Brunswick

DANIEL R. BEAVER, editor. *Some Pathways in Twentieth-Century History: Essays in Honor of Reginald Charles McGrane.* Detroit: Wayne State University Press for the University of Cincinnati. 1969. Pp. 313. $11.95.

This *Festschrift* is a collection of eight essays written by former students of the late Professor R. C. McGrane of the University of Cincinnati and published in his honor; it also includes a biographical sketch of McGrane and a selected bibliography of his writings by Harry R. Stevens. Although Professor McGrane never directed a doctoral dissertation or conducted a graduate seminar, this volume is a graphic testimony to the impact of his teaching upon undergraduate students. The essays are: Thomas McCormick, "'A Fair Field and No Favor': The Structure of Informal Empire"; Alfred D. Sumberg, "William Howard Taft and the Ohio Endorsement Issue, 1906–1908"; Daniel R. Beaver, "George W. Goethals and the Problem of Military Supply"; Henry R. Winkler, "The British Labour Party and the Paris Settlement"; C. William Vogel, "Leopold Amery: Man against the Stars in Their Courses"; Francis L. Loewenheim, "An Illusion that Shaped History: New Light on the History and Historiography of American Peace Efforts before Munich"; Richard M. Leighton, "The American Arsenal Policy in World War II: A Retrospective View"; and William M. Franklin, "Yalta Viewed from Tehran."

It is difficult to review a *Festschrift* that lacks a common theme and is composed of articles of varying originality and merit. Unfortunately also, a good essay therein is likely to remain undiscovered by scholars interested in its particular subject matter. Of these essays, three are focused upon American foreign relations, two upon facets of its military history, and one upon its domestic politics; the other two essays deal with British politics and foreign affairs. McCormick's essay on the formulation of the Open Door policy, an elaboration from his previously published studies, presents Hay's notes as a realistic maneuver in America's quest for "informal empire" or economic predominance in the China market. A good case can be made for America's interest in expanded markets at the turn of the twentieth century, but care must be used not

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to oversimplify economic motives into a monolithic explanation. Beaver's and Leighton's essays on military history are thoughtful studies of procurement in the First and Second World Wars.

The highlights of this collection, I think, are Loewenheim's analysis of Roosevelt's diplomacy prior to Munich and Franklin's brief but stimulating comparison of the Tehran and Yalta conferences. Professor Loewenheim examines FDR's vague proposal for an international conference in 1937 and early 1938, and concludes that the president shared the British government's illusion that it might be possible to make a just and lasting settlement with the aggressor states. Sumner Welles and Anthony Eden come off rather poorly in his evaluation, while Neville Chamberlain emerges as far more realistic than is generally assumed. Loewenheim's article, together with Arnold A. Offner's study, *American Appeasement* (1969), graphically portrays the dilemma of an administration caught between the tides of popular isolationism and fear of a new world war. Dr. Franklin, director of the State Department's Historical Office, points out that the Tehran Conference has usually been slighted by scholars more interested in the dramatic events at Yalta, yet the earlier Big Three meeting discussed and reached tentative agreement on many of the issues subsequently "settled" at the Crimean conference. Moreover, Roosevelt was in good health at Tehran, in contrast to Yalta, and his ideas in 1943 of a drastic partition of Germany obviously long predated the much discussed Morgenthau Plan. I agree with Franklin's conclusion that Tehran deserves more scholarly analysis than it has yet received.

DANIEL M. SMITH
University of Colorado

ANGUS MADDISON. *Economic Growth in Japan and the USSR*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1969. Pp. xxviii, 174. $6.00.

In terms of output, the USSR and Japan account for one-fifth of the world's economy, occupying second and third places, respectively, behind the United States. Japan has had the world's fastest growth of per capita income over the past quarter century, and the Soviet Union has not lagged far behind. But about a century ago they were both relatively static feudal societies. Angus Maddison's study analyzes the policies that enabled them to transform their economies and to catch up with the developed world.

The strategies the two nations adopted have been, of course, vastly different. Japan has favored free enterprise, maintained relatively small farms, had a dichotomous industrial development, with large and small firms existing side by side, and she has developed a labor-intensive technology and most successfully penetrated world export markets. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, organized on the basis of state ownership and operation, has created giant farms and factories and yet has remained fairly isolated from world trade. Since 1945 the USSR has devoted one-eighth of her resources to military purposes, while Japan has applied practically nothing to such uses. The Soviet Union has become a world military and political power; Japan a world economic power.

In his short study Dr. Maddison offers a comparative analysis of the growth experience of the two countries that enlarges our knowledge of the development process. He contends that a better understanding of the Soviet and Japanese experiences can be illuminating and relevant for economic growth policies in developing countries today. Considering the developments of the last quarter of a century in India and in Communist China, however, one wonders about the relevance of the Japanese and Soviet experiences.

The study is divided into two parts. Part 1 consists of six chapters detailing the history of Japan's economic development. Chapter 5 deals with Japan's "explosive" economic growth from 1953 through 1965. Chapter 6 draws conclusions about the significance of Japanese economic growth. Part 2 contains five brief chapters on Soviet economic development, the last chapter of which draws conclusions about the significance of Soviet economic growth.

Angus Maddison is an English economist who worked in Paris since 1953 for the OEEC and the OECD, where he was successively head of the Economics Division, director in the Development Department, and a fellow in the De-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

velopment Center. A graduate of Cambridge University, Mr. Maddison has studied and taught in both the United States and Canada. He is currently a director of a Twentieth-Century Fund project on economic development and policy.

His brief and somewhat cursory analysis of both Japanese and Soviet economic growth adds little, if anything, to what is already known about the economic development of both countries. Conclusions such as "Soviet growth experience has a broader significance than that of Japan because the U.S.S.R. is one of the two super-powers of the world and is the major exponent of an ideology which is intended as a challenge both to developed capitalist countries and to the developing world" (p. 131) are hardly to be classed as contributing to economic knowledge.

JEROME B. COHEN
Baruch College,
City University of New York

GEOFFREY BENNETT. *Naval Battles of the First World War.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. [1969.] Pp. 319. $7.95.

ROBERT M. GRANT. *U-Boat Intelligence, 1914–1918.* [Hamden, Conn.:] Archon Books. 1969. Pp. 192. $8.50.

Bennett's volume, which was derived in part from two previous works, *Coronel and the Falklands* (1962) and *The Battle of Jutland* (1964), is a competent popular account of British naval warfare, with some illuminating discussion of German motivations. Even so, there is little here for the scholar now that Marder's *From the Dreadnought to Scapa Flow* has been completed.

In contrast Grant's book, written, curiously enough, from the vantage point of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, is indispensable to the specialist. Professor Grant calls himself a layman, and for so detailed and concentrated a monograph the lack of an index and the paucity of references are regrettable. The bibliography consists entirely of published works, including the recently completed German official history of submarine warfare. The preface, however, tells us that "the present volume represents a continuation of the research undertaken . . . on German records captured . . . in 1945," and refers to French intelligence documents located at Yale. In the text passing reference is made to other archives, as "intelligence" has always been chary of discussing its sources.

Professor Grant clears up some mysteries nonetheless. Building on his earlier *U-Boats Destroyed* (1964), to which the present work is complementary, the author, after a preliminary account of "the ways and means of naval intelligence," analyzes in great detail Allied intelligence of submarine operations. There are a number of charts and photographs and a valuable revised list of U-boats that were sunk. The general conclusion is clear: "The work of interception and decryption was all-important, especially when it was coordinated and acted upon."

PAUL GUINN
State University of New York, Buffalo

JOHN MCVICKAR HAIGHT, JR. *American Aid to France, 1938–1940.* New York: Atheneum. 1970. Pp. ix, 278. $7.95.

To those who had labored to arm France in the twilight years of the Third Republic, the taste of wasted effort in June 1940 must have been especially bitter. The melancholy tale told in this unpretentious little book retraces the frantic efforts of the French government, beginning in 1938—incredibly late in the day, it now seems—to buy in the United States the air power that French industry seemed unable to build at home. Yet, if the effort was wasted for France, it was not for Great Britain, which took over $425 million in French aircraft contracts with U.S. firms along with several hundred military aircraft in transit in June 1940. Above all, it was not wasted for the United States, where Allied (mostly French) orders and capital investment since 1938 had quadrupled the capacity of the U.S. aircraft industry and prepared the way for the deluge to follow. Between spring of 1938 and the end of 1939 France placed orders in the United States for some 1,600 military aircraft, 200 more than the Army Air Corps, and the following March she joined the British in ordering 4,500 more. The handful of fighters and bombers that reached France in time to meet the German Blitz in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

May 1940 generally gave a good account of themselves.

What this meant for American rearmament no one realized better than President Roosevelt, who not only believed that the Maginot line was America's first line of defense as well as France's, but also saw in France's need a way to do what an isolationist, economy-minded Congress would not allow him to do. Roosevelt employed all his political skill to help the French get the aircraft they needed, even at the expense of the budding Army Air Corps. He could also be heavy-handed, as when he warned General "Hap" Arnold, the AAC chief, that he might find himself exiled to some distant post "such as Guam" if he refused to cooperate.

The book is an impressive piece of research. For a subject of rather modest scope, the sources are unusually rich. Most notably, the author has been able to use the private papers of some of the leading French officials involved, including Guy La Chambre, air minister in the Daladier government; Senator La Grange, an old friend of Roosevelt and head of the first French purchasing mission to the U.S. in 1938; and of course Jean Monnet, who was in some sense the guiding spirit of the whole effort. Mr. Haight has also made good use of the diaries of Roosevelt's secretary of the treasury, Henry Morgenthau. He organizes his material well, writes straightforwardly if not felicitously, and has a tendency to overquote. For one especially infelicitous Roosevelt quotation, however, we can all be grateful. "What we want," FDR wrote to Ambassador Bullitt in November 1939 concerning the new Anglo-French coordinating committee, "is that perfectly possible combination of two head men . . . who will sleep in the same bed and lay all their cards on the table to prevent crossing wires."

RICHARD M. LEIGHTON
Industrial College of the Armed Forces

JOHN STRAWSON. *The Battle for North Africa.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1969. Pp. xi, 226. $7.95.

Michael Howard once commented wryly that no publisher seems to sleep easily "unless he has in prospect a new series on Great Battles, or Great Captains, or Great Campaigns." With its own Battle Series by veteran British general officers, Scribner's can sleep easily.

The Allies forged ultimate victory in Europe in the sputtering crucible of North Africa. But do we need another war history of the much-traveled dunes of Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and Tunisia? Not unaware of the immense existing literature, Brigadier John Strawson sets out not only to study the chieftains—a common approach—but also to dip into the recollections of warriors who fought the "bloody business." More important for the general reader, he traces changes in the nature and conduct of the battles that swirled across North Africa between 1940 and 1943. Although he uncovers no new sources, he breathes life into the fierce old battles, from Capuzzo to El Alamein, from Knightsbridge to Mareth. It is all very chivalrous (Rommel's *Krieg ohne Hass*), slangily British (the Axis "on a losing wicket, and . . . about to be hit for six"), and realistic (bully beef and biscuit, marmalade and tea, in tank laagers).

Strawson seems unacquainted with Warlimont's contribution to Jacobsen and Rohwer's work, Liddell Hart's *Other Side of the Hill* and his *Defence of the West,* and Marshal Harding's published lectures on Mediterranean strategy. Yet he is hardheaded and fair, accords full points to the Royal Navy, Malta, the RAF, and the Americans, and pens pithy vignettes of Churchill and the main commanders. His cameos of Montgomery and Rommel are memorable.

It is pleasing to have a very lively brigadier "in to tea" and to have him patiently unravel the tridimensional complexities with honesty and humor, verve and insight. His not least attractive quality is a familiarity with Dryden, Tacitus, and Shakespeare, as well as a more expected knowledge of Raglan and Wellington. From *Macbeth,* for example, Strawson borrows a lovely quotation to describe the later Rommel: his "way of life was falling into the sear, the yellow leaf."

Within brief compass, Brigadier Strawson has succeeded admirably. Intelligently illustrated and helpfully mapped, his modest volume deserves a place on the groaning bookshelf of World War II.

ALVIN D. COOX
San Diego State College

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JOHN NEWHOUSE. *De Gaulle and the Anglo-Saxons*. New York: Viking Press. 1970. Pp. viii, 371. $8.50.

This is the most thorough and best-informed study to date of the decade of Gaullist foreign policy vis-à-vis Britain and the United States. Mr. Newhouse makes intelligent use of memoirs, the press, and the public record, such as it is. He has interviewed widely, especially in London and Washington, and he appears to have had access to unpublished documents, such as the British minutes of the 1962 Rambouillet meeting between Prime Minister Macmillan and President de Gaulle. The book then should serve as an important source for some time to come, whether one agrees with its central theme or not.

The author believes that it was never possible to do business with the General in terms of alliance politics as practiced by Washington and Whitehall during and after the Second World War. For de Gaulle, states molded by geography and history, not ideology, were the permanent realities of foreign policy. If Moscow could be gulled into managing its German policy in concert with Paris, then France could serve as the link and balance between America and Russia. NATO, nuclear sharing, the EEC were all marginal to this central aim; British membership in the Common Market might threaten it by stealing the leadership of Western Europe from France.

A very plausible case is made to support this analysis. The General often behaved as if he did not take the tripartite directorate idea altogether seriously, and it now seems clear that de Gaulle warned Macmillan at Rambouillet—before Nassau, the ostensible reason for the veto on British entry into the Common Market in 1963—that he would oppose England's admission into the Six. The author supports his argument with a wealth of detail and some very sophisticated detective work. He is particularly shrewd on the bureaucratic politics of Washington, slightly less convincing on Paris.

For all its merits, the book makes almost too good a case. Although Mr. Newhouse notes that the General was an inspired opportunist, ever ready to take advantage of the mistakes of his adversaries, and of his nominal allies, he tends to attribute to design some of what may have been accident or just "shaking the coconut tree." Since foreign policy was the *secret du roi*, it is difficult to get to the policy-making process. But there were perhaps greater strains in the machine than Mr. Newhouse allows—although President de Gaulle was more invulnerable to domestic political pressures than the leaders of other democratic states, he was not entirely immune. Moreover, there had always been a certain ambiguity in the Fourth Republic's relations with its allies, and that ambivalence was much intensified under the Fifth. De Gaulle appealed to a latent anti-Americanism in France, but this had sometimes been unwittingly fed from Washington. (It must have pleased him to threaten his own "agonizing reappraisal.")

Finally, the General emerges from these pages a somewhat unreal figure. Some attention is paid to his early background, none to his experiences between the wars, yet these were probably at least as crucial as the events of World War II. But the author can hardly be blamed, for de Gaulle's historical persona is largely a work of literary artifice. One waits with impatience for the last volume of *Memoirs*, more perhaps for their elegant style and imaginative sweep than for the light they may throw on events. Mr. Newhouse has done that job in this interesting and important work.

D. B. GOLDEY
Lincoln College, Oxford

ANCIENT

G. S. KIRK. *Myth: Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures*. (Sather Classical Lectures, Volume 40.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1970. Pp. xii, 299. $7.95.

This book is a valiant attempt to heal the breach resulting from anthropologists' knowing no Greek and classicists no anthropology. Kirk, a classicist, begins by rejecting universalist explanations of myth: not all myth is connected with gods or ritual; folktale is a distinctive species marked by interest in narrative and by ingenious solutions. Lévi-Strauss made a breakthrough by showing that the structure of myth is significant: it may reflect the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

structure of the myth-making society or the behavioral attitudes of the myth-makers; myth provides a logical model that can overcome a contradiction, for example, between nature and society or life and death. Mesopotamian myths, wherein nature-gods develop into city-gods, emphasize the limits of human institutions; relate them to the natural environment; treat the natural and social order as inevitable and god-given; and juxtapose episodes to elicit conclusions about natural and human fertility, nature and culture, life and death. Gilgamesh, for example, learns to accept death. In Greek myth some Centaurs are good (civilized), some run amok; the Cyclops Polyphemus is in some aspects relatively civilized, in others, barbaric. Developed Greek myth as we meet it in Homer and Hesiod has twenty-four simple themes (pp. 187 ff.) that are reducible to eight basic concerns (p. 205)—gods, heroes, relations of men and gods, relation of mortality and immortality, the origin of evils (for example, senility or disease), family stresses, fertility, and eschatology. Victorians thought of Greek myth-makers as wallowing in primitivism; then Zeus said, "Let Thales be," and all was light. This is wrong. By Homer's and Hesiod's day (eighth century B.C.) myth had been reasonable for a very long time, seeking system and order in society; to think of prehistoric or primitive peoples as illogical is Romantic nonsense. Greek myths show a realistic fantasy perennially attractive to old and young, an important part of a coherent, developed, imaginative culture. Myths may be narrative (entertaining), operative (validating social institutions), or speculative (mediating between apparent contradictions). They are not merely the collective dreams of the tribe. They develop from narrative structure; symbolism is incidental. The speculative element is the most important: to evaluate it, we need to know more about the storyteller in nonliterate societies. This is a bold book, which will probably satisfy neither classicists nor anthropologists, but if they will keep open minds, both will be illuminated by it, as it is a significant contribution to the history of thought.

PAUL MACKENDRICK
University of Wisconsin, Madison

J. J. WILKES. *Dalmatia.* (History of the Provinces of the Roman Empire.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1969. Pp. xxvii, 572, 59 plates. $15.00.

This is an odd book. It shows great industry and is a major contribution to its field, but there are amazing gaps, and the total effect is blurred.

After a geographical outline there are five chapters of straightforward history from Greek exploration to Augustan conquest. Then come nine chapters describing elements of society under the principate—governors, army, natives, cities, upper classes, rural settlements, and trade. Twenty-three pages relate the history from 305 to 612, and fifteen appendixes document the sociological chapters. Abbreviations and bibliography fill twenty-five pages; indexes of persons, places, and subjects, forty; and there are forty-eight pages of photographs, most of them well chosen.

In sum, the book is a social history. There is very little on art and religion, while economics, government, political and military history are treated as framework to the study of the society, and the society is studied minutely—the army is examined almost man by man. The results, if not surprising, are at least more fully detailed and documented than ever before in English. Unfortunately, the method requires repetition, and statements and references recur in chapter after chapter. While the overall organization is clear, the presentation in the chapters jumps back and forth from place to place and period to period, goes through the whole of the principate on one page and back to the beginning on the next. The result is a blur, and the book is dull reading; but it is useful for reference.

It would have been more useful (since the social analysis is closely connected with geographical divisions) if the maps had not been inadequate and the geographical terminology inconsistent. Places appear under Latin names on one page, Italian, Turkish, or German on the next, and Slavic on the one after that. There are eleven maps with no index; one must hunt through all eleven to find that a place is not shown, and about one-third of the places mentioned are not.

Since this volume is the second of an important series, I hope the editors will consider the following facts. One good, big map in a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pocket at the end of a book is much better than a dozen small ones buried in the pages; it can show the relations between the elements —geophysical features, settlements, roads, political boundaries, military movements—that the little maps present in isolation and therefore fail to explain. For the history of a Roman province, a good road map with approximate dates of construction is essential, and this book has none. Floor plans should, when possible, show doorways. This volume is a clumsy, heavy hulk with long lines of print that are tiring to read. It could have been made lighter and more readable and could also have had larger maps and pictures, had it been designed as a small quarto with two columns of smaller type per page.

MORTON SMITH
Columbia University

MEDIEVAL

GEORGE GALAVARIS. *Bread and the Liturgy: The Symbolism of Early Christian and Byzantine Bread Stamps.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1970. Pp. xvii, 235. $10.00.

As the title indicates, this book deals with the bread stamps and the bread used in the rites of the Greek Orthodox Church. The work consists of a helpful introduction to the subject and four chapters entitled "From Pagan to Christian Bread Stamps," "The Eucharistic Bread," "The Eulogia Bread," and "Bread Stamps and Byzantine Liturgy." The final chapter constitutes the synthesis, "where the stamps and the bread they represent are discussed in the setting of the Byzantine liturgy."

Professor Galavaris made his fine synthesis with the coordination of several diverse disciplines—iconography, archeology, paleography, liturgics, theology, history, and literature. However, iconography, paleography, and contemporary usages were the primary means and tools used "to reach logical solutions to the various problems." Ninety-five illustrations, most of which are dated prior to the tenth century, help give the treatise clarity and precision.

Galavaris starts his discussion of the symbolism of bread stamps from the very beginnings of the Church and goes beyond 1453 to include some post-Byzantine and modern examples and thus give a more complete picture of the development of the use of bread in the Byzantine rite. But no Latin stamps were included, for these must by their very nature be studied separately.

Of particular interest to the ecumenists should be the statement made on the types of bread. "The same baking method and ovens were used by the Christians for both their daily bread and that which was to be used in worship. It must be made clear that . . . in the Early Christian centuries and in all eastern rites through the ages, except in the Armenian church, the bread used for the Church did not differ from ordinary bread in substance. From the beginning leavened bread was used" (p. 13).

The broadness of spirit in the Church is seen in the kinds of liturgical bread used and in the symbolism of the stamps. For example, the pagan *hygieia* bread survived in the form of the liturgical bread called *antidoron*. Insofar as the design of the bread stamps is concerned, although Canon 82 of the Trullan Council forbade the representation of the Lamb in iconography, to this very day one can see eucharistic stamps marked with the Lamb only.

Professor Galavaris has succeeded in making the bread stamps yield valuable information and also in making mute literary texts speak with the help of these stamps. His book should prove very useful and informative especially to students of art and liturgics. It is well written and carefully printed.

JOHN P. CAVARNOS
Portland State University

RUPERT VON DEUTZ. *De Victoria Verbi Dei.* Edited by RHABAN HAACKE. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, Number 5.) Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger. 1970. Pp. lix, 474. DM 58.

In this new edition of *De Victoria Verbi Dei,* the third work of the author to appear in the series, Rupert of Deutz's masterpiece is published at last in a worthy version. Most of his writing is too prolix to make easy reading, but this work, written in 1124 when he was at the height of his powers, is his clearest and most systematic. It provides the student of intellec-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tual history with an excellent example of monastic historiography and of the Augustinian view of history as theodicy, in which the events of Biblical narrative expressed through the imagery of the Apocalypse and Daniel's vision are universalized. Beginning with Satan's prompting of the fall of the angels and proceeding through the attacks of pagan empires on the Jews and Nero's persecution of the Christians, the past is presented as a series of battles between Satan and the bearers of the Word, between the reprobate and the elect. Using the warriors of antiquity as its unconscious instruments for the preservation of the Jews until Christ could found the Church, the Word has destroyed six heads of the dragon of the Apocalypse, and these victories point forward to the eventual destruction of the seventh head, the Antichrist, and the end of time and history. The stages of the divine scheme are also shown to correspond to Augustine's progression of six ages as prefigured by the six days of creation; and recurring through all of them is the mysterious woman of the Apocalypse, bearing the son, whom the dragon tries to devour, but who always escapes: she is Mary bearing Christ and the Church, the spouse of God pregnant with his Word. Rupert's vision of history as theology teaching by examples was at once the culmination and the close of a rhetorical tradition far older than Augustine. It had suited the needs of a contemplative order. But the light of common day was already breaking in, and, by the end of the century, the prophets and the propagandists were to perceive the uses of history in building the City of God on earth.

BERNARD S. SMITH
Swarthmore College

FRITZ WERNLI. *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Verfassungsgeschichte.* Volume 1, *Die mittelalterliche Bauernfreiheit;* Volume 5, *Die Talgenossenschaften der Innerschweiz: Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Hundertschaften und Markgenossenschaften.* (Trübbach: the Author.) 1959; 1968. Pp. 58, xii, 226. 3.80 fr. S.; 17 fr. S.

In the past ten years Mr. Wernli has published a series of studies on the history of medieval *Verfassung*, a subject I am inclined to call "social structure" rather than "constitution." The series is more or less concentrated on the condition of free peasants in the valley communities of pre-Confederation Switzerland. In book 1 the author exposes his basic tenets, while in following books he presents detailed evidence on free men in the early Middle Ages ("Die Gemeinfreien des Frühmittelalters," book 2 [1960]) on the common landholding of the *Mark*-communities ("Zur Frage der Markgenossenschaft," book 3 [1961]), on the origin of village communities ("Der Hof Benken und die Entstehung der Gemeinden," book 4 [1961]), and finally in book 5 on the emergence of the Swiss Confederation.

In the studies under review, the author argues against the assumption that it was dominantly through forest-clearing (*Rodung*) that commoners were granted liberty; he asserts that there existed an "estate" (*Geburtsstand*) of free people who enjoyed personal liberty regardless of the land they held. They are distinguished from *advenae,* whose freedom stemmed from the mere fact that no lord claimed them. The specific evidence presented in the chapters on Uri and Schwyz is meant to support his thesis. He points out in particular that the majority of the inhabitants of the founding cantons retained their personal liberty into the late Middle Ages. In book 5 a summary of the birth of the Swiss Confederation emphasizes the conflict between the free constitution of the valley communities (*Talgemeinden*) and the seigneurial claims of the Habsburgs. Finally he elaborates, somewhat repetitiously, on the legal and administrative structure of Uri, Schwyz, and the slightly different condition of Unterwalden.

Mr. Wernli seems tireless in throwing the gauntlet to the "modern school" of historians, as he euphemistically terms those German scholars, who in the era of National Socialism embraced the *Führerprinzip.* He accuses them of having abandoned not only the politics of nineteenth-century liberalism but also the historical methods associated with it. He charges these historians (for example, Theodor Mayer) with twisting historical evidence to fit their ideology and of transferring the contemporary notion of the all-powerful state into the Middle Ages. His criticism is on many counts irrefutable; some quotes from writings published in the Third Reich (see, for example, book 1, p. 52 ff.) more than justify the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sharply polemical tone of his arguments. But the author seems to stretch his evidence when he implies that an "estate" of free men large enough to be socially or constitutionally significant survived in medieval Central Europe outside of limited and rather secluded areas. On the question of the *Mark* he tends to overlook the extensive controversies of the past few decades. Also, in his courageous defense of *bürgerlich* (read: liberal) historiography, Mr. Wernli fails to recognize that in the twenty-five years since the Nazi millennium, some of the historians rightly accused of ideological bias have given second thoughts to the problem of indigenous or royally granted liberty. Crusaders inevitably invite disagreement, but it is remarkable and regrettable that leading German periodicals failed even to comment on Mr. Wernli's work. His studies certainly deserve attention quite apart from their polemical value.

J. M. BAK
University of British Columbia, Vancouver

STEVEN RUNCIMAN. *The Last Byzantine Renaissance.* (The Wiles Lectures given at the Queen's University, Belfast, 1968.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1970. Pp. ix, 111. $3.95.

Sir Steven Runciman is unusual among Byzantinists; he is unusual because he has shied away from monographs, and the few articles he has written have been done upon requests in connection with the publication of some *Festschrift*. He has chosen rather to write narrative history, selecting subjects with a much wider appeal than that of the circle of specialists. For this he has on occasion been accused of superficiality, and there may be some truth in that charge; but in none of his works has he ever deviated from the tenets of sound scholarship or has he ever lost sight of the sources. All these things may be said to apply to his present book.

Sir Steven has compressed into four chapters (originally four lectures) what may be described as a general survey of the Byzantine Empire during the last three centuries of its existence, a period of political, administrative, social, and economic disintegration but at the same time one of intellectual and artistic vigor. He has examined in these chapters the various factors underlying the sad political, social, and economic conditions of the Empire; the principal issues, notably Hesychasm and the question of ecclesiastical union with Rome in which both politicians and intellectuals became involved; the intellectuals and scholars as personalities; and finally the achievements of their scholarship. Though not much is said about the art of the period, its general importance is duly emphasized.

There is nothing factual in the book that one may not find in Ostrogorsky, Krumbacher, Beck, Meyendorf, and others. It is, therefore, of little value to scholars. But the general educated public for which the book is really intended will find in its well-integrated narrative and in the generally sound observations of the author a good summary of what transpired in Byzantium in the realm of scholarship and in the work of the mind during the last three centuries of the Empire's existence.

PETER CHARANIS
Rutgers University, New Brunswick

MODERN EUROPE

MIROSLAV HROCH. *Die Vorkämpfer der nationalen Bewegung bei den kleinen Völkern Europas: Eine vergleichende Analyse zur gesellschaftlichen Schichtung der patriotischen Gruppen.* (Acta Universitatis Carolinae Philosophica et Historica, Monographia Number 24.) Prague: Universita Karlova. 1968. Pp. 171. Kčs. 20.

The Pioneers of the National Movements of Smaller Nations of Europe is an interesting attempt by Czech historian Miroslav Hroch at a comparative analysis of the historical strata of patriotic groups of some of these nations. In these days, when the community of historians—generally absorbed with the activities of great powers, with "great ideas and ideologies," and with artificial generalizations—is being forced to pay attention to the problems and longings of the hitherto generally ignored multitude of smaller nations and minority groups, Hroch's book is a contribution welcome on both sides of the so-called Iron Curtain. It is interesting to note that the book was published on the other side of the curtain, albeit still in 1968.

Hroch has attempted a Herculean task. There are, of course, no problems regarding sources.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

During the last hundred years historians, both of nations without "previous history" (*geschichtsloser Völker*) and of nations that lost their independence in the Middle Ages, have produced a voluminous literature on the national awakening of their peoples. Their volumes have been written, however, for local consumption and often lack broader perspectives. The problem posed is the difficulty of locating and using these sources, which appear in a bewildering multitude of languages and are not mentioned in general guidebooks. One has to travel from country to country to locate materials and to find local people to translate them. One also has to develop a method for dealing with these sources.

Some of the peoples that struggled for national identity and independence were suppressed by one or several foreign powers that had taken over or partitioned their lands. Others were partly suppressed by their own aristocrats, who had been induced into the service of one or several foreign powers that had taken over their lands. In some countries local aristocrats assumed leadership of local national movements; in others local intelligentsia and a growing middle class played the role of national leaders. And in still other countries the pioneers of local national movements were actually sympathetic members of the foreign ruling class. The national movements became successful only in those countries, however, where the local agricultural population, forming the majority, joined the national struggle.

Hroch realizes that his volume (172 pages) is only an early attempt to create an over-all picture of the national struggle of smaller nations in Europe. His work has been very difficult and deserves our praise. He has given us much material and some interesting ideas. Some questions still have not been answered, however. In his study Hroch has examined the movements of national rebirth or national awakening among the Czechs, Lithuanians, Estonians, Finns, Norwegians, Flemings, and Slovaks. Unfortunately there is little or no information on similar movements among the Latvians, Irish, Welsh, Bretons, Basques, Albanians, White Ruthenians, Romanians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Jews, Georgians, Armenians, and so on.

A study of this sort is long overdue. It is particularly feasible in the United States, where we are not lacking in local talent in historians of a variety of national backgrounds, equipped with the knowledge of languages not in general use, and often intimately acquainted with the small countries of their origin and the development and special problems of these areas. Historians have to overcome, however, general indifference toward the historical development of smaller nations among their colleagues and the leaders of various research institutions. Their research activities need to be somewhat coordinated and systematized.

EDGAR ANDERSON
San Jose State College

P. A. ZHILIN. *Gibel' Napoleonovskoi armii v Rossii* [The Destruction of the Napoleonic Army in Russia]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Voennoi Istorii, Ministerstva Oborony SSSR.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1968. Pp. 403.

P. A. Zhilin, a general in the Soviet army and a professor of military history, has already contributed to the military understanding of the Napoleonic period with studies of the counteroffensive of the Russian army in the French invasion of 1812 and of the Russian defeat of the Turks in 1811. In his most recent work Professor Zhilin has undertaken a more comprehensive view of the Napoleonic invasion in 1812. He takes as his theme the decisive role played by the masses of the Russian people in the defeat of Napoleonic aggression. Despite the limits of the title, he sets the stage for the military story in some detail with an examination of the international situation on the eve of the war between feudal-monarchical Russia and bourgeois France and then proceeds to share the glory of the Napoleonic defeat equally between the guerrilla forces of the Russian people and the officers and men of the Russian army. Again, despite the seemingly restricted purview of the title, the author proceeds to a short but interesting examination of Russian military operations in Europe in 1813 and 1814.

The apparatus of the book may actually be its most helpful contribution to historians. The main work is preceded by a very useful fifteen-page historiographical survey of the Napoleonic campaign. The bibliography, after a rather extensive acknowledgment of Marxist-Leninist classics, reveals an extensive use of archival ma-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

terial and provides a lengthy summary of printed documents and sources and a survey of the literature in the field. There is an index of proper names and an index of geographical locations. The book is well illustrated and provided with fine maps.

L. JAY OLIVA
New York University

ANGELO FILIPUZZI, editor. *Le relazioni diplomatiche fra l'Austria e il Granducato di Toscana.* Third Series, 1848–1860. Volume 5 (19 maggio 1856–12 maggio 1859). (Documenti per la Storia delle Relazioni Diplomatiche fra le Grandi Potenze Europee e gli Stati Italiani 1814–1860. Part 2, Documenti esteri. Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.) Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Èta Moderna e Contemporanea. 1969. Pp. 565. L. 5,500.

This volume, edited by one of Austria's foremost experts on Italian history, is the fifth in a series devoted to the publication of documents in the Viennese Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv dealing with diplomatic relations between Austria and Tuscany from 1848 to 1860. Twenty-five of the 314 documents and the enclosures in them are in German; six of the enclosures in the correspondence are in Italian and one is in English. All the rest of the letters and enclosures are in French. All but twenty-three of the letters are either reports from Baron Carl Alexander von Hügel, the Austrian minister at Florence, to the Austrian foreign minister, Count Karl Ferdinand Buol-Schauenstein, or instructions from the latter to the former. The rest are reports to the foreign minister from Baron Bartolomeo Testa, who was in charge of the Austrian mission in Tuscany from late July to the end of October 1856, when Hügel was temporarily away from the Tuscan capital.

The letters touch on various matters, such as internal affairs in Tuscany, the dispute between the grand duke and the pope over the appointment of an archbishop at Pisa, the building of railways in Tuscany, the state of the Tuscan economy, the "dangerous" activities of the Bible Society, British diplomatic policies, the activities of Mazzinian conspirators, and the vain efforts of the Tuscan government to obtain Austria's permission to issue a proclamation of neutrality immediately after war broke out in 1859. The most important documents in the volume, however, and the ones of greatest interest to the reader, are those that reveal the gradual breakdown of relations between Austria and Sardinia and France; the increasingly successful anti-Austrian propaganda tactics of the Piedmontese; and the maneuvers of the moderate, or constitutional, party in Tuscany to win support for Cavour's plans for Italian unification—maneuvers that proved to be successful in undermining the position of the weak and vacillating grand duke to the point where he was forced to leave Florence a few days after the Austro-Sardinian War started. As Hügel's reports make clear, until the very last both the Tuscan government and the Austrian minister seemed to be unable to comprehend the real strength of the nationalist, constitutional movement in Tuscany.

The volume has a good table of contents for all the documents and a useful index of names. It is a must for anyone seriously interested in studying the causes of the Austro-Sardinian War.

R. JOHN RATH
Rice University

WOLFGANG V. GROOTE and URSULA V. GERSDORFF, editors. *Entscheidung 1870: Der deutsch-französische Krieg.* Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1970. Pp. 403. DM 24.

In 1966, on the occasion of the centennial commemoration of the Prusso-Austrian War of 1866, the Militärgeschichtliche Forschungsamt in Freiburg, West Germany, brought out a volume of historical and military studies, *Entscheidungsjahr 1866,* which dealt with that event. Leading to the separation of Austria from the rest of Germany and preparing the way for the Prussian-led unification of Germany, 1866 was indeed a year of decision; the book thus centered on an important topic. The present symposium, which applies the same formula to the Franco-German War of 1870–71, is limited to the war as such and thus lacks a theme of equal significance. Regrettably, too, the contributions gathered in the present publication do not always measure up fully to the high standards set by its predecessor.

Of these papers perhaps the most interesting one is an analysis of the German military conduct of the war by Colonel Eberhard Kaulbach. Supplementing the findings of Michael Howard

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in *The Franco-Prussian War* (1969), the essay provides additional material on the astonishing blunders committed by the German field commanders. Colonel Fernand Thiébaut Schneider, evaluating the military developments from the French viewpoint, reaches conclusions similar to those of his German counterpart. Both authors, moreover, while very critical of French military leadership, are agreed on the high caliber of the French rank-and-file. Concluding the discussion of military topics, an article by Joachim Hoffmann analyzes the views of Marx and Engels on national wars and the Franco-German War in particular. The study has no new insights to offer, but it provides a convenient survey of both men's thoughts on wars and armies within the context of their revolutionary objectives.

Among the nonmilitary topics. Ernst Samhaber's paper on the French war indemnity contains a great many unknown technical details. Samhaber also compares the arrangements of 1871 with the reparation payments imposed upon Germany after World War I, but in his indictment of the latter arrangement fails to take notice of the defense advanced by the French economist Etienne Mantoux in *The Carthaginian Peace or the Economic Consequences of Mr. Keynes* (1952).

Least helpful are the two essays by Leonhard von Muralt and Rudolf Buchner on the diplomatic causes and consequences of the war; they merely sum up familiar facts. A concluding paper by Julien Freund on new attitudes toward war after 1870 is a loosely organized collection of data, marred by errors of fact and interpretation. Anyone looking for an informative and integrated account and analysis of the Franco-German War will still find it in Michael Howard's work rather than in this volume.

ANDREAS DORPALEN
Ohio State University

ROBERT A. KANN, editor. *Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach—Dr. Josef Breuer: Ein Briefwechsel, 1889–1916*. Vienna: Bergland Verlag. 1969. Pp. 193, 15 plates. $2.75.

Europe's cultural life around 1900 is most richly preserved in correspondences. Its participants shared their several concerns through the mails more readily and more readably, by and large, than their counterparts of other periods. Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach's exchanges with Josef Breuer are an instructive instance. Breuer, a physiologist and a doctor, was Freud's forerunner in psychoanalysis against whose professional and private generosity Freud reacted with hate. Now Breuer turns out to have also been Ebner's literary as well as medical, indeed her all-around, consultant—one esteemed, beloved, and as a rule unheeded. From his prescriptions for her manuscripts and maladies, from his counsels on politics, religion, and esthetics, he emerges as a savant superlatively learned, clever, and humane. Toward him Ebner's matronliness gave way again and again to girlishness.

The historical interest of this correspondence is ill served by the present edition. Some surviving letters were omitted, others elided. At two junctures those printed are out of sequence (pp. 56–63, 145–46). Basic contextual indications are lacking, such as when the correspondents met. We are told only that they began corresponding in 1889, a fact that is bewildering in that the first letter printed is one of 1889 in which Ebner styled herself as Breuer's old friend. The textual notes are too sparse even for the specialist, except that on family matters they tend to redundancy. A "*Zeittafel*" provides comically scant biographic information. There is no index. And, meager as it is, the back matter contains inaccuracies and inconsistencies: thus Ebner's *Meine Kinderjahre* appeared early in 1905 according to the letters (pp. 70, 72), but in 1906 according to note 66 and in 1900 according to the "*Zeittafel*."

The introduction is in the main a neat gloss on the correspondence. It somewhat introduces Breuer; Ebner was considered to need no introduction. Ebner's picture alone adorns the jacket: she is the star. Breuer steals the show.

RUDOLPH BINION
Brandeis University

MARTHA BYRD HOYLE. *A World in Flames: A History of World War II*. New York: Atheneum. 1970. Pp. xxi, 356. $10.00.

The present work has some of the advantages and many of the disadvantages of any one-volume summary of a broad and complicated subject. Not everything can be covered in such a summary, so selection and emphasis are ex-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ceedingly important. There is no doubt that Mrs. Hoyle has provided us with a well-written, concise account of the military operations of the war. Whether, and to what extent, she makes use of nonmilitary material to make these operations—which, after all, were not conducted in a vacuum—more intelligible is another matter.

Thus the origins of the war in Europe are dealt with only superficially, and the important Allied-Soviet negotiations in 1939 are dismissed in two general sentences. Except in connection with Pearl Harbor, the role of military intelligence is not mentioned, even when it affected such major military operations as the invasion of Belgium and the Netherlands and the transfer of Soviet troops from the Far East to Stalingrad. Fifth Column activities are also overlooked. The omission of Operation Felix, the German plan for the invasion of Spain, could be justified on the grounds that it never materialized. On the other hand, a reference to it would have facilitated an understanding of Hitler's strategic dilemma in 1940 and would have illustrated the weakness of German armaments. This latter point, Germany's lack of military preparedness for a world war, is never mentioned by the author.

There is a nine-page bibliography of books in English, but there are no illustrations, and the maps provided are barely adequate.

GEORGE O. KENT
University of Maryland

RICHARD HEMMIG MEYER. *Bankers' Diplomacy: Monetary Stabilization in the Twenties.* (Columbia Studies in Economics, Number 4.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1970. Pp. xi, 170. $8.00.

This book, straddling the fields of economics and politics in a historical fashion, emerged from a dissertation under the auspices of the economics department at Columbia University, with liberal financial support from the Ford Foundation and with abundant scholarly facilities provided at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. That the "output" resulting from this "input" earned approval from high quarters is indicated by the fact that the author became chief of foreign research at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York.

Mr. Meyer prefaces his presentation with a plea for the comprehensive concept of "political economy" as understood before Adam Smith in 1776 brought forth *The Wealth of Nations,* the first modern treatise on economics. The subsequent demarcation into separate provinces for political scientists and economists, Meyer notes, has led frequently to excessively narrow specialization likely to cause neglect of the actual interrelationships between politics and economics, especially in the sphere of international affairs.

Meyer presents a case study of the monetary stabilization loan and credit negotiations of 1926–28 for Belgium, Italy, Poland, and Romania in that era when there was no International Monetary Fund to effectuate a comprehensive program. The negotiations were so conducted as to inflict divisiveness among central bankers, in part because the participants thought international politics and economics were separable. Another major difficulty was the *ad hoc* nature of the unilateral organization set up for each case, a type of setup increasingly used, although such transactions could have focused in part on established international agencies.

The precedent of combining a central bank credit with a stabilization loan was set in Belgium's case; and the entire negotiations for both the Belgian and Italian credits were handled by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York and the Bank of England, with other central bankers invited to participate on the strength of their trust in Benjamin Strong and Montagu Norman.

In Poland's case a foreign advisory commission prepared a comprehensive plan that served as the basis for the final effort, and the Bank of France cooperated with the Federal Reserve Bank in stabilization arrangements. But there was no doubt that the latter was the more responsible, and without its dominance Poland perhaps could not have obtained a central bank credit. In the case of Romania the Bank of France played the largest role, while "The Fed" was reluctant. In all cases mistrust and ill will between central banks was so generated that they did not manage to build a defense adequate to protect the economic structure they had extended; it collapsed with suspension of "sterling gold" payments in 1931. Meyer

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

perceives present tendencies to revert to disastrous devices of the twenties. He warns of the need to reinforce the basic institutions of international monetary machinery in recognition of the political nexus with economics.

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS
University of Pennsylvania

WHITNEY R. D. JONES. *The Tudor Commonwealth, 1529–1559: A Study of the Impact of the Social and Economic Developments of Mid-Tudor England upon Contemporary Concepts of the Nature and Duties of the Commonwealth.* [London:] University of London, Athlone Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1970. Pp. xii, 253. $7.75.

The notion is hardly novel that the best—or perhaps the only—instructive parallel with the tribulations confronting mankind today is to be found in the upheaval of the sixteenth century. No American reader of Dr. Jones's *The Tudor Commonwealth, 1529–1559,* which deals with that "crisis period for Tudor England in an economic and social, as well as a religious and constitutional, context" can fail to be reminded frequently of the similarities between social situations separated by four centuries. His is a convincing analysis of the efforts of the groups whom he calls "Commonwealth's men"—"the More Group, the Cromwell Group and the later 'Commonwealth Party' in which Somerset, [John] Hales and Latimer were outstanding figures"—to delineate in print and to ameliorate by legislative or administrative process the ills of mid-Tudor England. Then, as now, conscientious thinkers in more or less close association with men in government tried to find remedies for the problems of society.

Dr. Jones's modest book establishes the frame of his subject in three succinct chapters concerned with the concept denoted by "commonwealth" in English history, the ideal "Commonwealth" of the Tudor period, and the identification of the "Commonwealth men." Then he deals with " 'Good Order and Obedience' " showing that "mid-Tudor England believed . . . revolt to be both illegal and damnable." There follows an analysis of the "Voice of Religion," which concludes that "the continuity of traditional concepts regarding economic and social standards and obligations remained almost wholly unaffected by any doctrinal innovation. . . ." Here Dr. Jones brings to bear upon his topic the plethora of controversial but important political writing that is too easily ignored except in monographic works, because only More's *Utopia* and Smith's *De Republica Anglorum* seem to stand out.

The heart of the book is the four chapters that take up different aspects of "The Social and Economic Problems of the Commonwealth." These are social stability (crime in the streets); poverty (unemployment); inflation; and the conflicting interests of agriculture, industry, and commerce. On all these topics Dr. Jones has fitted into his frame the data and conclusions set forth in many monographs and articles. The whole appears to signify a good deal more than the sum of its parts.

Finally there are chapters dealing with private liberties and public wealth and with the implementation of policy. There is an excellent bibliography of printed sources and of secondary authorities; there is no evidence that the author used manuscript materials.

While *The Tudor Commonwealth* does not sparkle with epigrams, it is well written. If Dr. Jones's accomplishment is not the disclosure of completely new evidence, his marshalling of very diverse sources and of essentially all modern studies on a neglected focus makes his book a stimulating addition to an understanding of the mid-Tudor crisis. Can we be confident that today's problems will be resolved as well as were the parallel ones of the sixteenth century?

JOHN H. GLEASON
Pomona College

WILLIAM P. HAUGAARD. *Elizabeth and the English Reformation: The Struggle for a Stable Settlement of Religion.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. xv, 391. $12.50.

CLAIRE CROSS. *The Royal Supremacy in the Elizabethan Church.* (Historical Problems: Studies and Documents, Number 7.) New York: Barnes and Noble. 1969. Pp. xiv, 15–239. $6.50.

It may be unfair to tax the two books under review with the faults of their respective genres, especially since each is a conscientious example of its type, but both suffer from some characteristic faults of their kind. Mr. Hau-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gaard has worked up a doctoral dissertation into a book when he should probably have condensed it into an essay. Miss Cross has added still another collection of documents to yet another series.

Of the two books, Miss Cross's, while slighter, is the more useful. She writes for a series that G. R. Elton, the editor, claims "combines genuine collections of documents with introductory essays long enough to explore the theme widely and deeply." The one without the other, he argues, is insufficient, and he is probably right. But whether a small book can sufficiently support two such enterprises is less obvious. In fact, Miss Cross supplies the reader with two introductions, each of about sixty pages: one on the royal supremacy in theory, the other on it in practice. Fifty documents follow, illustrating her themes. Needless to say, many are given in extract, in a few cases the merest fragments. Miss Cross is a conscientious writer; her essays are up to date in scholarship, fair, lucidly written, and well equipped with bibliographical citations. In the end, however, Professor Elton's claim is, publishers being what they are, something of a compromise. Neither introduction nor documents, but especially the latter, are entirely successful when the scale is too small.

Of Mr. Haugaard's book there is less justification, but this is not for lack of effort. Mr. Haugaard is a learned man, and he has labored diligently at his sources. He claims to supply new information and a new interpretation of the Elizabethan settlement. The new information is limited pretty much to the surviving documents of the 1563 Convocation. These he has examined in manuscript, and he shows in detail the inadequacy of Strype's transcripts, on which most scholars have hitherto relied. This research allows him to reconstruct the events of 1563, the most useful contribution of his book. Unfortunately, his reconstruction is buried in a text that attempts something more ambitious and that tends, along with the rather clumsy organization of the work, to obscure it.

Mr. Haugaard's thesis is avowedly apologetic. As a convinced Anglican, he thinks it important to show that the Elizabethan settlement resulted from a pure and consistent religious intention. This means that the queen must have had a clear, steady, and essentially religious purpose from the very beginning of her reign. Needless to say, this idea contradicts the received opinion (including that of Miss Cross) that Elizabeth's motives were at least as political as religious and that she was often indifferent and inconsistent in Church matters. Mr. Haugaard's method is not equal to his conclusions. He confines himself to the first years of the reign and considers the problem of religion almost entirely *in vacuo*. There is very little of Elizabeth, for whom religion was but one problem, and almost nothing of politics. Most seriously, Mr. Haugaard rarely describes a choice where he offers the whole range of circumstances affecting it. No wonder, then, that the Puritans or Precisions (Mr. Haugaard and Miss Cross are at odds on their terms also) are portrayed as being as consistent and inflexible as Elizabeth from the outset of the reign. Lost in Mr. Haugaard's thesis is the fluidity of sixteenth-century religious opinions and their interrelation with mundane causes. It is well to be reminded that religion mattered to the sixteenth century, but not at the expense of everything else. Mr. Haugaard's work may well have been an exemplary dissertation, but it is not the definitive reinterpretation that its title suggests.

JOSEPH M. LEVINE
Syracuse University

ROBERT W. KENNY. *Elizabeth's Admiral: The Political Career of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, 1536–1624*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1970. Pp. xi, 354. $11.00.

Howard of Effingham, a capable commander in 1588, was often mistrusted, garrulous, and ineffective. Professor Kenny describes all this pleasantly enough, but at the end one is left to wonder whether biography is feasible when there is a paucity of autobiographical evidence. Analysis and narrative are different things, and the narrative of a man is not of necessity the narrative of his society. To some extent, the author slips between these stools. Biography may not be the best way of writing history, however attractive it can seem initially.

This book surveys the political career of a man who was an admiral for thirty years. Nautical affairs and tactics naturally receive only peripheral attention. An adequate impression of the landed man is provided, but that is all.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What are the alternatives? The county is crucial to an understanding of Elizabethan politics, but portrayal of Howard in this respect is sparse. Perhaps there was nothing more to say. Little is added to Neale's account of his early parliamentary career; sessions, Parliaments, and dates are confused, Howard even being returned at a nonexistent election (pp. 13, 22).

The author appreciates the absence of real distinction between the public and private business of a great office. Attention is paid to Howard's profits from the handling of the war and from his close supervision of the Admiralty. There are good things on the deterioration of this court during his later years and on the investigation of 1608, but notice of other institutions might have enriched the account. For all the excellence of existing work from Oppenheim to Andrews, we do not have an adequate study of the admiral and the Admiralty.

It is possible that a direct attack upon the institution might have been the best way of writing about Elizabeth's admiral. Instead his career is pegged onto familiar episodes—the Armada, the expeditions of the 1590s, and the revolt of Essex. Professor Kenny argues strongly for divergence, even hostility, between the admiral and other Howards, notably Northampton. He became one who belonged to no group whatsoever, but there is some hesitation as to whether this became clear before Salisbury's death in 1612 (pp. 313–14). Subsequent to Northampton's death in 1614 there may have been little bond with Suffolk, but perhaps this was not all that apparent to other politicians. Abbot, Buckingham, Coke, Ellesmere, and others receive only passing notice, but they are fundamental to an understanding of the pressures put upon Nottingham and Suffolk during their declining years. Failure to place the admiral in the context of his contemporaries affects consideration of politics. A greater institutional awareness might have provided a counterbalance, but this is lacking.

Professor Kenny is sympathetic to his subject, but he is never betrayed by pink spectacles. He has tried to explain Nottingham by following his links with politics and with an institution. It is questionable whether the sources are sufficient to sustain a biographic outline at this length. One wonders what the result would have been if the institution had been taken first and used as a means to explain the man.

W. J. JONES
University of Alberta

R. W. KETTON-CREMER. *Norfolk in the Civil War: A Portrait of a Society in Conflict.* Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1970. Pp. 382. $11.00.

The late Mr. Ketton-Cremer admits at the outset that he is a biographer rather than a historian, and that it was the influence of his publisher that impelled him to write a narrative of Norfolk politics from the later 1630s to 1649 instead of a series of biographical studies. He is too modest. While providing some remarkable, even moving, portraits of prominent Norfolk men caught in the toils of civil war, he also manages to execute a sustained narrative of events that is a model for local history-writing treating county political rivalries. The author's skill as a narrator enables him to compress into less than four hundred pages the history of the civil war, its background and its consequences, in the local context of an important county that contributed principals to both sides of the conflict. The account is especially satisfying because of the prominence given the clergy; the chapters on Bishop Wren and the clergy in the 1630s and the parish clergy during the civil war are original contributions of great value. Indeed, if anything, Mr. Ketton-Cremer handles bishops and parsons with greater sureness than he handles peers and gentlemen; his analysis of the social structure and dynamics of county society lacks the rigor that recent scholarship indicates should be brought to the subject. This defect is particularly noticeable in chapter 2, on the lord lieutenant and the gentry; there he gives far too much prominence to the lieutenant and in dealing with the gentry seldom descends from a lofty level of generalization. Perhaps this is the inevitable price paid for narrative history, yet a historian with Mr. Ketton-Cremer's sense of the *genius locii* might have provided an unusually sensitive and searching appraisal of the county's society.

It would be churlish to tax Mr. Ketton-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cremer with having relied too much on a Whiggish intrepretation of the political events of the period, but his tendency at times to weave in Clarendon's assessment of events without further critical analysis of those events is unfortunate. Miss Wedgwood has demonstrated how effectually political narrative can be written without leaning too considerably on traditional interpretative constructs; this study would have gained by following her example. Nonetheless, it is a fitting last work and a memorial to a zealous student of Norfolk. It will probably not be superseded very soon, not because it has preempted the field or because there is not much more to say about Norfolk, but because devoted local historians such as Ketton-Cremer are becoming fewer, and the once strong tide of professional academic interest in the local context of Stuart history appears to be on the ebb.

THOMAS G. BARNES
University of California, Berkeley

DONALD W. HANSON. *From Kingdom to Commonwealth: The Development of Civic Consciousness in English Political Thought.* (Harvard Political Studies, published under the direction of the Department of Government in Harvard University.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1970. Pp. xiv, 469. $15.00.

Mr. Hanson's theme is that civic consciousness—awareness of the public realm and of the individual as a political actor therein—was able to take shape in the English mind only during and because of the civil wars of the seventeenth century. Before that, political thought was inhibited by an intractable dualism—Hanson calls it "double majesty"—that located authority alternatively in the king and in a *populus* of magnates; the individual, compelled to relate himself to one or another of these and lacking conceptual sources for his own action, could not develop or assert consciousness of himself as a citizen. We may agree that something like an explosion of political consciousness occurred in the mid-seventeenth century, in respect both to the numbers of people rendered self-conscious and to the forms such consciousness could take, and that the kind of dualism Hanson identifies was in direct conflict with consciousness of this sort. But for some reason, he is determined to assert that before 1642 no mode of awareness other than the state of mind called "double majesty" was available to anyone, with the result that its collapse at the outbreak of civil war becomes the sole and sufficient explanation for the eruption of civic consciousness.

It is hard to believe this; there has been so much research into the Tudor and Stuart growth in political awareness—as the gentry became a parliamentary community, as humanism enlarged the content and transformed the concept of counsel, as England became an elect nation inhabited increasingly by puritan saints—that we now think of the Great Rebellion as occurring because there was more consciousness than the traditional structure could contain without dislocation. Hanson's "civic consciousness" is merely that which "double majesty" negates, and his account of its rise is therefore lacking in concreteness. It is suspicious that he can identify this "civic consciousness" only in the over-familiar, if always wonderful, figures of Lilburne, Overton, and Rainborough.

This distortion seems to have occurred because he is too much bent on vindicating the concept of "double majesty" by destroying the McIlwainian doctrine that medieval kingship was controlled by a body of customary fundamental law. Here he confuses the concepts of theory and ideology. Chief Justice Hengham on his bench knew very well how to change common law by statute, but Chief Justice Fortescue in his study was compelled by the medieval epistemology of reason and experience to present a theory of statute, inferior to custom in prudence while superior to it in authority. Hanson insists that the equation of common law with custom was the invention of early Stuart judges, while quoting (p. 384) a passage of my own to the effect that this could not have happened because the equation was built into the English mind at deeper levels. The point, however, is not our disagreement on this issue, but the impoverishment of what could have been a brilliant study by

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the author's insistence on presenting it in the form of arbitrarily selected antinomies.

J. G. A. POCOCK
Washington University

GEOFFREY HOLMES, editor. *Britain after the Glorious Revolution, 1689–1714.* (Problems in Focus Series.) [New York:] St. Martin's Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 245. $7.50.

One of the first volumes in a series entitled Problems in Focus, this is a collection of ten essays, prefaced by an editor's introduction, dealing with a variety of issues in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century British history. Three of the essays concentrate on William's reign. Jennifer Carter argues that the change in the succession in 1689 did not necessarily imply the limitations subsequently imposed on the Crown by Parliament. The new constitutional relationship was determined by Parliament's resentment of William's policies and practices and by the exigencies of war finance and administration. G. C. Gibbs, in "The Revolution in Foreign Policy," credits William with making Britain a European power, while E. L. Ellis sees the reign as "dominated by a search for a degree of domestic stability that would enable England to maximise her military effort abroad" (p. 116).

Several articles deal with problems spanning the period from 1689 to 1714. Henry Horwitz provides a lucid review of the debate on the role of party: W. A. Speck argues persuasively that the conflict between the landed and monied interests was real and not simply rhetorical, as some historians have contended; and Angus McInnes finds no improvement in the lot of the common man as a consequence of the Revolution. G. V. Bennett writes of the conflict within the Church and of the political consequences of clerical discontent in the post-Revolution era. He traces the development of the High Church movement from its beginnings as an element in the country opposition to William to its demise in 1714, when, with the accession of the Hanoverians, all hope for a return to the old alliance between Church and state was lost.

T. C. Smout investigates the factors that disposed a Scottish Parliament hostile to England as late as 1703 to swing toward union in 1705–06 and is at particular pains to reject the view that the union was primarily a "political job." A. D. MacLachlan revises the traditional account of the Utrecht negotiations to assign Harley rather than St. John the pre-eminent role. And G. S. Holmes, discussing the collapse of the Tory party after 1714, concludes that, while the bitter conflict between Harley and St. John and the Tory split over the succession badly weakened the party, they need not have killed it. But the party suffered fatally from lack of leadership and neglect. Without direction or discipline it could not withstand the onslaught of the Whigs in the first years of the new reign.

Taken together, the essays, not surprisingly, portray the post-Revolution period as one of turbulence and change. What is interesting is the clear indication that this was as much a consequence of William's policies and the exigencies of a long war as of any particular constitutional and religious problems arising from 1689.

SHEILA BIDDLE
Columbia University

BARRY SUPPLE. *The Royal Exchange Assurance: A History of British Insurance, 1720–1970.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1970. Pp. xx, 584. $16.00.

Dr. Supple has set himself a formidable task. Not only has he written a history of the Royal Exchange Assurance from its inception in 1720 to the present, but he has developed the story of this durable firm into the far wider history of the British insurance industry as a whole. His achievement is great, for he has produced a very readable and superbly organized book of interest to the specialist as well as to anyone generally interested in British economic history. In a field where not a great deal has been written, this work improves upon Raynes' general history of British insurance while maintaining as high a standard in dealing with a single corporation as that reached by Wright and Fayle in their history of Lloyds.

From the emergence of the REA at the time of the South Sea Bubble, an excellent balance is maintained between broad synthesis and detailed examination. His generalizations deal often with major controversies. For ex-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ample, he buttresses the "conventional view of the industrial revolution as a sharp discontinuity occurring in the late eighteenth century." The Victorian years of the REA are depicted as a process of alternating between traditional insurance patterns and innovations (such as loans to London builders in the 1840s that would have been "looked upon as reckless earlier"). The story of the REA both as a pioneer in accident insurance and as a leader between 1890 and 1914 in the drive for large composite offices is very well done.

Some of the best sections deal with the overseas operations of the REA—the selection of agents, the appointment of supervisors, the controls exercised from London over branch offices, the impact of the San Francisco earthquake. In these sections as well as in the chapter, "The Establishment 1838–1914," we begin to know some of the people who were a part of REA. These insights provide excellent social history. Indeed, one wishes even more could have been said about the clerks, directors, and others who gave REA its identity. Surely we could have learned more of, say, directors' attitudes toward such issues as free trade, the rise of labor, or the Great Depression. These reservations are minor, however, for this is a very valuable and essential study.

RICHARD A. REMPEL
University of South Carolina

CLIFFORD MUSGRAVE. *Life in Brighton: From the Earliest Times to the Present.* Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1970. Pp. 503. $20.00.

The first sentence of the foreword (p. 7) reads: "My primary purpose in writing this book has been to provide a reliable and comprehensible history of Brighton from the earliest times to the present day." It seems, therefore, fair to judge this book as a history. It must be noted, however, that the author is not a historian but a highly successful and competent museum curator. His other books deal with furniture, the Brighton Pavilion, and similar subjects.

Certain grave shortcomings of the book must, unfortunately, be noted. It is not always accurate. In reference to the winter of 1793–94 it is stated (p. 112): "As Napoleon's flat bottomed boats. . . ." French possibly, but Napoleon's, no. It is often vague and incomplete. There are references to increases and decreases in population, but in the first half of the book there are no figures. For example, toward the end (p. 375) there is a statement that the "normal population" increased during the First World War "by 30,000 newcomers who established themselves permanently in the town." At last, two pages later, there are some exact figures: 131,237 in 1911 and 134,790 in 1921. What happened to the thirty thousand? It is stated (p. 417) that "the Council's resources were already stretched to the uttermost" and again (p. 422) that "the Council, themselves, were becoming acutely aware of their financial difficulties." There is, however, no discussion of revenue and its sources or of expenditure. There is, indeed, nothing about government. The short chapter on William IV concludes with the statement (p. 237): "After a comparatively uneventful reign" he died. Was the Reform Act, even in Brighton's terms, uneventful? Brighton was created a parliamentary borough and given two members. This is not mentioned. Was there no local interest or excitement? There is a chapter entitled "Early Social Movements." It sweeps from 1828 to 1929 in two pages! This is ridiculous. Either the subject deserves no mention or a more serious treatment.

The book is not a history. What then is it? About half the space is given to a description of buildings: hotels, houses, churches, windmills, theaters, railroad bridges, piers, and, of course, the Pavilion. This is a subject the author obviously knows, but the treatment here is marred by too great inclusiveness, unusable maps (photographs of maps are too small to be serviceable), and the jumbled arrangement of photographs, for example, a house of 1880 (p. 256) over one hundred pages before a crescent of 1797–1806 (p. 384).

The author could, no doubt, write a fascinating guide to Brighton, but this book is neither history nor guide; it is merely long.

GEORGE WOODBRIDGE
Barnard College

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

P. J. MARSHALL and JOHN A. WOODS, editors. *The Correspondence of Edmund Burke.* Volume 7, *January 1792–August 1794.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1968. Pp. xxvi, 615. $16.00.

With this seventh volume, excellently edited by Mr. Marshall and Mr. Woods, the great enterprise of the *Burke Correspondence* is in sight of completion. In August 1794 Burke was offered a pension and given assurances, which were never fully implemented, that his financial anxieties would be ended. This was a testimony at once to the fact that his active career was known to be nearly over and to the fact that he had become an institution.

The bulk of the letters to and from Edmund Burke and the interesting correspondence of his son Richard are published here for the first time, and they reveal Burke's increasing gloom, his difficulty in fitting his old enthusiasms for justice in India and Ireland to his overwhelming desire for an ideological crusade against revolutionary France. Many of the comments on the Irish situation have a contemporary ring. "The Protestants of Ireland are just like the Catholicks—the Cat looking out of the window and the Cat looking in at the Window—The difference of being in or out of power is the only difference between them; and power is a very corrupting thing; especially law and jobbish power—This makes the Protestants a triffle worse" (p. 101). Burke longed to confirm the established churches in both countries; the Whigs could not ally with the English Dissenters, but the Irish Catholics should act with Irish Dissenters. Yet no Catholic could take up Jacobinism and keep his Christianity.

Revolution in France was so destructive to the historical roots of institutions that nothing but all-out war was possible. Burke was at first unheeded, but when the war situation deteriorated he regained the ear of the British government; he saw Portland swallow his deep distrust of Pitt and come finally into a coalition. Of this Burke had almost despaired, and Fox appears the more villainous the longer he delayed Portland's return to office. Against Fox, Burke championed "those aristocratick principles, and the aristocratick interests connected with them . . . to which all names of party, all Ranks and orders in the State, and even Government itself ought to be entirely subordinate." The contrast between this and the vehemence with which Edmund and his son Richard denounced the Protestant puddingheads in Ireland is one of the unconscious humors of a fascinating volume.

W. R. WARD
University of Durham, England

WINIFRED GÉRIN. *Horatia Nelson.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. xiv, 350. $10.50.

This first biography of the daughter of Vice-Admiral Horatio, Lord Nelson and Lady Hamilton is based upon extensive research and is obviously the product of considerable effort. The author brings together a large cast of characters and a remarkable display of documentary evidence. Yet despite its virtues as a scholarly production, the book suffers from several flaws. The author's use of direct quotation is decidedly excessive and not infrequently repetitive. The book's greatest weakness, however, is that it does not succeed as a biography. Horatia Nelson did not lead a particularly exciting or unusual life—at least, not after the death of Lady Hamilton—nor was she (outside her family circle) a particularly interesting individual. The author, of course, cannot help her subject's lack of intrinsic interest, which she tacitly acknowledges in the final paragraph when she states that Horatia's "claim on our interest" is as the beloved daughter of Lord Nelson. The author is responsible, however, for devoting the first two-thirds of her book so exclusively to Lady Hamilton. Spending more than two hundred pages to bring a rarely seen child up to the age of fourteen might have been justified as a biographical device had those years been crucial to her personality or her future. But the author herself disposes of that excuse by stating that "the worst effects" of Horatia's "recent trials could be effaced. Only occasionally . . . did the shadow of the past fall again upon her."

The book might have succeeded better had it been presented as a study of the Nelson "connection," for all the various relations are here. Except as yet another exposé of Lady Hamilton, the book's chief interest will lie in its depiction of the comforts and uncertainties,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the close family ties and the frequent intermarriages, of a middle-class English family.

MARY B. WICKWIRE
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

A. ASPINALL, editor. *The Correspondence of George, Prince of Wales 1770–1812*. Volume 5, *1804–1806*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 561. $23.50.

The fifth volume in the standard edition of the correspondence of the Prince of Wales covers the period from the formation of Pitt's last ministry in May 1804 to the dissolution of Parliament in October 1806. Professor Aspinall has predictably carried out the tasks of editorship with the same skill and impeccable scholarship that marked his earlier volumes in this series and in the standard edition of the later correspondence of George III recently completed. Together with his earlier edition of George's correspondence as prince regent and king, Aspinall's achievement supplies the specialist in late Georgian history with a remarkable body of material that should generate fresh biographical inquiries and pose new political questions for years to come.

In the short period covered in the present volume the prince's personal and political life, as usual, were inextricably bound together in a manner that weakened both. Surely one of the saddest victims of the reversionary interest in Georgian politics, he was doomed to petty victories and grand defeats in his nominal leadership of a section of the opposition.

Fox was the force that kept the Prince of Wales close to principle in his political intrigues. But it was the personality of Fox more than the Whiggery of Fox that sustained George for more than two decades of opposition. He was perhaps ready in 1804 to support Pitt on his return to office. But the king's refusal to approve Fox for a post in the ministry turned the prince into an almost frenetic opponent of the returned first lord. Having been parties to the fall of Addington, the prince's friends now turned as vehemently against Pitt. Feeding on acrimonious disputes within the royal family, they encouraged the prince to become more apparently a partly leader.

The strained relationship between George III and his heir never lacked new and unpredictable divisions to keep it evergreen. There were disputes over the education of the Princess Charlotte. There were charges of bad faith due to the king's visits to the Princess of Wales. And there was deep resentment over the king's refusal to grant Prince George the military rank that Carlton House thought was suited to the prince's exalted civil station.

The carefully selected letters that make the present volume demonstrate the trivial nature of many of the prince's political concerns, his interest in place and peerages and baronetcies for his friends, the absence of a deeper responsibility that his maligned father had to an extraordinary degree. But one also sees the prince as a loving brother, especially to his devoted sisters, and as a man who perhaps wanted to be a dutiful son. The prince was a victim of high principles that he never fully understood and of a friendship that was to leave him personally and politically bereft when Fox died in September 1806. This dependence was succinctly described in George's letter to Lord Holland the day before Fox's death. "What am I then to do without my friend, my supporter & such a friend & such a supporter too. 'Tis too much, too much indeed, indeed, my dear Holland; it is not only a wiser line for me, but it is my earnest wish & desire to mix no further in the political sphere . . . I have neither health nor spirits to contend without his assistance. . . ."

Fox had supplied the royal rebel with a cause and had given George the countenance of patriotism in his conflict with George III. The high hopes raised by the death of Pitt in January were dashed by the death of Fox nine months later. It is no small part of Aspinall's superb achievement that the historian can now browse his way through this transformation in the fortunes of the future George IV.

GEORGE B. COOPER
Trinity College, Hartford

A. ASPINALL, editor. *The Later Correspondence of George III*. Volume 5, *January 1808 to December 1810*. (Published by authority of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1970. Pp. lvii, 896. $45.00.

The publication of this fifth volume of the later correspondence of George III covering the years

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from 1808 to 1810 marks the completion of one of the ambitious editorial projects of this generation. Beginning in 1783 where the six volumes of the early correspondence of George III, edited by Sir John Fortescue, ended, Professor Aspinall's five volumes cover the years from the beginning of Pitt's long administration to the king's insanity in 1810. The editorial skill so strongly manifested in the first four volumes has been maintained in this final one. Unlike the letters in the earlier volumes, which were mostly in the king's handwriting, these, because of his blindness, were written by his private secretary, Sir Henry Taylor.

In this enormous volume of more than 950 pages, the editor devotes 42 pages to the introduction, 637 to the correspondence, 68 to five appendixes, and 186 to a comprehensive index to volumes 1 to 5. The introduction is of value and interest not only to specialists in the reign of George III but to all who wish to understand the structure of politics in Britain during the depressing years from the triumph of Napoleon in 1807 to the revival of hopes with the first victories in the Peninsular War. So valuable is this introduction that I would like to express the hope that the editor and publishers will make available in a separate volume all of the introductions in this set.

One of the most valuable features of the editorial work lies in the fact that these volumes are not limited to a mere reproduction of the letters that George III received and of his answers, if copies were kept, in the Windsor Castle Archives. In the period covered in volume 5 Sir Henry Taylor kept copies of most, if not all, of the letters he wrote for the king. Professor Aspinall has dredged with most exemplary diligence all available papers of prominent men who play either an important or small part in this correspondence. The result is the incorporation in this volume as well as in the four preceding ones of much relevant material from archives other than those in Windsor Castle. As I worked on the originals of the Windsor Correspondence in Windsor Castle and the typescripts of Sir John Fortescue in the Clements Library in Ann Arbor, Michigan, the advantage that the work of Professor Aspinall gives present day research scholars seems enormous.

Considerable space is given in both the introduction and the correspondence to the friction in the government in 1808 and 1809 over the conduct of the war, to individual jealousies, to the Walcheren disaster, to the clash between Castlereagh and Canning that led to the famous duel and to the breakup of the Portland ministry, to the difficulties of Perceval in forming a government, to the illness of the Princess Amelia, and to the reactions of Parliament, the ministers, and the king to the scandal of Mary Anne Clarke and the Duke of York.

In conclusion I would like to repeat a hope previously expressed in reviewing one of the earlier volumes in this series that Professor Aspinall or some other talented editor would do for the correspondence of George III from 1760 to 1783 what he has done for the years 1783 to 1810. To be of value it would be necessary to employ the technique that Professor Aspinall used and not that which Sir Lewis Namier found so objectionable in Sir John Fortescue.

DONALD GROVE BARNES
Case Western Reserve University

RHODES BOYSON. *The Ashworth Cotton Enterprise: The Rise and Fall of a Family Firm, 1818–1880.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. xviii, 285, 7 plates. $9.00.

Dr. Rhodes Boyson focuses with great clarity and skill on a classic cotton enterprise of the English Industrial Revolution and on a classic example of the Manchester-School type of messianic industrialist-protagonist Henry Ashworth (1794–1880). The man and the family business both approach the ideal-type of their period and locale. The book gives us far more than its modest title suggests.

Richly detailed company records enable Dr. Boyson to show entrepreneurial decisions as they were actually made. Balance sheets, returns on capital, concrete details on factory work, and life in Ashworth's semifeudal mill village and schools are all laid out admirably for the reader. We see how the firm was organized and financed; how shrewd purchasing and effective management control transformed an obscure family mill of 1818 into two showplace modern factories of international repute,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

known for "model" treatment of their 1,000 workers and for achieving a sixteen-fold growth in capacity by 1834—a partial inspiration for Disraeli's *Coningsby* and *Sybil*. Expansion was financed in Victorian textbook fashion out of retained earnings, with an occasional out-of-family loan at 4.5 per cent. Ashworth's made profit in good years and bad until the late 1830s when a maturing industry saw too many firms competing for falling profits.

From the Bolton election of 1837 on, Henry and his brother Edmund became increasingly involved in Radical-Liberal politics. Henry was a Quaker utilitarian; "enlightened self-interest" was for him a law like gravitation. He never budged from laissez-faire capitalist orthodoxy. His superb confidence in the superiority of the manufacturing classes—owners and workers—made him a leading spokesman and publicist for his own self-interests. His own sons were sent not to Eton but to the factories; four out of five daughters even married into industry. President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, friend of Cobden, brother-in-law of Bright, champion of free trade, public education, and the franchise, bitter opponent of factory acts, corn laws, colonies, trade unions, and landlords, Henry's vision of the world was integrated and whole. The mill owners, workers, small farmers, tradesmen, and artisans had a close identity of interests, threatened by those Tory oligarchs, the landlords.

Ironically, Henry's absorption in politics brought his neglected cotton mills almost to ruin by 1847. They recovered under his able sons; but Henry's ideas were rapidly bypassed by structural change. He lived to see the workers vote for the Tories—the party of landlords and of his old factory acts opponent Lord Ashley, who in 1844 had expressed such strong fears that Henry was educating his millworkers above their station.

Dr. Boyson's monograph lacks only a general conclusion. It is an important and fascinating study—organized, compact, lucid—the work of a craftsman.

PETER D'A. JONES
University of Illinois, Chicago Circle

GEORGE FEAVER. *From Status to Contract: A Biography of Sir Henry Maine 1822–1888*. New York: Humanities Press. 1969. Pp. xx, 366. $11.00.

Maine's posthumous reputation has not really matched his contemporary reputation as an outstanding legal historian, one of the leading Victorian critics of democracy, and an Anglo-Indian official who left his mark on Indian law and policy not only through his membership in the Viceroy's Council from 1862 to 1869 but also through his theories of early society and social change. In *Ancient Law* (1861) Maine struck a vein that, for diverse reasons, his contemporaries were anxious to exploit in a variety of ways. *Ancient Law,* with its central intuition that there were essentially two social types, based respectively on status and contract, and that progress was essentially the transition from the former to the latter, became a seminal work in jurisprudence, historiography, sociology, and anthropology. In political theory Maine combined a belief in the necessity of a governing elite—not merely of expertise but of experience, which implied for him an apologia for aristocracy—with a firm commitment to the open commercial society based on freedom of contract. Maine disdained tradesmen in government, yet based his notion of the progressive society on the commercial rather than the patriarchal virtues.

Maine is personally an unattractive figure, arrogant yet colorless, irritable and priggish, anxious to combine the habits of a scholar with the dignities of a public servant. The posthumous memoir by M. E. Grant Duff was jejune, and his wife burned many of his personal papers. That Dr. Feaver's painstaking biography has not been able entirely to surmount these drawbacks is by no means the author's fault. The extent and perseverance of his researches make his claim that it is unlikely that much remains to be discovered a credible and modest one. On Maine's more theoretical work he provides a penumbra of useful information rather than any substantially new light, but in two major respects he has been able to go beyond this. Aided by the ample files of the India Office, Feaver provides a full and interesting reconstruction of Maine's work and thinking on Indian questions, which is not only intrinsically important but establishes

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more clearly than hitherto the relations between it and his more general juristic and political ideas. Second, by tracing the origins of Maine's conservative polemic, *Popular Government* (1885), in his articles for the *St. James Gazette,* Feaver has been able to reveal fully the roots in contemporary politics of the opinions to which Maine later attempted to give a more general "philosophic" form.

J. W. BURROW
University of Sussex

C. J. BARTLETT, editor. *Britain Pre-eminent: Studies of British World Influence in the Nineteenth Century.* (Problems in Focus Series.) [New York:] St. Martin's Press. 1969. Pp. 200. $6.00.

Britain Pre-eminent is a collection of interpretive essays on British world influence in the nineteenth century. The editor, C. J. Bartlett, has managed to assemble eight well-written pieces: Peter N. Stearns, the sole American contributor, writes on the spread of industrialism; S. G. E. Lythe describes Britain's financial predominance; D. F. Macdonald explores the "great migration" of Englishmen overseas; Kenneth Fielden discusses the rise and fall of free trade in England, as well as the effort to persuade the world of its scientific and moral validity; the export of the British parliamentary system is D. R. Watson's subject; and that of a humanitarian concern for the abolition of slavery and the welfare of native peoples is Oliver Furley's; and there are two concluding essays, one on the British Empire by Donald Southgate; and, finally, one on British diplomacy in the nineteenth century by the editor. Such a broad view of the character of the *Pax Britannica* is certainly more satisfying than the traditional British Empire course curriculum of one or two generations ago.

A reader can, of course, always find gaps in a collection of this sort, both within individual articles and in the overall conception, and this is inevitably the case in a pioneer enterprise. An entire chapter, for example, might have been devoted to the special relationship of Great Britain to its Indian empire, upon which much of British pre-eminence in the nineteenth century rested. The editor is aware of the need for a chapter on Great Britain's cultural impact, and its absence is unfortunate. Almost all of the essays fail adequately to take account of Britain's eighteenth-century pre-eminence, upon which its nineteenth-century successor built, a pre-eminence that caused a noted French historian to speak of the first half of the earlier century as that of "la prépondérance anglaise."

Certainly it would have been good if the subtler forces behind the fabled British self-confidence, upon which both England's empire and pre-eminence so substantially rested, had been explored. In 1899 Jan Smuts observed that "the dominion that the British empire exercises over the many tribes and peoples within its jurisdiction rests more upon prestige and moral intimidation than upon true military strength." Nor was it only within the formal empire that this "prestige and moral intimidation" was successfully exerted. In both hemispheres, the assertion of English superiority, although resented, was grudgingly acknowledged as having a certain justification. A pathetic remnant of the pose appears in one of the essays in this volume in the tattered jibe that "in America, indeed, a sort of English was the official language and the lingua franca." But this is an unhappy parody of the quality that needs probing.

BERNARD SEMMEL
State University of New York, Stony Brook

L. K. YOUNG. *British Policy in China, 1895–1902.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. x, 356. $9.95.

This is diplomatic history written in the old style. Mr. Young has not only thoroughly explored the appropriate Foreign Office papers but has also made use of Chinese printed materials, which give his account added interest and authority. This is particularly true of his treatment of the Boxer Rebellion, its internal and foreign causes, and its diplomatic aftermath. The author has, moreover, corrected and expanded even recently published accounts of this complex stage in Britain's changing imperial position. Mr. Young underlines the shifts in Lord Salisbury's thinking and diplomacy.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

After first encouraging French and Russian commercial expansion in the Far East to relieve tensions elsewhere, the prime minister found it increasingly difficult to maintain that balance between encouragement and restraint that characterized his diplomacy in China until the "concessions war" in 1898. Even then, the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1899 was Salisbury's preferred policy until the Boxer Rebellion made its continuation untenable. It was Salisbury rather than Lansdowne who first looked to Tokyo for assistance. By early 1901, the former had fully understood that it was the Japanese and not the Germans who would provide the least dangerous means by which the Russians could be checked and British interests maintained in the Far East.

One sometimes wishes Mr. Young had not interpreted his brief so narrowly. He often fails to develop lines of argument that would give his book an added dimension of importance. He writes, for instance, of the pressures brought by the China Association and by British commercial firms on the Salisbury government, and he describes the latter's response to these appeals. Though the details are given, no general conclusions are offered on the changing balance between economic and political factors in Britain's Far Eastern diplomacy. Again, Mr. Young provides a good deal of new information on the relations between London and its local agents—those diplomatic, consular, military, and naval officials who even in this period enjoyed a large measure of independence. But the threads are not brought together either in the body of the book or in a concluding chapter.

This is a work for the specialized reader who will find in it the necessary materials for an understanding of Salisbury's China policy but only limited assistance in interpreting the wider context in which it must be placed.

ZARA STEINER
Cambridge University

S. W. ROSKILL, editor. *Documents Relating to the Naval Air Service.* Volume 1, *1908–1918.* (Publications of the Navy Records Society, Volume 113.) [London:] the Society. 1969. Pp. xxii, 790. $11.30 postpaid.

The Naval Records Society is to be congratulated on sponsoring this volume, for it contains much background material both on the Admiralty side of the Royal Naval Air Service and on the creation of the Royal Air Force in 1918. One hopes that the Air Historical Branch or the RAF Museum will now produce companion volumes on the War Office/Royal Flying Corps side of the business to parallel the two Roskill volumes.

The volume now before us contains but snippets on operations. Students using this in conjunction with the Marder volumes will nevertheless be able to gain a considerable insight into the way things actually worked during the First World War.

Given the obvious value of the materials, it is a pity that issue must be taken with the editing. There is not a very large collection of books on the subject, but the footnotes make it obvious that the editor is not familiar with most of them. Nor is it sufficient in editing aged, semitechnical materials merely to identify the principals, and then often only from the naval view. (Pemberton Billing, for instance, was also an aircraft manufacturer; and what is a Davis gun?) More seriously, the editor takes the view that Sir Murray Sueter, the farsighted pioneer of naval aviation, was the naval villain behind the creation of the RAF. This is highly questionable. By naval standards he was disloyal because he questioned the Admiralty's stand, yet the Admiralty was hostile to the Air Boards, and this alone was enough to cause the amputation of the RNAS from naval control. The real trouble with Sueter was that he was dynamic, inventive, and right at a time when naval administration was moribund. If he wrote anonymously for the newspapers, so did Jacky Fisher. Roskill's undocumented account of Sueter's demise has an entirely different chronology from the one Sueter gave me in 1959, the latter making more sense.

Lastly, the editor claims in the second sentence of the book that the RNAS did not come into being until eleven months after the start of the war, when in fact, in spite of Hankey's ignorance of the matter, it was established by Royal Warrant on July 1, 1914, a hint of which is given on page 162 by Sueter, who copied the naval pilot's brevet from his wife's brooch.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The second volume should have fewer weaknesses as the editor will know the field better.

ROBIN HIGHAM
Kansas State University

Vignobles et vins d'Aquitaine: Histoire—économie—art. (Actes du XX[e] congrès d'études régionales, tenu à Bordeaux les 17, 18, et 19 novembre 1967.) Bordeaux: Fédération historique du Sud-Ouest. 1970. Pp. 446.

Vignobles et vins d'Aquitaine is a collection of twenty-four papers presented at the XX[e] Congrès d'études régionales held at Bordeaux in 1967 under the auspices of the Fédération historique du Sud-Ouest. The Fédération would appear to be an unusually useful organization that has achieved a happy collaboration, reflected in this book, between the University of Bordeaux and libraries, archives, and historical societies in its circumscription. It has already given us six scholarly and handsome volumes of a projected eight-volume *Histoire de Bordeaux,* and in the introduction to *Vignobles et vins d'Aquitaine,* Professor Charles Higounet, who is also general editor of the *Histoire,* tells us how the Fédération systematically blocks out areas for investigation and research. This much said, it should come as no surprise that the papers presented in this book are not *pièces de circonstance;* rather they are careful preliminary explorations of hitherto neglected archival or other primary sources. This does not mean they are all of equal interest or significance or that coverage is comprehensive, even though periods represented stretch from classical antiquity to the eve of World War II. Still, the reader of this book will have a clear idea of the evolution of the Bordeaux vineyard and the hinterland vineyards of the Dordogne and Garenne valleys, Perigueux, and Béarn. A theme that emerges is the growth of Bordeaux's vineyard at the expense of the others, and many aspects of this transformation—economic, social, political, and technical—are touched on or, in some cases, described in detail.

It is always difficult in a collection of this scope to single out individual essays, but with the less specialized reader in mind, it is worthwhile to call attention to Mme Higounet-Nadal's "Le vignoble et le vin à Perigueux aux quatorzième et quinzième siècles," which has a broader interest for students of the economic and social history of the Middle Ages than its title might indicate. Students of trade regulation will welcome Francis Loirette's "Colbert, le privilège de Bordeaux et le commerce des vins du Languedoc dans la seconde moitié du dix-septième siècle," which will remind them how pervasive and entrenched local privilege was, even in the face of a determined adversary. From a more strictly viticultural point of view, Loirette's essay also reminds us that in the seventeenth century Bordeaux wine did not have a natural competitive edge over the wines of the now less-appreciated and much reduced vineyards of the Aquitainian hinterland. As some other essays in this book point out, it was the capital and the entrepreneurship of the city and the techniques these engendered that put the Bordeaux vineyard ahead of competitors in the hills and valleys of Quercy and Perigord, where growing conditions could be more favorable. This climb of the Bordeaux vineyard to superiority and the birth of its *grands crus* are interestingly chronicled in R. Pigassou's "La viticulture bordelaise dans la deuxième moitié du dix-huitième siècle," a study that is based in part on private archives.

With wine entering a larger national and international market in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the essays dealing with this later period tend to emphasize the political as much as the economic and social aspects of winegrowing. Thus, Pierre Hourmat's study of the winegrowers of the Basses-Pyrénées and the crisis of 1827–29 describes a pattern of protest that was to endure, grow, and ultimately lay the blame for everything except bad weather at the feet of the government. In the tradition of much recent research Jean-Claude Drouin aims at showing a relationship between the socio-economic structure of the Bordeaux vineyard and voting patterns in the 1849 elections, while Christiane Mora suggests the influence of Dorgères' *Front paysan* on the protest movement of the Bordeaux winegrowers during the crisis of 1929–36. Nearly a score more essays are divided between those with some general interest and others with a more narrowly viticultural emphasis. The preceding sample is intended to show the range of topics and periods covered in *Vignobles et vins d'Aquitaine.* It is an indis-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pensable book for viticultural historians and a valuable one for readers concerned with the economic and social history of France.

CHARLES K. WARNER
University of Kansas

CLAUDE BELLANGER *et al.*, published under the direction of. *Histoire générale de la presse française.* Volume 1, *Des origines à 1814;* Volume 2, *De 1815 à 1871.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1969. Pp. xv, 633; 465.

These two volumes represent the first installment of a collaborative, four-volume survey of French journalism from its origins to the present. The project is designed to replace and update Hatin's eight-volume chronicle, which appeared in the mid-nineteenth century. Except for a final section, which covers the Second Empire and the Paris Commune, the work under review retraces the same ground that Hatin covered more than a century ago. The contributors are, for the most part, able scholars and, given a century of accumulated research, one would expect them to succeed in supplanting Hatin. Instead one misses the unity and coherence of the old chronicle. In the absence of one author, firm editorial direction was needed but not supplied. Much of the first volume, moreover, owes more to Hatin than to recent research. For the most part, the project falls lamentably short of the expectations it arouses.

In view of the effort made to convey a pleasing first impression, a *caveat lector* is probably needed. The reader should not be deceived by the handsome jacket with its blurbs promising the "most complete and rigorous documentation" and advertising high praise already received. Pierre Renouvin's promise in the preface of "rich, solid, and penetrating" fare should not be taken seriously.

Volume 1 opens with a brief sketch of technological developments from Gutenberg to the steam press. Helpful diagrams and drawings are accompanied by a hackneyed commentary, the sort that can be relied on to observe somewhere that "necessity is the mother of invention" (p. 16). The main section, which follows, consists of several chapters by Louis Trenard that cover developments from the earliest newsletters to the end of the *ancien régime*. This rambling account unfortunately occupies most of volume 1. Spot checks show heavy reliance on Hatin, who is acknowledged frequently (forty times in twenty pages, for example) but occasionally disappears behind juggled citations. Reliance on other authorities, notably Daniel Mornet, is similarly handled. In at least one case a pertinent recent monograph by Annie Barnes has not been used; in another, a recent study is cited but its contents have been misinterpreted or overlooked. Thus the activities of Renaudot's sons during the Fronde are described (pp. 96–98) in terms of a textbook cliché carefully demolished by M.-N. Grand-Mesnil in *Mazarin: La Fronde et la Presse 1647–1649* (1967), the very work cited as an authority for the false cliché.

Here, as elsewhere, the appearance of tidy organization, conveyed by chapter divisions and marginal captions, is deceptive. Trenard is deprived of the framework used by later contributors because political history under the *ancien régime* is not helpful in ordering journalistic developments. As a result he has to fall back on what has been called the "laundry-list" principle. Titles and editors of journals are grouped under such headings as "provincial" and "specialized" and a paragraph is eked out for each item listed. No effort has been made to avoid repetition or to spare the reader. Attempts at analysis rarely interrupt the array of items; but chapter 3 does open with a look at "sociological conditions." A paragraph tells us that the eighteenth-century market was limited, but, as shown by Maggiolo, illiteracy should not be exaggerated (p. 159). Some 240 pages later we come to the conclusion: public curiosity was lively, but, as shown by Maggiolo, illiteracy was still widespread (p. 402).

The final section of volume 1 contains a survey by Jacques Godechot of developments during the era of the French Revolution and Napoleon. Partly because Godechot is an old hand at traversing this field, and partly because narrative drive is supplied by the events themselves, this section seems better organized and moves at a brisker pace. I had certain reservations about the handling of some issues, especially noble and bourgeois views of freedom of the press, and I was also disappointed that many issues were overlooked. There is little here to interest specialists, but there are

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

probably readers who want a competent, quick sketch, and this Godechot provides.

Volume 2 again provides a deceptive impression of being more substantial and better organized than it is. The first twenty pages add up to less than meets the eye thanks to skillful use of blank space and wide margins. Two complete sections, impressively captioned and subdivided, turn out to comprise a few inconsequential paragraphs on legal and technical developments. Fortunately, the rest of the volume provides more substantial fare. Coverage of developments from 1815 to 1871 has been evenly parceled out among three conscientious and competent guides: Charles Ledré, André-Jean Tudesq, and Pierre Guiral. Even while fully acknowledging indebtedness to Hatin's chronicle, these scholars rely on it less than does Trenard. Their own research is used to enrich their accounts. Tudesq's discussion of how the provincial press helped to represent articulate portions of the body politic excluded from the "pays legal" is exceptionally interesting.

Reliance on politics and press laws to provide an organizing principle works better for the nineteenth century than for the *ancien régime*. In Tudesq's hands it works very well indeed. But even at best it leaves me dissatisfied. The use of political and constitutional history as a framework came naturally to Hatin, who belonged to Ranke's generation. The contributors to this volume, however, belong to a generation that has seen social history transformed and new approaches to communications media developed. Here was a chance to do for journalism what Lucien Febvre and Henri Martin have begun to do for the printed book. Here was a chance to strike out in new directions, to make a start at describing the rise of the Fourth Estate or at examining the effects of the prolonged struggle between the Catholic Church and the new powers of the press. It is sad to think of the opportunities that have been missed.

It is also distressing to consider how much energy has been dissipated in compiling the formidable reference apparatus with which the two volumes conclude. Decrees and edicts relating to press laws are arranged chronologically, rearranged in a topical outline, and reassembled in tables. Indexes of titles of journals and elaborately classified bibliographies are offered in both volumes and seem designed to impress the reader without much concern for actual use. More than five pages of fine print are devoted to titles grouped under subheadings but in alphabetical disarray. A final disappointment is provided by the illustrations that are scattered throughout both volumes. They rarely instruct or even entertain but seem to have been chosen at random, simply to give the appearance of a lavishly illustrated work. Even as a coffee table showpiece these volumes fail. I cannot imagine what group of purchasers they will please.

ELIZABETH L. EISENSTEIN
American University

GEORGE HUPPERT. *The Idea of Perfect History: Historical Erudition and Historical Philosophy in Renaissance France*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1970. Pp. viii, 215. $7.50.

This is a provocative book with something important to say. Mr. Huppert denies that modern historical method is the child of the scientific revolution. He rejects the common assumption that antiquarian research and literary history remained apart until they were united by eighteenth-century historiography. On the contrary, something very close to secular, "philosophic" history and to "the scientific use of historical data" (Butterfield's phrase) emerged from legal humanism to dominate the thinking of late sixteenth-century France. Then in the seventeenth century the association of relativist "historicism" with the *libertins* led, by way of reaction, to the divorce of erudition from historiography. The Enlightenment presided at the remarriage of the two, and in some undefined way the *siècle des lumières* felt the influence of historians from the age of the wars of religion. With such a thesis Mr. Huppert can undertake some refreshing revisionism. Vico, for instance, becomes "a straggler in the history of ideas, echoing Bodin, not announcing Hegel."

To demonstrate this with entire conviction would require a book far wider in scope than one that makes selective use of a few of the remarkable group of sixteenth-century French historians who wrote about the past and speculated about "the idea of perfect history." Such a study in depth of the same field was pub-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lished simultaneously by Donald R. Kelley (*Foundations of Modern Historical Scholarship* [1970]), though Mr. Kelley does not attempt quite the same generalizations. Moreover, not all the historians Mr. Huppert has chosen can be bent to match his standards of perfection. Bodin and Le Roy are useful insofar as they offer a selective principle in the rise of civilization, which is described as "the matrix from which many later ideas about the meaning of history, including our own, are descended"; but Bodin is too much the neo-Bartolist and Le Roy too much the humanist for the author's purpose. Vignier is used to demonstrate the practice of cultural history and the secular treatment of the history of religion; but Vignier is hypercritical and too fearful of unfounded generalities. Pasquier, as the practitioner of a relativist empiricism, and La Popelinière, as the theorist of comparative historiography, come closest to the author's ideals. La Popelinière appears to illustrate Mr. Huppert's adage that "the highest expression of historicism is to consider historiography itself subject to the *mutations* of time." Yet the same historian conveys an aspiration to free himself from the pressures of his environment and to discover a method both to reconstruct the past and to make sense of it.

Mr. Huppert sometimes exhibits commonplaces in the guise of striking novelty, as in his afterthought that the controversies of the eighteenth-century feudists had their counterpart in the sixteenth century. He may be mistaken on an important issue when he attributes primacy to Pasquier among those Frenchmen who found a German origin for the Franks. He is not always careful to distinguish critical alterations that sixteenth-century authors made in subsequent editions of their works. Many of the references lack precision; there is no bibliography; and the index is woefully misleading and incomplete. Perhaps it is a further illustration of the author's rejection of straight-line progress in historiography that his own book does not always attain the technical standards of perfection sought by the historians he describes. Yet the reader will forgive these faults when he encounters such bold conceptualization and such stimulating themes.

J. H. M. SALMON
Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania

MADELEINE FOISIL. *La révolte des Nu-Pieds et les révoltes normandes de 1639.* (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Paris-Sorbonne. Series "Recherches," Number 57. Travaux du Centre de Recherches sur la Civilisation de l'Europe Moderne, Number 7.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1970. Pp. 368. 40 fr.

Since the Soviet historian Porchnev put forward his Marxist analysis of seventeenth-century French social structure and the pre-Fronde popular rebellions in *Les Soulèvements populaires en France de 1623 à 1648* (French translation, 1963), Professor Roland Mousnier and his associates at the University of Paris have been documenting an alternative description and analysis of the facts. Foisil's work comes out of that effort.

Her review of the available sources is careful and thorough; but it also shows how many important documents are lost, especially those dealing with economic and social information on business and commercial conditions, prices, and population levels, and with the reports of administrators on the rebellions themselves. In her description of seventeenth-century Lower Normandy, men at all social levels were dissatisfied, and many of their grievances arose from the war and the resulting increased fiscal exactions. Royal officers were unhappy about heavy obligatory payments and about the establishment of new offices; burghers were distressed by poor trade; peasants and urban workers were burdened by taxes and a long epidemic of the plague. The decision to impose the gabelle and other new taxes in Normandy, which formerly had been exempt from the gabelle, triggered revolt. On the basis of an extensive collation of sources, Foisil makes her major contribution in the description of who participated in the revolt and who and what were the targets of the rebels. The participants were largely humble persons, but burgher-members of the local militias and the officials of local governments and royal courts reacted slowly and unwillingly to suppress the popular movement. Beyond this, Foisil's argument, especially as concerns some of the urban revolts, is inconclusive. There are some hints of active participation in the urban revolts by burghers and even by nobles and officers; the antifiscal nature of the revolt suggests, she believes, a more sophisticated leadership than the humble

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

men who were so ferociously punished as leaders. But she cannot identify them.

The book's interest and value is limited by Foisil's failure to go beyond a reaction to Porchnev; she fails to place the revolt of the *nu-pieds* into broader comparative perspectives, such as those of Norman particularism, the connection between increased tax demands, repression, and the growth of absolutism, and the history of popular rebellion.

LOUISE A. TILLY
Princeton, New Jersey

JEAN SAREIL. *Les Tencin: Histoire d'une famille au dix-huitième siècle d'après de nombreux documents inédits.* (Histoire des idées et critique littéraire, Volume 102.) Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1969. Pp. 444.

This book is excellent both as a representative of a traditional historiographical genre and as a timely contribution to a current historiographical reassessment. As a life-and-times of *les Tencin* it is enormously informative, consistently interesting, often amusing, and extraordinarily well written. Professor Sareil spent seven years in laborious preparation of this study, which concerns itself primarily with the careers of Pierre and Claudine-Alexandrine de Tencin. Pierre, the youngest of four sons in a family of robe nobility, was placed in the Church for the greater glory and income of *les Tencin*. He apparently accepted the vocation thus thrust upon him, became *"un homme d'Eglise politique,"* proved himself an excellent administrator and political tactician, and rose after many vicissitudes to the rank of Cardinal-Archbishop of Lyon. His success, however, was due as much to the political and, shall we say, the social skills of his younger sister Claudine-Alexandrine. She, too, was forced into the religious life (at the age of eight), but she struggled against it, never accepted it, and, at the age of thirty (in 1712), she managed to escape it. Sareil writes: "Those years were a total loss; Mme. de Tencin never made them up, in spite of her prodigious activity." But she did the best she could. She quickly adapted herself to the secular world and employed her considerable talents very well throughout her *"aventures en haute compagnie."* She was a highly successful spy for Foreign Minister Torcy; during the Regency she was mistress to the redoubtable Cardinal-Minister Dubois, a role that confirmed her position among the great; she conducted for over thirty years one of the important salons in Paris. She even took some little time out to give birth to the future d'Alembert whom she promptly remitted to a foundling home and whose maternity she never admitted. But in all of their actions, brother and sister worked as much for their family as for themselves. Family and not individual egoism and ambition drove them on. *Les Tencin* played important roles in all of the affairs of the day excepting military matters—court intrigues, religious conflicts, financial affairs (they were partisans of John Law), literary quarrels, academy politics, judicial battles, and, especially for Claudine, love affairs.

Professor Sareil thus had an interesting family group as his subject. Partial to them but not uncritical, he has presented us a picture of their personalities, ambitions, careers, and failures and successes that can hardly be surpassed. But more important he has used *les Tencin* to cast light on that period of French history from 1700 to 1750, which was truly an age of equilibrium on the brink of an age of rapid transition. His work is a fine complement to the thesis recently advanced by Herbert Lüthy in a brilliant chapter, *"Contours du 'siècle de Louis XV,'"* in his massive study of *La banque protestante en France* (1961). For what both Sareil and Lüthy demonstrate is that at least until the 1760s France was a stable, prosperous regime in which the *parties prenantes* (including *les Tencin*) monopolized the power, prestige, and wealth of the country, regardless of wars, famines, and general economic trends. It was a world in which religion was more important than philosophy, in which landed and *rentier* wealth meant much more than commercial wealth, and in which politics was reduced to the level of personality and court intrigue. It was also a world in which the economic function of the *haute société* was to consume at the expense of the rest of French society.

Professor Sareil has thus presented us with both a vibrant family portrait and an insightful view of the social realities of what Alfred Cobban has called "the golden age of the *ancien régime.*" Works like Pierre Goubert's *Familles marchandes sous l'Ancien Régime* (1959) illustrate the changes that were slowly

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

taking place in France in the first half of the eighteenth century. Professor Sareil's excellent work demonstrates the deeply rooted continuities that we dismiss at our historiographical peril.

GERALD J. CAVANAUGH
University of California, Berkeley

MICHEL MOLLAT, prepared under the direction of. *Les origines de la navigation à vapeur.* (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Paris-Sorbonne. Series "Acta," Number 1.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1970. Pp. 206. 26 fr.

The eleven papers collected here were first presented in 1960 at a colloquium sponsored by the Comité de Documentation historique de la Marine. Given the nature of most such conferences, the book is, perhaps predictably, uneven; and yet it has its useful features, particularly for specialists in certain areas of economic history. The papers devote themselves largely to technological development, the organization and financing of early steamship companies, and to government assistance to such ventures from the early 1820s through the 1870s. Their focus is primarily upon France, with some attention paid to Great Britain and the United States. To the extent that there is an organizing principle, it is provided by the theme of technology; the papers are grouped into two general sections: "Invention de la technique" and "Diffusion de la technique." Much of the information offered thus deals with such matters as the development of the steam-driven propeller, improvements in shipbuilding techniques, or the transition from wooden to ironclad vessels.

All but avid specialists in French maritime and business history are liable, however, to find the book somewhat frustrating. The principal problem here, as with most books arising out of scholarly conferences, is the absence of any satisfactory synthesizing effort. André Reussner's introductory article does little more than establish the technological framework; Michel Mollat's conclusion simply summarizes the papers. The discussion periods, reprinted virtually in full, contain numerous tantalizing hints at connections with broader social and economic developments, but they are rarely elaborated. It is more common to find the conferees launching into extensive and spirited debate over such questions as, "A quel moment fut conçue l'idée de la chaudière aquatubulaire?"

The book's principal usefulness may well be as a guide to future research. Such knowledgeable participants as Bertrand Gille, Louis Girard, and C.-E. Labrousse are characteristically generous in their identification both of problems worthy of further investigation and of unexploited resource materials in various obscure archives. It is only unfortunate that this information has taken ten years to gain more general circulation.

GEORGE FASEL
University of Missouri

HARVEY G. SIMMONS. *French Socialists in Search of a Role, 1956–1967.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970. Pp. xi, 313. $9.75.

A reader who wishes to grasp the recent history of the French Socialist party in historical perspective may find fault with this study because it says little or nothing about the complex heritage of the SFIO over the past century. Yet, it must be said, the volume narrates remarkably well in brief compass the trials and vicissitudes of the beleaguered party in the dozen years or so since 1956. If ever a Socialist party suffered from the tribulations of exercising power, it was the SFIO under Guy Mollet's leadership in 1956–57, when the party labored under the double shadow of the Algerian crisis and the Suez episode. Surprisingly, it survived those years and even survived the early years of the Fifth Republic without excessive loss of strength even though a number of the purer spirits who had no stomach for Mollet's leadership seceded in anger and dismay. It was in the 1960s that the party saw itself, despite continuing local strength, reduced to a minor and increasingly impotent national role. A debate over doctrine and strategy took place against a growing national disillusionment with all political parties of the Left, a disillusionment dramatically indicated by the emergence of the new political "clubs." The study recounts the abortive political efforts of Gaston Defferre in 1965; the uneasy efforts, then and later, at reconciliation with the MRP, the Radicals, and the Communists; and the effort to create the Federation of the Democratic Socialist Left. The final episode goes somewhat beyond the scope of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

volume but is told in a postscript. After the waning fortunes of the party and of the noncommunist Left in the wake of the 1968 "événements," a convention in 1969 toppled the Mollet leadership, undertook a modest reappraisal and restatement of the party's fundamental doctrines, and even dropped the somewhat anachronistic SFIO title. But the Parti Socialiste de France, with Alain Savary as its new standard bearer, the writer concludes, is still "a party in search of a role," and all of the efforts at renewal represent only "an attempt to rekindle the dying flames of French socialism." In a number of appended tables the author, a political scientist, provides much valuable statistical information on voting patterns, membership strength, and the social and professional origins of the Socialist leaders.

JOEL COLTON
Duke University

DAVID R. RINGROSE. *Transportation and Economic Stagnation in Spain, 1750–1850.* Durham: Duke University Press. 1970. Pp. xxv, 171.

This compact volume illuminates a source of Spanish economic retardation in the nineteenth century that has been generally recognized but never so systematically treated: the crisis of transport supply in the interior provinces. This problem is set in the broader framework of the failure of the industrializing efforts of the eighteenth-century Bourbon rulers to issue, after 1800, in a sustained industrial advance. Although their Colbertian labors had fostered a promising economic and demographic upsurge between about 1750 and 1800, the ultimate outcome was not a Rostovian "take-off" but fifty years of stagnation.

While taking account, perhaps too briefly, of a variety of regressive and mutually reinforcing factors in Spanish economic life, Professor Ringrose has sought to deal with transportation as a relatively independent variable and to demonstrate its causal role in the economic lag of the nineteenth century. The Castilian carting industry—the various demands upon it, its technology, routes, seasonal patterns, and institutional arrangements—is described in detail. The thesis is advanced that as early as the 1790s, with the situation becoming critical by 1800, the traditional supply of transport in Castile had begun to reach an upper limit that it was beyond the powers of the government to extend and that imposed an immutable ceiling on economic development. This transportation bottleneck is described as a primary cause of Spain's political and economic immobility, and it is stressed that the country's primitive economy also precluded use of the more advanced transportation technology of Europe. Thus the movement of goods in the interior remained based on a carting industry that could neither be enlarged nor made more available for the general economic life of Castile.

The compelling obstacles to the expansion of transport ranged from the excessive consumption needs of Madrid and the requirements of Castile's subsistence economy to such things as aridity, population growth, the enclosure movement, and capital shortage. These factors are analyzed with great persuasiveness but with perhaps an overtone of determinism. The argument inclines toward a kind of fatality: the impossibility—mostly for economic, geographical, or climatic reasons—of increasing the number of men, beasts, and carts involved in transport activities. The element of political volition—as in the Spanish Bourbons' tendency to aggrandize Madrid at the expense of the interior economy or to build highways and canals of such French-inspired monumentality that they could rarely be completed—has been somewhat minimized.

The focus of the study is almost exclusively on Castile, but this seems a legitimate limitation, since the Bourbons' developmental efforts were concentrated here, and their failure to awaken Castile spelled the stagnation of Spain. Professor Ringrose has competently set forth a thesis that will not fail to arouse the interest of those concerned with the problem of Spanish "decadence" and one that may be capable of application to other developing countries.

GERALD H. MEAKER
San Fernando Valley State College

ANTOINE DE LUSY. *Le journal d'un bourgeois de Mons, 1505–1536.* Edited by ARMAND LOUANT. Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique, Commission Royale d'Histoire. 1969. Pp. cxvi, 484.

The fires, floods, plagues, and executions reported by the anonymous bourgeois of Paris between 1515 and 1536 were familiar preoccupations of the inhabitants of Mons during the same

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

years. The bourgeois of Mons was not cut off from European affairs either. Life in the capital of Hainaut was livelier and more international than might have been expected since various Habsburgs and their entourages passed through the town frequently. What was lacking Antoine de Lusy found in his diplomatic missions to Germany, France, Spain, and England.

The Duchy of Burgundy still existed for Lusy and was his great love. This fact provides a different view of the familiar events connecting Philip the Fair, Charles v, Ferdinand of Aragon, Louis xi, Francis i, Henry vii, and Henry viii. In addition, the functioning of the provincial estates of Hainaut and the problems of inflation are recurring themes in his journal.

The editor's introduction of 116 pages is competent, though he exaggerates in his attempt to make Lusy the first Belgian journalist. The index is thorough, and a useful glossary and six plates of the manuscript are included. It should be noted that, despite the title, the journal is very sketchy until 1513.

Lusy was not a Pierre de L'Estoile, but he does provide the reader with a feeling for life in the Southern Lowlands. This is especially true from 1518 onward when he seems to have settled into life in Mons after his years of European service. Bit by bit he forgot Europe and concentrated more on his family, local politics, and day-to-day life. He noticed the arrival of the Lutherans and the continued threat of the French, but as sickness brought his end nearer, the deaths of his friends and acquaintances became his preoccupation.

J. MICHAEL HAYDEN
University of Saskatchewan

De Vrije Kunstenaar *1941–1945: Facsimilé herdruk van alle tijdens de bezetting verschenen afleveringen.* Introduction: L. P. J. BRAAT. Amsterdam: B. R. Grüner N.V.; John Benjamins N.V. 1970. Pp. xlviii, 242.

De Vrije Kunstenaar (The Free Artist) was a Dutch underground publication that made its appearance in 1942. Almost thirty issues were produced before the end of the occupation. Although circulation remained small (at most, one thousand copies per issue) *De Vrije Kunstenaar* played an important part in the Resistance because of its intellectual sophistication and its focus on artists and the arts. Its political orientation was toward the Left, but it owed no allegiance to any political party. As with many other clandestine publications, the editors were active in other Resistance organizations. The guiding spirit of *De Vrije Kunstenaar,* the sculptor Gerrit van der Veen, was also a leader in the Council of Resistance (R.v.V.) and the founder of an important service that produced forged identity papers. He was arrested during an attempt to liberate Dutch patriots from a German prison and was executed in 1944. Proceeds from the sale of the present work are to be used for a monument to be erected in Amsterdam to his memory.

The present volume contains a complete set of facsimile reproductions of all clandestine editions of *De Vrije Kunstenaar.* This main part is preceded by a summary of the contents of each issue and by historical comments by L. P. J. Braat, the editor since 1943. The summaries and comments are also translated into English. The volume concludes with an English translation of the most important articles that appeared in the journal.

The emphasis of *De Vrije Kunstenaar* shifted over the years, as it did in many underground papers, although the focus on art remained constant and distinctive. In 1942 the stress was on noncooperation with the Dutch Nazis and the Germans, particularly with the official *Kultuurkamer.* By 1943 more general resistance problems, such as the forced labor draft and the question of violence and assassinations, came to the fore. In 1944–45 increasing attention was paid to postwar issues, and many articles dealt with the substance and formal organization of postwar artistic life.

True to its provenance (the general editor is a sculptor) the present volume is handsomely designed and produced. The English translation of the most significant material in the book makes it particularly attractive for the American reader who wants to gain an understanding of Dutch underground publications during the Second World War.

WERNER WARMBRUNN
Pitzer College

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WERNER SCHOCHOW. *Deutsch-jüdische Geschichtswissenschaft: Eine Geschichte ihrer Organisationsformen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Fachbibliographie.* With an introduction by GUIDO KISCH. (Einzelveröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin beim Friedrich-Meinecke-Institut der Freien Universität Berlin, Number 3.) Berlin: Colloquium Verlag. 1969. Pp. x, 327. DM 68.

Books and periodicals on German Jewish history can fill a specialized library. From the early nineteenth century to the time of Hitler, almost every facet of Jewry's existence in Germany was the object of a study, and after the community was destroyed documents and memoirs were picked up again to produce more treatises in retrospect. By this time an overview of this literature could well be as valuable as any single item in it, but unfortunately we do not have such a guide today, for Schochow's attempt has failed.

In his introduction the author promises much, and the promise seems all the more weighty because he conceives of his task, somewhat imperialistically, as covering the writing about Jews in the whole of German-speaking Europe. Four large chapters make up the body of the work and two indexes conclude it, one with names and subjects for the text and the other containing authors' names only for the footnotes at the bottom of the pages.

The reading is difficult because Schochow uses paragraphs where sentences would do and sentences when he needs only an adjective. The organization is occasionally confusing, for although it is basically chronological he has not always separated what historians wrote at a particular time from what historians wrote about that time. Most troublesome, however, is the question of whether this monograph was intended to be a representative catalogue or an incisive commentary. It is obviously neither.

As a catalogue the book suffers from too many important omissions. There is no mention, for example, of Felix Theilhaber's classic study of German Jewry's demographic decline, published in 1911; no entry of Arthur Ruppin's standard volumes on Jewish sociology, which appeared in German at the close of the Weimar regime; no notice of Hans Lamm, whose mimeographed dissertation on the life of German Jewry under the Nazis is the only definitive statement of this whole subject between two covers; no awareness of the principal Nazi work on Jewish economic power in pre-Nazi Germany—a large book by H. Höfler printed in Vienna in 1944 and not circulated in the trade. A recently published collection of original essays, Josef Fraenkel's *The Jews of Austria* (1967) is also missing.

Schochow does include several hundred titles, but he does not distinguish between major and minor contributions, except for praising some more than others. He writes about Jewish authors, editors, and institutes with uncritical acceptance. His description of the Yad Vashem Institute in Israel is an advertisement; he lauds it for training another generation of historians —one of the many tasks it is not accomplishing.

With all of his faults, Schochow is meticulous. Periodicals are listed with their dates of issue and authors with profession, year of birth, and, when possible, year of death. The footnotes appear to be complete. Not every library needs this book, but it should certainly take its place in an appropriate bibliography of bibliographies.

RAUL HILBERG
University of Vermont

KLAUS WERNECKE. *Der Wille zur Weltgeltung: Aussenpolitik und Öffentlichkeit im Kaiserreich am Vorabend des Ersten Weltkrieges.* Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1970. Pp. 339. DM 26.80.

Since Fritz Fischer's fundamental article in the *Historische Zeitschrift* ("Deutsche Kriegsziele, Revolutionerung und Separatfrieden im Osten, 1914–1918," 188 [1959]: 249–310), notable scholarship on the War of 1914–18 and on the ten or twenty years earlier has appeared in many countries. Much important work is under way. No contributions have outweighed Fischer's. His recent *Krieg der Illusionen* referred to several dissertations by his students. This book was one of them.

With clippings from 1911 to 1914 from the German foreign office, including secret records, Wernecke has carefully surveyed newspapers and magazines in order to discover the outlook of leading political groups on German foreign policy. Using entire issues, he covered twice as many periodicals as E. Malcolm Carroll cited in the relevant section of the pathbreaking *Germany and the Great Powers* (1938) or, including those checked selectively, a total of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

112. By good use of the previously exploited Potsdam and Merseburg archives (for example, in Kurt Stenkewitz's *Gegen Bajonett und Dividende* [1960]), he ties down many points, such as the foreign secretary's unleashing of Heinrich Class of the Alldeutscher Verband in April 1911.

With unrivaled detail, Wernecke documents how most publicists for dominant groups of *Bildung und Besitz* claimed territory and resources in Europe and elsewhere in the world as they sought German hegemony in Europe. After a brief sketch of the political affiliations of the press, Wernecke analyzes government publicity and the stimulated and independent responses during the second Moroccan crisis, showing how Kiderlen's encouragement of demands for compensations from France stirred up nationalist passions that neither he nor the government could control. After a brief section on Germany and England, the publicity for the expanded army and navy and especially the stimulation of antagonisms against Russia in the spring of 1914 indicate rousing chauvinism and spiritual preparation for a coming war.

I do not believe that this useful and richly informative study removes the need to consider Carroll and Oron J. Hale's *Publicity and Diplomacy* (1940). The latter's preface mentioned that the recency of appearance prevented benefiting from the former's conclusions. Confrontation of the three studies should now be useful. It is impossible in a brief review.

D. E. EMERSON
University of Washington

SUSANNE MILLER, compiler, with the collaboration of HEINRICH POTTHOFF. *Die Regierung der Volksbeauftragten 1918/19.* In two volumes. Introduction by ERICH MATTHIAS. (Quellen zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien. First Series, Von der konstitutionellen Monarchie zur parlamentarischen Republik, Number 6, Volumes 1 and 2.) Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1969. Pp. cxcviii, 399; x, 408. DM 138 the set.

The most recent publication of the *Quellen zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien* documents the brief period of Germany's revolutionary government of the People's Representatives from November 1918 to February 1919. In a detailed, analytical introduction to the document collection the editor outlines the events as well as some historiographical and archival problems stemming from the nature of the sources.

The editor observes that the study of the German revolution, "of which no one really dares to say whether it actually was [a revolution]," has experienced a renaissance during the recent past, not only in the two Germanies but also among Anglo-American historians. Consequently the publication of this key source material will be indispensable to further research. Mr. Matthias briefly evaluates some of the problems involved in the study of the German revolution. He divides the revolution into three stages: Max von Baden's parliamentarization; the transitional government of the Council of People's Representatives; and the first Weimar coalition government under Scheidemann. While an earlier publication in this series, *Die Regierung des Prinzen Max von Baden* (1962), also edited by Erich Matthias, treated the first stage, the current work is devoted to the second.

The editor pays particular attention in his introductory essay and in the documentary selection to the political process by which the government was transferred from Prince Max to Ebert, and he analyzes some of the constitutional questions involved in this unorthodox parliamentary transaction. Ebert was deeply concerned with the legality of his position and viewed his administration as a transitional, caretaker government. For him "the new state began not with the revolution, but with the convening of the National Assembly." The conflict with the USPD resulting from this view of the revolution is given due attention. The assumption and exercise of power by the Social Democrats is divided by the editor into three distinct phases, each with its own problems of constitutional legitimacy: the transfer of power to Ebert; the negotiations for a coalition between the two major socialist parties; and the process by which this new government legitimized and exercised its power within the revolutionary and transitional situation. Maintenance of legal continuity between the outgoing and incoming governments is illustrated by the retention of the old order's entire civil bureaucracy and military establishment. This, combined with the political inexperience and timidity of the socialists, made it difficult, if not impossible, for them to execute sweeping political and social reforms. Such changes, in the eyes of the majority Social-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ists, could only be authorized by a democratically elected national assembly and not by revolutionary action. The editor expresses some criticism of this reluctance, blaming it on the narrow partisan political and class-oriented mentality of the socialists. Both socialist parties continued to function within the political and mental framework of their prewar parliamentary concepts, which had denied them political responsibility and experience. As a result they never attempted to exploit, and possibly never even recognized, the deep desire for democratization and social and economic reforms that had been released among the German people by the military defeat and the collapse of the old order.

The bulk of this two-volume work is comprised by the documents, which illuminate in detail the topics and problems discussed in the introductory essay. The selected documents, most of which have never been published before, pertain to the creation and the constitutional and actual powers of the Council of People's Representatives and to its operations. The main body of documents includes the minutes of the Council and cabinet meetings and of other meetings involving Council members and various revolutionary and governmental bodies. Their extent ranges from brief notes reporting the topics and decisions of meetings to stenographic records of the discussions.

The editor has annotated and cross referenced his introduction and the documentary selections in such a manner that the work serves not only as a source of primary information but also as an excellent reference work and bibliographic study. Reference is made to unresolved differences caused by conflicting or lacking sources. In some instances the editor was unable to discover official minutes of meetings and only occasionally could such gaps be filled by the use of memoirs and press accounts. He points out, however, that the memoirs and personal papers of the chief actors are in most cases inadequate and in some instances totally lacking either because no memoirs were written or because the personal papers, as in the case of Ebert's, did not survive. The documentary material presented here comes from archives in both parts of Germany as well as from private and non-German archives.

FREDERICK DUMIN
Washington State University

HSI-HUEY LIANG. *The Berlin Police Force in the Weimar Republic.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1970. Pp. xviii, 252. $8.95.

How and where does a democratic government in a period of social and political turmoil find the means to preserve order without becoming either repressive or paralyzed by its democratic principles? In analyzing the Berlin police from 1918 to 1933, Hsi-huey Liang addresses himself to this problem in a solid, well-written, and sometimes provocative monograph. Mr. Liang contends that the task of rebuilding a police force along reliable democratic lines after 1918 was crippled from the outset. Clinging to traditions and values inherited from an earlier era, the Prussian and Berlin police declared their neutrality in the revolution; the situation would be repeated fourteen years later.

The major part of the book is an analysis of the two main branches of the Berlin police, the uniformed security police (*Schutzpolizei* or *Schupo*) and the numerically smaller criminal police (or *Kripo*). The book is also strongest in dealing with the internal organization, attitudes, and social composition of the police and weakest at the level of political explanation and interpretation. The author makes it clear that his concern is with the police in action in the streets. Yet one might have hoped for a more satisfactory integration of this local history with Prussian or national political developments, which are given a cursory and somewhat pedestrian treatment.

The lukewarm republicanism of the *Schupo*, in whose hands lay the critical task of preserving public order, was related to its social composition. Recruits came mainly from rural Prussia and, in the early years, from odds and ends of Freikorps units with no political questions asked. Neither that problem nor the small but growing minority of National Socialists and their sympathizers within the *Schupo* rank-and-file were in themselves fatal, however. More serious was the failure to inculcate a democratic spirit in the police, a task quite beyond the good intentions of Social Democratic political and police authorities. By 1932 the *Schupo* was literally exhausted after constantly battling both Communists and National Socialists, a fight in which the police rarely held the initiative. They

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

saw little reason to make further sacrifices for a cause they did not really understand.

On the whole the Berlin police served the Weimar Republic with sometimes surprising loyalty, at least between 1920 and 1932. But they did not do so out of political conviction, as the author stresses, and the point is crucial. In the end they simply stood aside for the Nazis, whose scruples in this matter were far less tender than those of their predecessors.

THOMAS A. KNAPP
Loyola University, Chicago

HELMUT GÄTSCH. *Die Freien Gewerkschaften in Bremen 1919–1933.* (Bremer Veröffentlichungen zur Zeitgeschichte, Number 4.) Bremen: Carl Schünemann Verlag. 1969. Pp. 180.

Making extensive use of materials available in the Bremen Staatsarchiv as well as newspapers and annual reports—the party and union archives were destroyed by the Nazis in 1933—Helmut Gätsch paints a richly detailed picture marked by an atmosphere of constant crisis and tragic inevitability. Himself a product of the labor movement in Bremen, Gätsch is consistently sympathetic to the plight of the unions, attributing their failures to economic conditions; to the chasm between the classes, which he judges to have been unbridgeable as early as 1924; and to the machinations of the Communists, whom he castigates for having exploited Germany's economic miseries for their own political ends.

Although Gätsch's study must certainly be considered a welcome addition to the increasing number of local histories of the German Left, it suffers from a number of significant failings. Gätsch's anticommunism appears to have reinforced a remarkably uncritical attitude toward the Social Democratic leaders of the Bremen unions. Moreover, the reader who expects to be offered striking new insights into the character of the German labor movement will be disappointed. Although Gätsch does relate his material to developments on the national level, he obviously did not conceive of his work as a case study, and his background information therefore tends to be superficial. Even his treatment of developments in Bremen is largely descriptive rather than analytical. This is particularly disappointing in view of the eccentricity that was frequently exhibited by the Left in Bremen. Gätsch has, in short, produced a narrative that provides an abundance of information but contributes little to our understanding of why the tragedy he so effectively describes took place.

KENNETH R. CALKINS
Kent State University

SERGIO PISTONE. *Federico Meinecke e la crisi dello stato nazionale tedesco.* (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di Scienze Politiche dell'Università di Torino, Volume 20.) Turin: Edizioni Giappichelli. 1969. Pp. 517. L. 6,000.

Now that an English translation of *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat* (1970) has finally become available, we may expect an even broader diffusion of Meinecke scholarship. It is noteworthy that although Italians had an Italian translation of this work in 1930, it was only after the close of the Fascist era that this German historian found interpreters in Italy. Today Pistone can cite quite a few Italian studies of Meinecke, many by Germans of course, but few, if any, by English-speaking writers. Anglo-American impatience with systematic political philosophy has something to do with this paucity, but Pistone has neglected not only R. W. Sterling's *Ethics in a World of Power* (1958) but also Leonard Krieger's *German Idea of History* (1957) and George Iggers' *German Conception of History* (1968). While an Italian scholar can hardly be expected to note doctoral dissertations, it is interesting that a University of Wisconsin dissertation in 1965 (Robert A. Pois, "Friedrich Meinecke and German Politics in the Twentieth Century") dealt precisely with Pistone's topic. Pistone has made it a good deal easier to sympathize and share with Meinecke in his brave effort to remain relevant as a thinker and historian by returning Meinecke to his political milieu. By stressing German political and constitutional history, Pistone succeeds in locating Meinecke's intellectual and spiritual evolution from a critical statist in the nineties to a sincere, undoctrinaire democrat whose breadth of vision surpassed that of a *Mussrepublikaner* like Stresemann.

For Pistone Meinecke has elements of the Promethean hero, who delivered at least twice to the Germans a precious truth wrenched in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

severe struggles with his own times: the necessity for Wilhelmine Germany to share its largess and grandeur with the common man if it was to expand into a world power; and the necessity for Weimar Germany to come to terms with the plurality of human interests in order to share in the world's bounty and the world's tasks. The author is rigorously fair; Meinecke's *German Catastrophe* is justly criticized for its unsubstantial analysis, and we are never permitted to confuse sympathy and admiration for the man Meinecke with the temporal limitations of the man's mind. Pistone is less original, though highly successful, in placing Meinecke in the historiographical and philosophical context of Kant, Hegel, and Ranke. These great universalists had to be "transcended" in Bismarckian Germany, but the Prussian school in which Meinecke learned history was far too parochial to serve as more than antithesis for the brilliant young theorist. Seizing upon the "objective idealism" of Hegel and incorporating it into a Rankean historicism, Meinecke was able to place German statism into an evolutionary framework far more sophisticated than the Darwinian Treitschke's. Naumann's social imperialism was similarly the raw material out of which Meinecke's subtle mind wove a rationalization for *Weltmacht*, only to discover in the Ludendorff dictatorship and the Revolution the shortcomings of all purely state-centered power calculuses. Meinecke, like most historians, found himself rationalizing the status quo, but in the great pietist-North German tradition he would not remain content with the contradictions. Although not so much a Protestant as an ecumenical, Meinecke lived up to the finest traditions of scholarly responsibility.

ROBERT KOEHL
University of Wisconsin, Madison

GEORGE SCHWAB. *The Challenge of the Exception: An Introduction to the Political Ideas of Carl Schmitt between 1921 and 1936*. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot. 1970. Pp. 174.

This study presents the political ideas of Carl Schmitt and shows how he applied these ideas to the analysis of the Weimar Constitution, to the crisis of the last years of the republic, and to the Nazi regime.

Schmitt, who was hostile to the divisive, multiparty aspect of the Weimar system, attached importance to the powers of the president, particularly the emergency powers provided in Article 48. In "a state of exception," Schmitt held, the president legally becomes a "commissarial dictator," that is, he holds a commission to deal with crisis and to restore order. He even acquires a kind of sovereignty under these conditions in that he is not bound by norms deriving from legal bodies but decides what is to be done on the basis of the concrete situation ("decisionism").

When the parliamentary and economic crisis deepened after 1929 and the "state of exception" became almost the rule, Schmitt espoused a presidential system. He now argued that emergency measures had the force of laws and that the president might bypass the *pouvoir constitué* (the ineffective Reichstag) and rest his authority on the *pouvoir constituant* (the mass of the people who had elected him). He interpreted the Enabling Act and popular support as proper sanction for Hitler to assume dictatorial powers and became a member of the party and its self-appointed "crown-jurist."

Professor Schwab declares that his study is neither "a demonological inquisition nor an ideological snooping." I concur in this judgment and applaud the author for adding to the small but growing collection of books on recent Germany that are written with some objectivity. Overall the book gives the impression of being a mild apologia for Schmitt, who is seen as centrally concerned with finding protection for the nation in a time of turmoil. Schwab regards Schmitt's doctrine of "decisionism" as motivated by the desire to sustain rather than to subvert the Weimar Constitution and his call for a stronger presidential system "a sound alternative for a conservative thinker." While he does not gloss over Schmitt's conversion to National Socialism, Schwab asserts that Schmitt never conceded total power to the Führer.

The reader who does wish to indulge in ideological snooping should turn to Fijalkowski's *Die Wendung zum Führerstaat* (1958). Those who seek a clear and concise exposition of Schmitt's ideas will be well rewarded by turning to Schwab's study.

ROBERT LOUGEE
University of Connecticut

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik, 1918–1945, aus dem Archiv des deutschen Auswärtigen Amts. Series D: *1937–1941*. Volume 12, *Die Kriegsjahre*. Part 1, *1. Februar bis 5. April 1941*; Part 2, *6. April bis 22. Juni 1941*. Series E: *1941–1945*. Volume 1, *12. Dezember 1941 bis 28. Februar 1942*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1969. Pp. lxxvii, 395; 397–966; lviii, 611. DM 33; DM 33; DM 43.

As I indicated in this journal in July 1967 (*AHR*, 72 [1966–67]: 1426–27) and as Professor Stewart A. Stehlin explained in more detail in the June 1968 number of *Central European History* (1: 193–99), publication of the German diplomatic documents for the period 1918 to 1945 is being continued in German but —after the conclusion of series C (1933–37) and D (1937–41)—not in English.

Volume 12 of series D, covering late winter to summer 1941, is the parallel German edition to the next to last volume of the completed Anglo-American series. The documents in the two editions are the same, but footnotes in the German edition give full names of persons who are mentioned only by title in the documents, whereas footnotes in the English edition do not; the biographical index is far more extensive than the "List of Principal Persons" (without page references) in the English edition; the brief summaries in the analytical list of documents are occasionally more detailed than in the Anglo-American edition; and the German footnotes more often than the English include extensive verbatim extracts of material cited in the text of documents, and they also cite a number of key documents available only since 1962 (one is published as the first of five appendixes). Added or amplified notes are identified with asterisks, enabling users to appreciate not only the extent to which the 1969 German edition supersedes the 1962 American edition, but also the extent to which the former confirms the abiding validity of the latter, which will continue to be used for reference and instruction even though the more recent edition in the original language is definitive for scholarly purposes.

Volume 1 of series E (1941–45), covering the third winter of the war, starts in December 1941, immediately after the American entry into the conflict and the beginning of the Soviet counterattack before Moscow. How appalling conditions on the eastern front had become by early December was skillfully revealed through a thin veil of National Socialist rhetoric in a detailed report from a foreign ministry representative with one of the field commands (doc. no. 122). In long year-end letters to Mussolini, Horthy, and Antonescu, Hitler rather discounted the grave military crisis (nos. 62–64), but the record of Göring's conference with Mussolini in January 1942, despite its euphemistic tone, reflects very perceptive concern about the situation in the Mediterranean as well as in Russia (no. 181). Hitler was relatively candid during Marshal Antonescu's February visit to Berlin, calling on him to redouble his country's already substantial contribution to the war. When the Romanian dictator commented that he hoped for victory before the following winter in view of the extreme difficulty of sustaining so intense a war effort, Hitler, far from reassuring him, made it clear that he was preparing for yet another winter campaign (no. 244). Antonescu's only consolation was the prospect that, in compensation for depletion of oil resources during the emergency, Romania could expect, after the final victory, to receive substantial concessions in the Caucasus (nos. 98, 241). Tentative plans were also developed in Berlin for the postwar partition of Africa largely among Germany, Italy, France, and Spain, but possibly also the Jews, for whom Madagascar was considered (no. 153). The Madagascar plan was soon abandoned, however, in favor of the comprehensive "final solution" (*Endlösung*) recorded in the protocol of the infamous Wannsee Conference of January 20, 1942 (nos. 150, 227). With additional material on the "Jewish question," as well as important coverage of German relations with Japan (over 25 documents) and the situation in Yugoslavia (no. 277)—to note only two of the many other areas touched on by the 298 documents—this volume is an excellent beginning for series E.

DONALD S. DETWILER
Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

HERMANN WEBER. *Von der SBZ zur DDR, 1945–1968*. [Hanover:] Verlag für Literatur und Zeitgeschehen. 1968. Pp. 381.

"The Soviet zone," "East Germany," "Middle Germany," and "the so-called 'German Demo-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cratic Republic,'" are all titles commonly used in the West by those who prefer to deny verbal recognition to the Communist segment of Germany. Mr. Weber uses all of these terms of reference, but he uses them interchangeably with that state's official title, the Deutsche Demokratische Republik, thus attempting to demonstrate his objectivity on an extremely controversial subject.

Most of his book is a relatively brief and straightforward narrative of the development of the East German state, based on both East and West German printed sources. Because statistics, names, and dates predominate over analysis, the author avoids cold war rhetoric. Yet he makes no attempt to hide his conclusions: "It would be a mistake to contrast the 'democracy' of the Federal Republic in black-white terms with the 'dictatorship' of the DDR. . . . [But] the DDR is no 'workers' and peasants' state.' The contradiction between its written constitution and reality is pronounced; the DDR is a politically undemocratic regime under the dictatorial domination of the SED [Communist party]" (p. 223). "Stalinism without Stalin" has persisted in East Germany, Weber argues. But since the construction of the wall in 1961 the DDR has been stabilized, and its leaders have begun to feel increasingly secure. The use of overt and "potential" terror as a method of social control, he maintains, has decreased. In spite of vigorous propaganda campaigns, the majority of the population have been "neutralized" and have been allowed to enjoy the fruits of a rising standard of living as unpolitical Germans. The party functionaries are held together by strict discipline and Marxist ideology with its optimistic belief in the ultimate triumph of the cause. These bureaucrats, relatively independent of the USSR as long as they do not offend her interests, firmly control the country. Opposition, so far as it exists, comes not from the right but from idealistic, "democratic" Communists such as Wolfgang Harich and Robert Havemann.

Roughly one-third of the book is devoted to notes and bibliography, selections from documents, biographical sketches, a chronology, and a statistical summary. Weber's contribution is a useful introduction to a much-neglected subject.

GORDON R. MORK
Purdue University

LINO MARINI. *Il Mezzogiorno d'Italia di fronte a Vienne e a Roma: E altri studi di storia meridionale.* Bologna: Casa Editrice Prof. Riccardo Pàtron. 1970. Pp. viii, 318. L. 4,700.

For over twenty years Lino Marini has given his attention largely to the assertion of ducal or viceregal power in Savoy and Naples against the claims of the Church and other divisive elements from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Marini's treatment of the same theme in Neapolitan history from 1646 to 1734 in this volume of essays and reviews published from 1953 to 1967 in Italian journals will interest students of European political and intellectual history in general. But Marini has at the same time given us five probing and thoroughly documented studies of Neapolitan civil, legal, and intellectual history for which the specialist can be grateful.

The opening and title essay examines the dual dependence of Naples on Rome and Vienna from 1707 to 1734, a period that saw the continuation of the exploitation of the South that Italian historians now contend characterized the period of Spanish rule. Neapolitan opposition fought efforts of Vienna to naturalize *stranieri* (and thus make them eligible for offices reserved to natives), and the attempts of Rome to give foreign clerics the enjoyment of Neapolitan benefices. Also at issue were Rome's efforts to extend to Naples the power of the excluded Holy Office, her attempt to censure Giannone's *Istoria civile* and, underlying all else, the feudal tie that since Norman times had linked Naples to Rome. Neapolitan anticurialism had its roots in the intellectual renewal that began around 1650 and that, during the period of Austrian dominion, was joined by the first traces in Naples of Masonry, Jansenism, and quietism. Marini demonstrates that this was primarily a political and not a religious conflict by pointing to ecclesiastics who joined the men of law and bourgeois intellectuals who were its major Neapolitan protagonists.

The other essays in this collection are devoted to the roots, content, and consequences of this clash. In the second essay, Marini examines the complex responses of such Neapolitans as the D'Andrea brothers, Pietro Di Fusco, Niccoló Caravita, and Giuseppe Valletta to Roman pressure in the second half of the seventeenth century. Drawing on the recent work of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Italian scholars, Marini suggests that the ideals of the men whom Nicola Badaloni has called the *nuova classe dirigente colta* were lay but not irreligious, dissatisfied but by no means revolutionary, and monarchical but hardly devoted to Spanish rule.

After two short review articles, Marini concludes with an illuminating essay on the efforts of Rome to put its hands on Giannone from 1723 to 1735. Marini delights in exposing the repeatedly inept yet undaunted efforts of the Holy Office and papal nuncios who, it seems, knew last of all where the object of their enmity was. But persevere they did, and they denied him haven in Vienna and in Venice and a score of other Italian cities. All they could not deny Giannone—and this is symbolized, as Marini notes, by the failure of the Holy Office to get his papers—was the conquest of Europe's best spirits. Gibbon and Voltaire would both boast of being *giannonisti*, and Montesquieu would soon call for a "civil history" of France. An appendix of documents supports this essay.

GEORGE R. F. BAKER
New York City

SALVO MASTELLONE. *Francesco d'Andrea, Politico e Giurista (1648–1698): L'Ascesa del Ceto Civile.* ("Il pensiero politico" Biblioteca, Number 1.) Florence: Casa Editrice Leo S. Olschki. 1969. Pp. 207. L. 3,000.

After 1815 the liberals of the Italian south were in a difficult position. Among other things they wanted to curb Bourbon absolutism, but they also wanted the Bourbon monarchy, on its part, to curb the power and privileges of the barons. And coming largely from the ranks of the lawyers of the south, many of them served (until they were dismissed as revolutionaries) in the Bourbon administration and magistracy.

Focusing on the Neapolitan advocate Francesco d'Andrea, the author of this book seeks to trace the rise of a class of public officials in the south under the Spaniards in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Besides wishing to limit the power of the barons in the interests of building up absolute power, the Spanish had an additional reason to crush the barons. Following the revolt of Messina in 1674, a French party among the barons called for Louis XIV to liberate Sicily and Naples from Spanish "despoliation and tyranny" and to supply them with a prince of his house; and, occupying Messina, Louis seemed ready to oblige them. As the barons—whose power in the south was enormous—resisted levies in money made upon them to meet the crisis, the Spanish moved to replace them in governmental and administrative posts with men from the "free profession" of law. D'Andrea, a leading lawyer of Naples, rose to defend the Spaniards against the Sun King, asking how he could represent "liberty" to the barons. He also emerged as the spokesman of the new class of public servants against baronial privileges.

This book is heavy on law, and the career of d'Andrea is not nearly adequately delineated. But there is much of interest in it. D'Andrea was, while a champion of monarchical power, also a champion of natural law and the rule of ability. A line runs, therefore, from him to figures of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment in the south.

DONALD A. LIMOLI
University of California, Santa Barbara

ANDREA CAIZZI. *Terra, vigneto e uomini nelle colline novaresi durante l'ultimo secolo.* ("Studi," Number 7.) Turin: Fondazione Luigi Einaudi. 1969. Pp. 202. L. 2,500.

This is an economic history of thirteen hill villages near Novara, Piedmont, from 1765 to date. It is an area of poor soils and small owner-operated holdings where the production of grapes for winemaking is the main source of farm income.

In the nineteenth century the small farmers of the area, lacking adequate technical and financial assistance as well as a strong cooperative movement, derived no benefit from the enlargement of their market brought about by the gradual unification of Italy. At the same time, like grape growers in other parts of Europe, the farmers were hard hit by the emergence of new diseases and parasites of grapevines. Nor were circumstances more favorable in the first half of this century.

Today the villages are witnessing a steady decline in the labor force as young people move to the cities and find work in nearby factories. The holdings survive, for the time being, as

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

small part-time farms without fully sharing in Italy's economic growth.

Mr. Caizzi has assembled with great skill an extraordinary amount of social and economic data on the area. He analyzes all available information with scholarly objectivity and with a keen understanding of the culture of rural societies. His work is a significant contribution not only to the history of Italian agriculture but also to our knowledge of the impact of change on small farm holdings.

VICTOR B. SULLAM
Washington, D.C.

B. R. LOPUKHOV. *Fashizm i rabochee dvizhenie v Italii, 1919–1929 gg.* [Fascism and the Working-Class Movement in Italy, 1919–1929]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1968. Pp. 413.

Few historians of Italian Fascism will read Lopukhov's book. This is a pity. Not because Lopukhov's volume contains any new information or interpretations not readily available in other recent Italian accounts of Fascism and the working-class movement. The student of these questions will learn immeasurably more in reading Roberto Vivarelli, Renzo de Felice, and Paolo Spriano, who approach the topic with a deeper knowledge of the sources and a greater flexibility of mind. But for historians who are acquainted with these works, Lopukhov's book will offer fascinating reading, in part because it represents a welcome effort at synthesis in a field that still escapes the all-encompassing grasp of the minds of the best historians. But even more so because it is fascinating to watch an intelligent and well-informed Soviet historian struggling to cram Fascism into his ready-made framework of historical explanation. It is something like a fat man trying to cram himself into a pair of slimly cut trousers. No matter how he tries there is always something bulging out, and one has the impression that the material is going to burst at any time.

Lopukhov's favorite word is "complicated." Everything he tells his readers—the social composition of Fascism, Mussolini's ideological stance, the internal situation in the Communist party, the relations of Fascism with the Church and the industrial bourgeoisie, the attitude of Croce toward the fascist regime—is more complicated than they thought. Lopukhov's conclusion takes the form of a tortured attempt to reconcile these complications with Marxist-Leninist theory. Fascism, he writes, though basically an attempt on the part of the middle and lower sectors of the bourgeoisie to seize control of the government and become the ruling class, had the "objective" result of strengthening the domination of "powerful monopolistic capital." On the other hand, in the process of delivering this not very convincing verdict, the author manages to suggest that the long-range historical significance of Fascism was the repudiation of the democratic values given birth to by the French Revolution. I should add that Lopukhov's narrative is followed by an interesting bibliographical essay, which ends with a brief survey of Soviet writings about Fascism.

ROBERT WOHL
University of California, Los Angeles

S. B. VESELOVSKII. *Issledovaniia po istorii klassa sluzhilykh zemlevladel'tseev* [Researches on the History of the Class of State-Serving Landowners]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Otdelenie Istorii, Arkhiv an SSSR.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1969. Pp. 582.

S. B. Veselovskii, the greatest expert on the history of feudalism in Russia, prepared this material in the 1930s. The author reached some unorthodox conclusions, which probably accounts for the delay in their publication.

Veselovskii contends that the boyar class had a progressive significance in Russian history. The prince of Moscow, because of the loyalty of his boyars, was able to become grand prince and to win out over the appanaged princes. The boyars were loyal to the prince of Moscow because of the system of *mestnichestvo,* which, Veselovskii contends, also had progressive significance. Each boyar family, as long as it remained personally loyal to the prince, had a secure place in the state administration and a landed estate. The author holds that from the fourteenth century on it was impossible for a boyar to continue to hold a landed estate (*votchina*) if he left the service of the prince. "Exit" was considered treachery and severely punished. Veselovskii declares that since there was no sense of fatherland before the sixteenth century, all

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

government had to be based on the personal, man-to-man tie between the prince and his servants. A talented boyar was not held back by slow promotion, but acquired the necessary military experience and ability to conform to the legitimate demands of his fellow boyars. Veselovskii bases these conclusions in large part on the study of the histories of twenty-eight boyar families. This work is probably the first significant contribution to the history of Russian feudalism since the work of N. P. Pavlov-Silvanskii at the turn of the century.

MARY KILBOURNE MATOSSIAN
University of Maryland

JOHN D. BERGAMINI. *The Tragic Dynasty: A History of the Romanovs.* New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1969. Pp. 512. $10.00.

Professor John Bergamini's book, consisting of an introduction and twenty chapters, contains personal characteristics and detailed biographies of Russian tsars, emperors, and grand dukes since 1613, with short glances at the contemporary political and cultural conditions. Chapter 10 describes St. Petersburg and its surroundings, and pages 20–27 give a description of the Moscow Kremlin. There are sixteen pages of illustrations, mostly portraits. A detailed genealogical table of the Romanovs follows the notes and a bibliography that contains neither primary nor secondary sources in Russian.

The author presents numerous quotations, but his manner of reference is as follows: "a distinguished Russian historian put it . . ." (p. 40); "a French visitor reported . . ." (p. 343); "as one astute observer realized . . ." (p. 353); "an ambassador declared . . ." (p. 394); and so on. The author's predilection for anonymity goes so far that he tells his readers that "one celebrated philosopher closely connected with the court committed suicide in politically motivated despair" under Nicholas I (p. 325). But who this "celebrated" philosopher was is not disclosed.

Being so secretive, the author can be very communicative in reporting love stories of the Romanovs and their hobbies; thus Grand Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich "was a dedicated gourmet who kept an immense collection of signed and annotated menus" (p. 374). In chapters 8–12 the author tells countless stories about "scandalous" female rulers in the eighteenth century. I am not inclined to present the two Catherines, Elizabeth, and Anna as models of virtue, but one should keep in mind that many stories concerning these ladies are based on reports of foreign diplomats who, especially in the eighteenth century, tended to include in their dispatches all kinds of rumors and anecdotes. Professor Bergamini pays especially close attention to Catherine II's "animal desires" and discusses eleven of her twenty lovers, but then admits: "Catherine's favorites were an essential part of her life but were really not an important factor of her reign" (p. 238). Indeed, only two persons on that eccentric list were historically important: Stanislaus Poniatowski, the future king of Poland, and Grigori Potemkin, the successful chief administrator and colonizer of the vast, newly acquired southern steppes. Most of the rest were merely Catherine's two-legged pets, kept for her amusement together with her four-legged pets in the back rooms of her palace.

Of equally trivial historic significance are the details of the various clans of the vast Romanov family given in chapters 12 and 13, where we learn who was whose first cousin, second cousin, or collateral cousin, and how they married, divorced, and arranged various love affairs.

The story of Nicholas, Alexandra, and Rasputin is told in chapters 18–20 as it has been told countless times already. I found in this book about a dozen factual errors—perhaps not over the average number encountered in other surveys of Russian history.

The book does have its positive features. Its narrative is clear and vivid, and the author does not share the view that "East minus West equals Zero." He recognizes that in the second half of the nineteenth and in the beginning of the twentieth century Russia revealed an intensive (even "fantastic") creativity in literature, the arts, and the sciences, and he finds both talented and competent people among the Romanovs. In general, however, the contents of the book and the author's method of handling historical sources would hardly satisfy serious students of Russian history.

SERGEI PUSHKAREV
New Haven, Connecticut

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRINCE M. M. SHCHERBATOV. *On the Corruption of Morals in Russia.* Edited and translated with an introduction and notes by A. LENTIN. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1969. Pp. xi, 338. $16.50.

Prince Mikhail Mikhailovich Shcherbatov (1733–90)—aristocrat, historian, politician, poet, translator, philosopher, publicist, and moralist—was one of those fascinating transitional figures between old Muscovy and the new Russia. His life-work of seven volumes, the *Russian History from Ancient Times* (1770–91), was unsuccessful, and no less a critic than Catherine the Great concluded that "his head was not fit for this work." On the other hand, the secretly written *Corruption of Morals* is a major document of Russian conservatism and the leading statement of the ideology of the old nobility. Surveying the history of Russia since the age of Peter the Great, it chronicles the poor decisions and weaknesses that led to "the ruination of all good morals" and suggests a few reforms and a few simple characteristics of leadership by which "this evil may be eradicated." Needless to say, in Shcherbatov's rectified society the "nobles will serve in various offices with a zeal proper to their calling; merchants will cease to aspire to be officers and noblemen; each will keep to his own class."

The polemic was not to be published in Shcherbatov's lifetime, and tsarist censorship prevented the appearance of an adequate edition until the end of the nineteenth century. The publication of the established text marks a major event for Russian historians who have too long relied on Karamzin and Pobedonostsev as the sources of Russian conservatism. Lentin provides facing Russian and English texts, extensive biographical and explanatory notes, useful appendixes, and a high-quality introductory essay.

One can quibble. Since the vituperative and spiteful manuscript can be dated (1787), it is unfortunate that Lentin fails to link its composition closely either to Shcherbatov's biography or to Russia's political history at that date. Many will be surprised to read that Shcherbatov's *Land of Ophir* was "unique in Russian literature as the first and only example of the 'utopian' novel." Lentin's emphasis on Shcherbatov's French education does not explain why he introduces the polemic with a classical analogy. One wonders why Lentin cites various older editions of Solov'ev and Kliuchevskii in the footnotes and only the Soviet re-publications in the bibliography. Vrublevskii's edition of the *Corruption of Morals* (St. Petersburg, 1906) is missing from the history of the text. It is unfortunate that Lentin did not correlate his complete bibliography of Shcherbatov's writings with the listing in the *Svodnyi katalog russkoi knigi XVIII veka* since there are discrepancies.

But these are minor matters. The important thing is the publication of a competent edition of this important text. It should be made available rapidly in a less expensive paper-bound format, for it would surely be adopted widely in Russian intellectual history courses.

MAX J. OKENFUSS
Washington University

TAMARA TALBOT RICE. *Elizabeth, Empress of Russia.* New York: Praeger Publishers. 1970. Pp. xvi, 231. $8.50.

Known for works in art history, Mrs. Talbot Rice has undertaken a primarily political biography. Her volume is valuable for drawing attention to a long-neglected period and personality. She has consulted some unpublished diplomatic dispatches, and thirty-six illustrations decorate her largely narrative account.

Despite these virtues, her book is seriously deficient in scholarship and presentation. Its prose is repetitive and, at times, sloppy. Its bibliography is pathetically sparse, the backnotes even more so. Significant studies in Russian by V. A. Bil'basov, B. N. Menshutkin, E. N. Shchepkin, and S. M. Troitskii are ignored, as are those in English by Herbert Kaplan, L. Jay Oliva, Hans Rogger, and Alexander Vucinich—to name only the obvious ones. The book is essentially a rehash of Kasimir M. Waliszewski and R. Nisbet Bain, the well-worn memoirs of Catherine II and of C. H. von Manstein, spiced with a dash of British and French diplomatic reports. Although the court intrigues and diplomatic maneuvers are sometimes retold with spirit, the reader remains ignorant of the social context in which Elizabeth lived. Indeed, the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

chapter on "Living Conditions in Elizabeth's Russia" is the worst in the book: full of undigested information, some of it erroneous (for example, that the nobility comprised seven per cent of the population, that Elizabeth "introduced" a poll tax), much of it clichés or lame deductions. The narrative is oddly structured, so that Elizabeth's last years receive only cursory examination. In fact the empress does not dominate her own biography. One gets little sense of her development and no comprehensive analysis of her personality. With the exception of Grand Duchess Catherine, the other figures of the story do not assume lifelike proportions either. Even the two chapters on the arts are skimpy. Several pictures and buildings discussed at length in the text are not illustrated, whereas other minor works are. Petty oversights abound: for example, Andrey Chernyshev is identified as one of Catherine's early Russian friends, while the "Biographical Notes" omit him but do mention Count Zakhari (*sic*) Chernyshev who, though absent in the text, is introduced here as "a rather better general than many of his contemporaries had supposed." Finally, the book is permeated by naively defensive pro-Russian, anti-French, and anti-German biases.

JOHN T. ALEXANDER
University of Kansas

ALAN W. FISHER. *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea, 1772–1783*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1970. Pp. xv, 179. $9.50.

The successor states of the Golden Horde have played an important role in Russian history. For a century Kazan was a thorn in Russia's flesh. The conquest of that Khanate and the subsequent acquisition of Astrakhan brought the entire course of the Volga under Muscovite dominion and opened the road to Sibir and beyond. The Crimea was another long-standing source of trouble. Founded in 1441, the Crimean Khanate posed a threat to southern Russia, forcing Moscow to maintain garrisons and fortified positions along a line south of the Oka. Later in the fifteenth century the Crimea became a vassal of the mighty Ottoman Empire, thus gaining protection against foreign foes and becoming even more of a danger to Russia.

The Crimea, unlike Kazan, Astrakhan, or Sibir, could not be conquered without attracting immediate hostile attention of other powers. Neither Ivan the Terrible nor his successors until Sofia would try to solve the Crimean question. Peter the Great realized that this issue would be settled elsewhere. Indeed, had it not been for his defeat on the Pruth, the Crimea might have been annexed in 1711 or shortly thereafter.

The Crimean problem was seen by Catherine II and her advisers in its larger Black Sea context. It was the gradual loss of power by the Ottomans that permitted Russia to impose upon Turkey in the Küçük-Kaynarca Treaty provisions granting "independence" to the Crimea. It was that same Ottoman weakness that permitted Russia to take over the peninsula and abolish the Khanate.

Alan W. Fisher's study is a welcome contribution to a growing literature on the history of the Russian Empire. The author has done impressive research in Russian sources and worked in Turkish archives as well. It is his command of Turkish, a language unknown to most Russian historians, that gives his work its distinctive character. Most histories of Russian expansion have been written by Russians or by foreigners working essentially from Russian sources. In the case of Kazan this may be inevitable, but not in the case of the Crimea, as Professor Fisher has demonstrated. He traces the stages of the conflict from the establishment of a puppet native regime to outright annexation of the peninsula. The most enlightening and valuable chapters are those dealing with internal developments, especially the brutal and incompetent rule of Şahin Giray, the rebellions against him, and the relations between the Crimeans and their former overlord Turkey. Fisher's contention that it was a mistake for Prozorovskii and Nolde to accept Şahin's argument concerning losses of revenue due to the emigration of the Christians is not convincing, however. Though Şahin had equalized taxes for Christians and non-Christians, he apparently continued to extract large amounts of cash from the former, causing the clergy to complain to the Russians (p. 102).

The work bears the marks of its origin in a Ph.D. dissertation. It is too short to deal

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

adequately with such an important theme. One wishes for more information, more detail, and more color. This only proves, however, that Professor Fisher has done an impressive piece of work. Perhaps he will some day return to this subject and produce a full-scale history of the annexation of the Crimea.

FIRUZ KAZEMZADEH
Yale University

MARGARETE WOLTERS. *Aussenpolitische Fragen vor der Vierten Duma: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des russischen Parteiwesens in der konstitutionellen Monarchie, insbesondere der Stellung zur Aussenpolitik während des Ersten Weltkrieges.* (Hamburger historische Studien, Number 1.) Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag. 1969. Pp. 253.

This study suggests that the Duma, contrary to the opinion held by many Russian history specialists, actually did have some influence over the conduct of Russian foreign policy. As might be expected, the Duma influenced foreign policy particularly at those times when the position of the government was weakened by setbacks at home or abroad, as during the internal unrest from 1905 to 1907, the Bosnian crisis of 1908–09, and the difficult and disappointing first year and a half of World War I. I. V. Bestuzhev first argued this point in a study published in 1961 concerning the period of Stolypin, when Russia's internal weakness and diplomatic and military impotence induced the government to seek support for its foreign policy from various groups in the Duma that represented the bourgeoisie, the professional intelligentsia, and liberal or nationalistic landowners. A similar situation arose during the first years of World War I, the period emphasized by Margarete Wolters in her study of foreign policy questions before the Fourth Duma.

The author brings out very well how the government's need of a broad basis of popular support in educated society led early in the war to the adoption of a line of foreign and nationality policy that satisfied the Kadets, Octobrists, and moderate nationalists rather than the rightists and right-wing nationalists in the Duma. Unfortunately, the usefulness of her study is impaired by its lack of focus on any one theme and by its rather light documentation. It is especially deficient in its use of newspapers, *Novoe Vremia* being the only one that is cited. This is a work, nonetheless, that illuminates the history of constitutional monarchy in Russia and even the political origins of the Russian Revolution. In consequence it can be read profitably together with the first volume of George Katkov's *Russia, 1917*.

EDWARD C. THADEN
University of Illinois, Chicago

LIONEL KOCHAN, editor. *The Jews in Soviet Russia since 1917*. New York: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Jewish Affairs, London. 1970. Pp. ix, 357. $7.95.

G. P. MAKAROVA. *Osushchestvlenie Leninskoi Natsional'noi Politiki v Pervye Gody Sovetskoi Vlasti (1917–1920 gg.)* [The Implementation of Leninist Minority Policy in the First Years of Soviet Rule (1917–1920)]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii SSSR.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1969. Pp. 266.

The history of Soviet nationality policy is one of the least understood and most contentious subjects in a generally murky and controversial field. Feelings on the subject run high, and the polemical literature greatly outnumbers the scholarly, though the former is often presented in the guise of the latter. Both books under review are markedly less polemical than most other works on the related subjects of Soviet Jews and Soviet nationality policy.

Not since the publication of Solomon Schwarz's monograph in the early 1950s has a book been published in English that treats the complex question of Soviet Jewry in as balanced, informative, and scholarly a way as *The Jews in Soviet Russia since 1917*, edited by Lionel Kochan. Fifteen chapters, written by scholars in the United Kingdom, Israel, and the United States, adequately cover all the major topics relevant to Soviet Jewry. The introduction by Leonard Schapiro identifies the factors that cause the Jews to be regarded as a special case among Soviet nationalities: the impact of antireligious and anti-Zionist propaganda, both of which have a "spillover" effect into anti-Semitism; the strong drive toward education exhibited by most Soviet Jews, which clashes with the regime's desire to prevent any

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nationality, except perhaps the Russian, from achieving disproportionate representation in higher education and in various elites; the "trauma resulting from the Nazi Holocaust" and the Soviet practice of denigrating or ignoring this searing historical and psychological experience. Schapiro argues that "the plight of the Jew is less the result of deliberate antisemitism, and more a consequence of general Soviet arbitrariness," though much of the evidence adduced by other authors in the book indicates that Jews do not enjoy the same rights as other Soviet nationalities. Schapiro's premise leads him to the conclusion that the position of the Jews in the USSR cannot improve unless there occurs a system-wide democratization, as in Yugoslavia or Czechoslovakia. This conclusion seems unwarranted, for it is possible to conceive of incremental ameliorative measures being taken by a Soviet regime while the political system as a whole remains fundamentally unchanged.

Shmuel Ettinger's superb essay on Jewish political and social life at the outbreak of the Revolution provides a vivid insight into the vitality and potential of the Russian Jewish community and places the present situation in meaningful perspective. The essays by Jack Miller and William Korey are valuable in explaining the status of Jews and Judaism in Bolshevik ideology and in Soviet law. Perhaps the most objective and original contribution is the extensive discussion of demographic trends and occupational patterns by Alec Nove and J. A. Newth. Statistics have been used by those who accuse the Soviet regime of anti-Semitism as well as by official Soviet spokesmen who stoutly deny the charge. In a restrained, sober, and generally very cautious examination of an impressive amount of the available evidence, Nove and Newth show where conscious discrimination does seem to exist but caution that "discrimination in various forms undoubtedly makes life difficult for many Jews in many walks of life, but its existence cannot be proved by any of the official statistics to which we have access." A nice balance to the dispassionate discussion of cold statistics is achieved by the inclusion of Chone Shmeruk's unsentimental, scholarly, but moving and revealing discussion of Yiddish literature in the USSR. Instead of merely treating this literature and its creators from a political perspective, Shmeruk pays them their due with a brilliant analysis of the literature per se. The undeniable element of tragedy in Soviet Jewish history is dramatically illustrated by Yehoshua Gilboa's discussion of Hebrew literature in the Soviet Union. As Hebrew is the only language officially proscribed in the USSR, the lot of Hebrew writers was persecution and suffering. As Abraham Kariv wrote, "Time passed and I never saw a printed Hebrew line. . . . Sometimes, when I was alone, writing a Hebrew poem, a strange doubt crept into my mind: am I not the man who invented this language out of his imagination?"

As in any anthology, the essays are of varying quality, but only a few of them, notably the contributions of S. Levenberg and Bernard Weinryb, serve no apparent purpose and would have strengthened this generally fine book by their omission.

One of the aspects of Soviet Jewish policy is indirectly illustrated by G. P. Makarova's monograph on Leninist nationality policy in the first three years of the Soviet regime. While the book is based largely on secondary works, Makarova is unable to cite even a single article on Soviet Jews in the period discussed. She conscientiously cites articles on the Turkestan, Lithuanian, and "Musulman" nationality commissariats established in 1918–19, but no article on the Jewish commissariat has been published in the USSR since the 1930s.

In general, this book is something of a puzzle. Published by "Nauka," which specializes in scholarly works, the book is based largely on recent secondary works—all Soviet—and collections of documents, with a few citations to archival material. The format is a sequential listing of facts and decrees concerning Lenin's position on the nationality question, the establishment of Soviet rule in the border regions, and military, economic, and cultural relations between the Russian republic on the one hand and the Baltic areas, Belorussia, the Ukraine, Transcaucasia, and Central Asia on the other. Although the reader may find some new and interesting facts, the picture is flat and one-dimensional. Issues, personalities, and conflict are ignored, and one gets no sense at all

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the kaleidoscope of nationality issues and the actors who fought over them in this formative period of the Soviet state. People like Stepan Shaumian or Mykola Skrypnyk remain mere names on lists of Bolsheviks active in nationality politics. It would seen then that the intended audience is not the popular one; but in the absence of much original research it is difficult to believe that the book is addressed to scholars. One interesting aspect of Makarova's work is her even-handed condemnation of "bourgeois nationalism" and "Great Russian chauvinism." She cites many examples of "errors, difficulties, and shortcomings" in the early years of Soviet Russia, particularly those connected with attempts to ignore national cultures and legal rights. Aside from the obligatory paeans to Lenin, the book is relatively free of cant. Its main use would seem to be as a convenient compilation of a selected variety of facts about the beginnings of Soviet nationality policy.

ZVI GITELMAN
University of Michigan

P. I. ERSHOV *et al.*, editors. *Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR* [Documents on the Foreign Policy of the USSR]. Volume 14, *1 ianvaria–31 dekabria 1931 G.* [January 1–December 31, 1931]. (Ministerstvo Inostrannykh Del SSSR, Komissiia po Izdaniiu Diplomaticheskikh Dokumentov pri MID SSSR.] Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoi Literatury. 1968. Pp. 871.

Scholars working in the area of Soviet diplomatic history will welcome this volume. It is a comprehensive, though incomplete, collection of Soviet foreign office documents for 1931. It was not the most pivotal year in the annals of Soviet foreign policy, but it was a significant year. Russia was moving toward the end of the first five-year plan. The economy of the USSR was beginning to burgeon in industrial production. Soviet foreign trade was expanding. This Soviet economic expansion was juxtaposed with a decline in the international economy of the outside world. On May 11, 1931, the Austrian banking firm of Credit-Anstalt was threatened with insolvency. This triggered a number of events in the world banking system. President Hoover proposed a one-year moratorium on intergovernmental debts. These international economic events had an indirect bearing on Soviet foreign policy. They helped to start a chain of events that contributed to bringing the relations of the West closer to the USSR.

A few months before the beginning of 1931 Maxim Litvinov took over the post of commissar of foreign affairs, a position he held for almost ten years. As 1931 was the year of the rise of the aggressors—notably Japan's invasion of Manchuria—Russia was much concerned about her stake in Asia and her relations with Japan. Moscow was also concerned with her relations with Poland—the treaty of 1932 was being negotiated. Moscow's relations with the Weimar Republic continued to receive much attention, though the Comintern was beginning to undermine this relationship by promoting a war on the German Social Democrats. German relations take as much share in this volume as the relations with any country. Documents on the relations with Poland, France, and Japan are almost equally as extensive. Most of the documents stress economic relations, although political relations are also widely treated. Unfortunately this volume does not publish archival materials of the Comintern. If it did we would have more insight into the dualism of Soviet foreign policy in 1931.

Four hundred and two documents are published in this volume, as well as statistical data on the foreign trade of the USSR for 1930 and 1931; it also contains an extensive appendix of footnotes and an index to the documents with cross references. Several of the documents have appeared in other publications like *Izvestiya,* but most of them are published here for the first time in a chronological order. Diplomatic notes from and to the Soviet foreign office and telegrams and other communications to and from Soviet diplomatic representatives abroad are conveniently presented. The documents are arranged in time sequence and are therefore helpful to scholars as reference points. The most helpful aspect of the volume to scholars is the extensive subject-matter indexes.

WILLIAM B. BALLIS
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEAR EAST

IRA M. LAPIDUS, editor. *Middle Eastern Cities: A Symposium on Ancient, Islamic, and Contemporary Middle Eastern Urbanism.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1969. Pp. xi, 206. $6.00.

Each of the seven papers published in this volume was presented in draft form at a conference on the problems of Middle Eastern urbanism held at Berkeley in 1966. Each was subsequently revised for publication in the light of the comments made by a panel of scholarly experts at the conference. The present volume is an exceptionally well-articulated symposium; appended to each paper are excerpts from the discussion that it prompted, and rounding them off are some concluding reflections by a member of the panel, Robert Adams.

The papers themselves are grouped chronologically into three parts, each prefaced by helpful introductory remarks from the editor. Part 1, "The Ancient Middle Eastern City" consists of a single paper by A. L. Oppenheim, who summarizes the findings made through the transliteration of some 1600 tablets from the Babylonian city of Sippar, dating from the nineteenth, eighteenth, and seventeenth centuries B.C. They concern legal and administrative matters affecting the economic interests of the upper middle class of the city and introduce the leitmotiv of this volume—the nature of urban-rural relations in the Middle East.

Part 2, "The Traditional Muslim City," includes three papers by scholars, who, coming from different disciplines, utilized different sources. Oleg Grabar's archeological study focuses on the evolution of the mosque and concludes that a radical change in urban life began about 1100. Instead of a few mosques, even in large cities, the number of mosques and other religious structures rapidly proliferated, apparently reflecting the political breakdown in the Islamic world and the fragmentation of religious allegiances, especially with the multiplication of Sufi brotherhoods. The editor's own paper, drawing on literary evidence, studies the period of radical change and concludes that traditional concepts of urban and rural societies as separate and antagonistic worlds require drastic revision. "Many 'cities' had rural components and villages had 'urban' features or were in fact small towns in all but name" (p. 67). S. D. Goitein, drawing on documents from the Cairo Geniza, offers an informative case study of details of life in the mixed Jewish, Muslim, and Coptic mercantile community of Old Cairo (Fustat) during the same period. He surmises that the inhabitants were devoted to free enterprise, for they had nothing resembling guild organizations. He also notes that the prevalence of ruined structures in the city probably resulted from a combination of low rents, high labor costs, and minutely subdivided ownership.

Part 3, "Contemporary Middle Eastern Cities," begins with an essay by Charles Issawi, pointing out that in the nineteenth century the cities expanding under the stimulus of Westernization were the ports rather than the inland centers, whereas since 1920 the latter have experienced the greatest growth in population, particularly capitals like Cairo, Tehran, and Baghdad. The result has been "over-urbanization," with the pace of growth of the big cities outstripping that of industrial development, a phenomenon that may be attributed to "administrative centralization and bureaucratization" (p. 117). John Gulick returns to the theme of city-village relationships, which he examines particularly in the light of his own anthropological studies of a village and of the city of Tripoli in Lebanon. Vigorously rejecting the idea of urban-rural polarization, he points out that, except for the urban elite, the two societies show many common features in kinship structure, size of household, predisposition to factionalism, attitudes toward religion and women, and the like. Janet Abu-Lughod examines twentieth-century Cairo particularly on the basis of census reports and takes issue with the notion that its "modern" citizens were born there, while their tradition-bound neighbors were immigrants from the provinces. There is, she argues, a strong traditionalist element among native Cairenes, perpetuated by the survival of preindustrial crafts. In the conclusion Professor Adams notes that another recurrent theme of the papers, in addition to the relations of city and countryside, is "the relatively weak development of unifying institutions

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

within the fabric of urban society" (p. 189), coupled with the sharp differentiations within Islamic cities "along ethnic, religious, social, or professional lines" (p. 188).

The problems facing the historian of Middle Eastern urbanism are complex: as Professor Grabar observes, the information available is "interdisciplinary to an almost frightening extent: archeology, epigraphy, traditional philology, art history, and virtually all branches of the social sciences are involved in its formulation" (p. 27). The authors of the seven papers have all applied their special skills to the resolution of the problems; in my judgment those who have succeeded best are Professors Grabar, Goitein, and Abu-Lughod.

JOHN B. CHRISTOPHER
University of Rochester

AFRICA

JOHN WATERBURY. *The Commander of the Faithful: The Moroccan Political Elite—A Study in Segmented Politics.* (The Modern Middle East Series, Volume 2. Sponsored by the Middle East Institute, Columbia University, New York.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1970. Pp. xvii, 367. $10.00.

This second volume in the Modern Middle East Series sponsored by the Middle East Institute of Columbia University is an informative and thoughtful study. Bearing the traces of a revised doctoral dissertation, the book nevertheless contains excellent insight into the sociopolitical machine of developing independent Morocco, and it is a worthy successor to Douglas Ashford's *Political Change in Morocco* (1961). It updates our knowledge, is loaded—perhaps overloaded—with detail, and in the end raises some serious questions as to what will happen to the third generation of the Moroccan elite and to Morocco itself, stuck in economic stagnation with its schools vomiting out more and more trained, restless people.

After a fairly traditional introductory examination of Morocco's two recent legacies, the Makhzan and the protectorate, the study picks up momentum and reader interest as Waterbury describes and analyzes the elite and its role. Particularly fascinating is the relationship between Hassan II and the various institutions in which the elite have a vital interest. Thus far, though not always with the maturity and technique of his beloved father, Muhammed V, Hassan II has held tightly onto the reins of almost absolute power, playing one sector of the elite against another.

If I interpret this serious monograph correctly, the next stage will be a difficult period in Morocco. In his final pages, Waterbury reaches out to suggest that this kind of research, which brings together the relationships of contemporary politics and social organization without becoming sidetracked on the structural-functional approach, could be used in studies of the Middle East. Like Jacques Berque, he is instantly aware of indigenous political behavior.

This is a good solid work, most important to the research scholar but usable in a more general context for the teacher of undergraduates and for those great masses in the universities at this time, ninety per cent of whom might be hard put to define the Maghrib or locate Morocco on the map.

RICHARD M. BRACE
Oakland University

NEHEMIA LEVTZION. *Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa: A Study of Islam in the Middle Volta Basin in the Pre-Colonial Period.* (Oxford Studies in African Affairs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1969. Pp. xxvi, 228. $7.00.

Among the several considerable contributions to our knowledge of West African Islam contained in this book, perhaps the most notable is Dr. Levtzion's portrayal of the diverse manner in which Islam has manifested itself in one small geographical area. The factors affecting the expression of Islam in any given place and time were manifold, ranging from the nature of the introduction of the religion to the sociopolitical structure of the host society. Islam was carried into the lands of the Middle Volta basin by alien merchants, by conquerors, and even by the companions of conquerors. The proponents of Islam found widely varying roles in the societies in which they lived. In Gonja, where Muslims participated in the founding of the state, they were fully integrated into the society, although relegated to a specific class, or estate according to Levtzion's terminology. In Mossiland

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the ruling estate for centuries staunchly resisted the influx of Islam on the official government level, primarily because of its animosity toward its long-time enemy to the north, the Muslim state of Songhai; yet the Mossi welcomed the Muslim Mande merchants, whose religious influence slowly penetrated Mossi social and political structures. The Ashanti would not allow the Muslim Hausa traders to enter their domains, yet Muslim scholars and teachers were to be found in Kumasi, even as retainers at court.

These and other of the various arrangements in which Muslims and non-Muslims lived and worked together were made possible by what Levtzion calls a "spirit of compromise." Muslims were willing to overlook practices that were not in accord with the tenets of their faith, while traditionalists either tolerated or absorbed aspects of the alien religion when it suited their needs or seemed useful to do so. In other words, in the examples here studied the puritanism of Islam and the exclusivism of traditional African religions were subsumed to the more tolerant and inclusive tendencies within both religious belief-systems. Levtzion, however, does not attribute these relatively tolerant religious attitudes to the teachings of religious leaders so much as to sociopolitical conditions that rendered cooperation and compromise beneficial to all parties. The spirit of compromise allowed Islam to spread. And that same spirit in part explains why in the dozen or so societies Levtzion discusses, he finds a dozen or so different forms or expressions of Islam—or perhaps, to be more precise, forms of religious expression. It is Levtzion's attention to local sociopolitical conditions and religious practices that distinguishes this book, for now most generalizations about Islam in West Africa are thrown into question, save those that emphasize its diversity and flexibility.

LOUIS BRENNER
Boston University

J. B. WEBSTER and A. A. BOAHEN, with a contribution by H. O. IDOWU. *History of West Africa: The Revolutionary Years—1815 to Independence*. New York: Praeger Publishers. 1970. Pp. xv, 333. Cloth $9.00, paper $3.50.

This is a first-class book, sensibly organized, clearly written, based on the latest scholarship, equipped with an up-to-date bibliography, properly focused on the West African peoples themselves, and lavishly and effectively illustrated with maps and photographs. Along with Michael Crowder's scholarly *West Africa under Colonial Rule* it provides evidence of the new kind of broad, mature synthesis that is taking place in modern West African history. The authors—a Canadian and two West Africans—are all active in the field as teachers and scholars.

The book deals with the revolutionary years in West Africa—1815 to independence. Why 1815 was selected, at least in the subtitle, as the start of this era is not at all clear. The authors do, however, correctly point to the major revolutionary influences: the jihadic and Muslim conquest movements throughout most of the nineteenth century that resulted in the widespread establishment of Islamic political and social institutions in the western Sudan; the change-over in the coastal states from an economy based on the slave trade to one based on such agricultural products as palm oil and later on cocoa; and the establishment of European colonial rule, which led to widespread though uncoordinated African resistance, and which stimulated African nationalism, leading ultimately to African independence. In discussing the rise of West African nationalism, the authors correctly point to the not negligible impact of black men and their Pan-African ideas from the Americas. But while taking into account external influences, the authors have steadfastly held West Africans at the center of the historical stage.

Understandably, the text is not entirely free from factual and other minor errors. The errors most frequently occur when the authors seek to incorporate relevant materials dealing with the Americas. Thus on page 70 we are told that "if the British Government did not free the [West Indian] slaves by decree [in 1834], they would soon seize their freedom by force." An admirable sentiment, but the evidence for it is hardly strong. On the same page we get the unhelpful statement that in Latin America "slavery was a preparation for becoming a full member of society. . . ." On page 280 we are told, wrongly, that "the first coloured American to achieve real prominence

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the United States was an educator, Booker T. Washington." Page 32 contains an example of an unexplained statement—we are told that succession disputes were few in Bornu, but we are not told why.

But enough of carping. This is basically an excellent book for which teachers and students of modern West African history ought to be grateful.

HOLLIS R. LYNCH
Columbia University

OBARO IKIMẸ. *Niger Delta Rivalry: Itsẹkiri-Urhobo Relations and the European Presence 1884–1936.* (Ibadan History Series.) [New York:] Humanities Press. 1969. Pp. xxi, 301. $10.00.

This is the third of Ibadan University's Ph.D. theses to be published in the Ibadan History Series, and like the others it can only reinforce the impression of the very high standard of the research being conducted at that institution.

Dr. Ikimẹ's study fills an important gap in our knowledge of the history of southern Nigeria. The fascinating ramifications of the political, commercial, and social history of the Niger delta peoples were first unveiled, and brilliantly so, by Kenneth Dike in his now famous *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta* (1956), and G. I. Jones's *Trading States of the Oil Rivers* (1963) added additional layers of complexity to Dike's pioneering study. Both these writers, and others including myself who have elaborated upon their ideas, tended to view the Niger delta almost exclusively from its eastern side, seeing the story as that of the relationships between Ijo, Ibibio, and Efik middlemen and the Ibo heartland behind them. Benin to the west has always fascinated historians, but it has never seemed to be quite a part of the Niger delta, mainly because in the nineteenth century the Itsẹkiri secured control of Benin's outlets to the sea.

The Itsẹkiri people occupy a coastal position analogous to that of the Ijo or Efik on the eastern delta and like them were at first fishermen, salt-panners, and traders in the mangrove area. Behind them, instead of the masses of the Ibo in the east, were the much smaller Urhobo agriculturalists, living in the shadow of Benin. The study of Itsẹkiri-Urhobo relations is a study of tension between mutually dependent groups, tension that became serious with the development of the slave trade and was greatly complicated by the imposition of British power after 1884.

The Itsẹkiri, like the Ijo and Efik, "knew" the British much better than their hinterland cousins, and their kings in the nineteenth century held the somewhat anomalous title "Governor of the River" after the arrival of British consuls. With the development of the British protectorate after 1884, Nana Olomu, the Itsẹkiri chief, played a role of legalistic resistance to British overlordship strikingly similar to that of King Ja Ja of Opobo in the east. In 1894 Nana was deposed by force and exiled, like Ja Ja before him, as a monopolist and enemy to progress. Thereafter the Itsẹkiri accepted their fate and became allies of the British in the "opening up" and administration of Urhoboland. After 1900, as British policy became increasingly wedded to indirect rule ideas, the Itsẹkiri began to be used extensively in Urhoboland as "native" court justices, court clerks, and then as warrant chiefs. The studies under way of the warrant chief system in Iboland have shown the vast unwisdom of those policies when Ibo was allowed to exploit Ibo; in Urhoboland the tensions were compounded by traditional hostilities and rivalries overlaid by new grounds for "tribal" hatreds.

In the 1930s, as they had done in the eastern area, the British began to see the folly of their ways and to introduce large-scale reforms of local administration based on much closer inquiry into the realities of African life and tradition. At the same time the growing fleet of motor-driven trucks and vans destroyed the transport monopoly of the coastal peoples. In the process the Itsẹkiri slowly lost their hold on the Urhobo. The tensions between the two peoples, however, did not cease with their separation and indeed became more formal and politically organized.

Dr. Ikimẹ is in fact a member of one of the two ethnic groups that he writes about, and it is a compliment to him that few readers will be able to guess which. At the time this book was written Nigeria was passing through the agony of the struggle with Biafra as ethnic loyalty erupted into bloody group warfare. The

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

kind of study that Dr. Ikime has produced is timely, and the depth and span that he brings to it give hope that Nigerians can solve their problems. History is, after all, the most "relevant" of all the muses.

J. E. FLINT
Dalhousie University

JOHN PETERSON. *Province of Freedom: A History of Sierra Leone, 1787–1870.* Evanston: Northwestern University Press. 1969. Pp. 354. $11.00.

JOHNSON U. J. ASIEGBU. *Slavery and the Politics of Liberation 1787–1861: A Study of Liberated African Emigration and British Anti-Slavery Policy.* [New York:] Africana Publishing Corporation. 1969. Pp. xvi, 321. $9.50.

The debate continues as to the relative balance of philanthropy and self-interest in the British campaign against the slave trade and slavery. The new books by members of the history department of Fourah Bay College step aside from this debate to discuss a related theme of what the British did with the blacks emancipated as a result of the campaign.

Both authors—Peterson more systematically than Asiegbu—go over familiar gound in tracing the evolution of British policy toward the black settlers of Sierra Leone. First in the process was the grandiose dream of Granville Sharp to create a "Province of Freedom" for them. Next came the futile efforts of the Sierra Leone Company to organize the Nova Scotians and the Maroons into a commercially productive settlement. These steps were followed by the chronic inability of the colonial administration to provide adequately for the welfare of the growing number of liberated Africans.

This failure can be explained in various ways. Asiegbu by implication questions the will of the administrators to tackle the problem: the British government, under pressure from West Indian interests and critical taxpayers, was often more ready to take away emancipated blacks as soldiers or indentured laborers to the West Indies than to provide for their welfare in Sierra Leone. He gives the first detailed account of the various schemes to make Sierra Leone and other depots of liberated Africans satisfy the labor shortage created in the West Indies by the Emancipation Act after 1838. He shows that the emigration schemes, which lasted from 1838 to 1861, were more important, more persistent, and more relevant to West African history than has so far been realized. By tracing in detail the arguments for and against the schemes and the extent to which the government was willing to ignore its antislavery principles to satisfy the West Indian lobby on this matter, Dr. Asiegbu has shown once again that the conventional view of the British antislavery movement needs to be revised. The dedication of a few leaders to the antislavery cause notwithstanding, the involvement of the British ruling class as a whole can, at best, be described as only halfhearted.

Professor John Peterson stresses among other causes of this failure the high rate of mortality and the consequent lack of continuity in the personnel and the policies of the colonial administration. The only time that a coherent policy emerged and something was achieved was under Governor MacCarthy, who had the unusual distinction of surviving as governor of Sierra Leone for ten years. He was generously supported by the British Treasury. The Church Missionary Society contracted to provide missionary personnel necessary for the paternal theocratic administration of the liberated African villages as outlined by MacCarthy. It is doubtful whether even at its best such an administration would have provided a virile, flourishing colony. In MacCarthy's days, most village superintendents were unable to give the required quality of leadership. After MacCarthy the system collapsed, and no adequate alternative was provided other than increasing pressure for enlistment, apprenticeship, and emigration.

Peterson argues persuasively that it was this very failure of the colonial administration to provide adequately for the welfare of the black settlers that threw them on their own resources and saved them from the cultural suffocation of MacCarthyite theocracy. The settlers organized themselves into ethnic unions under headmen appointed for qualities of leadership and operating as village elders in the traditional political systems. In this way they maintained law and order more effectively than the colonial system could have done. And to resolve intraethnic conflicts, they set up

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

councils of the various headmen. They revived traditional mutual aid organizations, secret societies, and other economic and cultural associations. They created for themselves, in their own way, their "Province of Freedom." The colonial administration was basically hostile, particularly to the non-Christian elements and the insubordination inherent in these manifestations of independence. Yet they welcomed the tremendous contribution of these organizations to the maintenance of law and order and consequent economic progress. They came officially to recognize and to some extent to regulate them. Thus, the liberated Africans emerged as organized Afro-European communities with a distinctive language and culture of their own, partly assimilated to European culture, but well rooted in the African culture of the towns and villages from which they originated. His analysis of the African roots of this Creole culture can be sharpened here and there, but he has written an excellent introduction to the social history of Sierra Leone.

J. F. ADE AJAYI
Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, California

RICHARD GRAY and DAVID BIRMINGHAM, editors. *Pre-Colonial African Trade: Essays on Trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. 308. $7.00.

This very interesting collection of essays markedly increases our knowledge of precolonial African economic history, and it raises enough questions of fact or theory to keep occupied a generation of graduate students. The introduction by Gray and Birmingham takes issue with previously accepted views, especially Jan Vansina's rigid twofold classification of African economic systems as local subsistence economies or market economies based on long-distance trade. The editors suggest instead a continuum of which one end is a subsistence economy based on kinship ties with no real economic decision making or innovation; then come various intermediate stages of specialization, markets, and trading, with international trade and a complete market economy at the other end. The essays here provide much evidence of the varieties of economic activity existing in precolonial times. Joseph Miller destroys at least one cliché of African history—the necessary association of centralized political control with long-distance trading—in pointing out that the growth of Cokwe trade in ivory and slaves in the nineteenth-century Congo destroyed the Lunda empire.

John Lamphear writing on the Kamba and Andrew Roberts on the Nyamwesi emphasize the important role played by tribal groups in the interior in developing long-distance trade to the coast; in these two instances, among others, it is clearly not coastal groups or Europeans who take the initiative but interior peoples trying to move outside their own restricted regions. The pre-eminence of slaves and ivory as trading commodities is challenged, and the trade in iron and salt is emphasized instead. The vital importance of manpower is also stressed.

The papers cover a very wide range, Brian Fagan using archeological evidence from Zambia and M. Abir covering a period of centuries in southern Ethiopia; it is thus difficult to compare their findings very rigorously or to reach definitive conclusions. Nor, indeed, do the papers restrict themselves to economic questions; the concern of most of the authors is essentially social history. Much of their evidence comes from well-known sources reevaluated, and several accounts are models of the way in which the diaries of explorers and missionaries can yield new and unusual material. The papers lead to speculation on many topics: the role of women in trading, here documented among the Kamba; the importance in modernizing the economy of an all-purpose currency; the uses to which economic surplus was put, and whether it did have any real effect on standards of living; and the tantalizing problem of discovering what gave some societies the first impetus to move toward a market economy. It is hoped that this volume marks the first step in much more extensive and serious work in precolonial African economic history.

MARGARET L. BATES
Smith College

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ASIA AND THE EAST

PARSHOTAM MEHRA. *The Younghusband Expedition: An Interpretation.* With a foreword by SIR OLAF CAROE. New York: Asia Publishing House. 1968. Pp. xxi, 408. $14.00.

DOROTHY WOODMAN. *Himalayan Frontiers: A Political Review of British, Chinese, Indian and Russian Rivalries.* New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1969. Pp. xii, 423. $12.50.

It should be said at the outset that the two volumes here reviewed complement each other quite well. Dr. Mehra's detailed and meticulous study of the background of the controversial Younghusband expedition to Tibet in 1903 and 1904 provides important background to a crucial portion of the Sino-Indian conflict over the Himalayan borders that led to overt fighting between India and China in 1962. Dorothy Woodman's study, by contrast, focuses attention on the Simla Conference of 1913–14 and its even more controversial convention by which the McMahon Line was created and on the development of the rivalry over the Himalayan borders since that date. Mrs. Woodman's volume has not only a more contemporary emphasis than does Dr. Mehra's study, but also it is more wide ranging and broadly based. Dr. Mehra is concerned with explication of the events that led up to Younghusband's incursion into Tibet, whereas *Himalayan Frontiers* examines all aspects of India's northern border from the Hindu Kush far to the East to Rima, near the Burmese border. Finally, Dr. Mehra's study is eminently the work of the professional historian and is an excellent historical study, while Mrs. Woodman's volume shows the hallmarks of the geopolitical approach of a political geographer.

One of the special virtues of the historical study given us by Dr. Mehra is his careful explication of the personality, outlook, policy preferences, and prejudices of the major actors: Curzon, Younghusband, Lord George Hamilton, Broderick, and others. Moreover, he has shown how Curzon elaborated his imperialist view of India's frontier policy in respect of Persia and Afghanistan even before he turned his imperious attention to Tibet. He also places the issue of Curzon's Tibetan policy squarely in the larger, but essential, context of British foreign policy and imperial interests on the broad world canvas. His only failure in this respect would seem to me to be that he neglects to pay sufficient attention to the concurrent efforts that the cabinet had initiated for an understanding and settlement with Russia after 1901 but before Younghusband and his expedition entered Tibet. One of the reasons for cabinet opposition to Younghusband's behavior after his arrival in Lhasa, apart from the fact that he disobeyed their instructions, was that accord with Russia was on foot and did not need to be upset by rash actions in one corner of the far-flung imperial frontiers.

Mehra is at his best in his explication of the views and objectives of the major actors; Miss Woodman excels in laying out the strategic, geographical, and political considerations that led to controversies over borders and passes and, finally, in 1962 to military operations of no mean character. In this connection her evaluation of the role of the late Prime Minister Nehru in formulating and implementing a policy to protect India's northern borders is not at all commendatory. In her view, Nehru was dangerously unrealistic and idealistic in his dealings with China and was inept in his strategy as well. She does, however, make very clear the fact that major portions of the Himalayan boundry regions claimed by India after 1947 had been only fitfully and inadequately claimed, occupied, and/or administered by the Raj prior to 1947. Given the nature of the terrain, this should come as no surprise.

Both volumes are based upon solid and careful research and both are very well documented. Both have useful appendixes and valuable bibliographies. Several of the maps in Mrs. Woodman's book are, I regret to say, not at all easy to read; they have been too much reduced in photocopying. Nonetheless, it is a pleasure to recommend both volumes as important studies of India's border regions.

ROBERT I. CRANE
Syracuse University

MILTON E. OSBORNE. *The French Presence in Cochinchina and Cambodia: Rule and Response (1859–1905).* Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1969. Pp. xvi, 379. $9.50.

Using a wide range of English, French, Cambodian, and Vietnamese archival materials, supplemented by personal interviews, Osborne

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

describes the beginnings of French rule and native response in Cochin China and Cambodia. His work is more than a history of conquest; it is an analysis of the French impact on southern Indochina in all its political, economic, and cultural ramifications and therefore is of interest to political scientists and sociologists as well as historians.

A long section of the book deals with the establishment of colonial administration and the attempt at cultural assimilation in Cochin China. Perhaps the most significant theme of these chapters on Cochin China is the contradiction in French goals. The achievement of political predominance, which required the subordination of the Vietnamese to the French, was incompatible with, and thus prejudiced, assimilation, the logical end of which would have been equality of the Vietnamese with the French. By 1905 the French had established a firm and permanent control of Cochin China but had assimilated only a very small minority of Vietnamese, many of whom embraced French ways simply for personal, material reasons.

Another major part of the book is devoted to a study of the protectorate in Cambodia. Here the French recognized that preservation of the traditional monarchical system enabled them to maintain a political predominance in the country without having to conquer and administer it themselves. To achieve the subservience of the monarchy, however, was exceedingly difficult because of the independent ways of King Norodom. The king, who had a long reign of forty years, much to the dismay of the French, shrewdly tried to trade his support of the French for concessions that would have permitted him to retain some independence in domestic affairs. Osborne suggests that the French handled Norodom very well. Aware that Norodom needed their protection from Siam and Vietnam, his predatory neighbors, as well as from jealous and ambitious rivals at home, the French refused to bargain with him. They gradually deprived him of the substance of power, and by the end of his reign in 1904 he was no more than a figurehead sovereign. But in allowing him the appearance of authority, which they considered a sufficient compensation to him for his allegiance to them, the French strengthened the symbolism of the monarchy, assuring its survival into the twentieth century and its ability to continue to serve the interests of France.

A final section of the book contains the author's conclusions, which are mostly summary and recapitulation of descriptive detail presented abundantly in the earlier sections. His statement that "the ultimate failure of France to live up to its own proclaimed standards led to the reaction of bitter opposition to French rule" is a disappointing answer to the central question that his study has raised: did the protectorate in Cambodia, where traditional forms were preserved, cause less native friction with and antagonism toward the French than the administrative apparatus in Cochin China where there was an attempt to force cultural change?

MINTON F. GOLDMAN
Northeastern University

DONALD C. LORD. *Mo Bradley and Thailand.* (Christian World Mission Book.) Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 1969. Pp. 227. $3.95.

DAVID K. WYATT. *The Politics of Reform in Thailand: Education in the Reign of King Chulalongkorn.* (Yale Southeast Asia Studies, Number 4.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1969. Pp. xix, 425. $11.00.

That Dan Beach Bradley was called "mo," the Thai word for medical doctor, is a clear indication of the nonreligious nature of the success of the Christian missions in Thailand, Catholic and Protestant alike. A sympathetic portrait of Bradley, the influential missionary responsible for so many "firsts" in nineteenth-century Thailand, emerges from Donald C. Lord's examination of numerous mission records and private papers, but judging even from the bits of the Bradley journals quoted in his work one has the impression that the good missionary was a man of more complex character than Lord allows. The almost superhuman standard the missionaries set for their public as well as private lives, their tactlessness in expressing the superiority of their beliefs—for example, that Buddha is in hell—must have made them very difficult guests at times, and as the author points out, the Thais deserved much credit for getting as much, and only as much, as they wanted out of such a fiery group of teachers.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A much larger work, *The Politics of Reform in Thailand: Education in the Reign of King Chulalongkorn*, also endorses the view that in spite of the presence of a large number of Western "advisers," the final policy-making decisions during this critical period of Thai history remained with the Thais. Professor Wyatt is the first Western scholar to have made full use of Thai archival materials, and his exhaustive bibliography of works published in Thai will prove a gold mine for any serious student of nineteenth-century Thailand. Educational reform was the clearest illustration of modernization imposed upon the country from above and indicative of King Chulalongkorn's reform policy as a whole. The problems of internal politics, which resulted in the uneven tempo of reform measures, are carefully worked out, and Professor Wyatt's analysis supports King Chulalongkorn's explanations of this uneven pace—lack of trained men and fear of loosing Thai-ness in the rapid process of modernization. It is a pity that with the vast materials at his disposal and his remarkable knowledge of politics and personalities of the period the author has not given his view on another theory that has been advanced as a reason for the slack period between 1875, when the king attained his majority and came into full control of his inheritance, and the late 1890s when the reform movement picked up new life. Members of the former Young Siam party, which had helped wrest power from the old regent in the early 1870s, accused the king, in language of deceptive humility as demanded by the court, of sitting pretty once his objective —the consolidation of the power of the monarchy—had been obtained. Wyatt merely describes this challenge from a group of young princes and officials to whom the king had given his two explanations as "treasonable." The history of the educational reform, which gained momentum only after years of indecisiveness when the king decided to take a more personal interest in 1898, would lend support to these hotheads' argument that the key to the reform movement rested entirely with the king.

NEON SNIDVONGS
Thammasat University, Bangkok

AMERICAS

PHILIP L. BARBOUR. *Pocahontas and Her World: A Chronicle of America's First Settlement, in which Is Related the Story of the Indians and the Englishmen—Particularly Captain John Smith, Captain Samuel Argall, and Master John Rolfe.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1970. Pp. xx, 320. $6.95.

Pocahontas, John Smith's "savior" and John Rolfe's wife, whose life spanned the formative period of the Jamestown colony, died in London in 1617 when she was perhaps twenty-one. Barbour, an authority on Jamestown's limited sources, has diligently utilized them and uncovered new bits of information to round out our understanding of this English plantation. The three white men in Pocahontas' life—Smith, Rolfe, and Argall—are perceptively depicted; and the author's characterization of less well-known Captain Samuel Argall, who contrived to capture Pocahontas, is particularly informative.

Barbour's *raison-d'être* for his book "is an attempt to present the Pocahontas of history" and to consider her "as a child of the forest." He has set himself a formidable task, because the information on young Pocahontas is scanty. Though Barbour draws on anthropological studies, he has not used these as effectively as his other sources. He maintains, perhaps correctly, that Powhatan's ambition and the Europeans' appearance in the Chesapeake Bay were responsible for formation of the Powhatan Confederacy. This ignores Nancy Lurie's equally plausible thesis that this Confederacy came into being to protect the Virginia Algonquins from Indians west of the fall line. Whether Powhatan was more intimidated by the several hundred, frequently starving, white adults in Virginia during Pocahontas' lifetime or by Indian neighbors, numbering in the thousands, is yet unresolved. The more fundamental difficulty in putting Pocahontas into historical perspective is whether Powhatan considered her marriage the heart of the English alliance, and whether he was more attached to Pocahontas than to his presumably numerous other daughters.

But Barbour has written a valuable book. From the vantage point of the major participants the reader gets lively vignettes of early Jamestown. Barbour describes the cosmopolitan

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nature of this colony better than anyone else. Woodward's recent work on Pocahontas portrays her more realistically as an Indian, but when dealing with the early voyages, international rivalries, and the Indian "princess'" visit to England Barbour's mature scholarship is at its best. Despite the author's considerable efforts, however, Pocahontas remains obscure, and until the archeologists and ethnohistorians come to the rescue, this is likely to be her fate.

J. LEITCH WRIGHT, JR.
Florida State University

MAYNARD GEIGER, O.F.M. *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 1769–1848: A Biographical Dictionary*. San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1969. Pp. xiv, 304. $12.50.

Until recently historians diagnosed the violent abdominal seizures suffered by Fathers Carnicer, Ciprés, and Martín as poisoning by Indians. Newly discovered evidence shows that they poisoned themselves quite unintentionally on that December day in 1800. The real culprit was the rotgut mescal they drank from a copper pot.

This relatively minor revelation points up two of the book's truly major contributions. First, the wealth of new material, and second, the author's success in rendering California's much fabled padres as flesh-and-blood human beings. For a quarter century Father Maynard, archivist at Mission Santa Barbara and chief historical detective for the Serra cause, has traveled, gathered data, and written on behalf of his Franciscan predecessors. His present work, a fitting bicentennial tribute, brings together his own findings and politely updates those of Bancroft, Engelhardt, and others.

One hundred forty-two resident missionaries and nine visitors, from the dogged forty-four-year veteran Abella to the resourceful grape grower Zalvidea, pass in review. Their biographies vary in length from a paragraph (Solá) to eight pages (González Rubio). "All tried," says Father Maynard, "and a few failed." He makes no effort to gloss over the failures. About Pedro de la Cueva he writes: "less edifying than his hospitality and devotion to duty . . . from 1804 until 1808, drink was his consuming vice." The few included mental cases (Catalán, Gilí, Merino, Rubí), hypochondriacs (Baldomero López), and in the trying years of the nineteenth century alleged fornicators (Ordaz, the Suárez del Real brothers, Vázquez del Mercado). Some hated California, its fog, its earthquakes, its people. Hilario Torrent wept. Father Espí made everyone around him miserable, yet when transferred to Cuba earned local fame as a saint.

A handy twelve-page listing of all the friars with their vital statistics and a glossary are appended. Because so much significant information cuts across the biographies—for example, the friars' varied reactions to Mexican loyalty oaths—an index should have been provided.

The author is first to admit that this is not the last word. Rather it is a challenge, "a starting point": here is a research tool, now use it, build upon it. It is more. As California staggers under today's burdens, Father Maynard has struck a blow for the "relevance" of the Hispanic past. Governor Reagan, in fact, might well ponder the advice of Father Vázquez—do not advertise, lest immigrants overrun the country!

JOHN L. KESSELL
University of New Mexico

MARTIN H. BUSH. *Revolutionary Enigma: A Re-Appraisal of General Philip Schuyler of New York*. (Empire State Historical Publications Series, Number 80.) Port Washington, N. Y.: Ira J. Friedman. 1969. Pp. xiv, 205. $8.75.

Philip Schuyler's contributions to the American Revolution have long been ignored or misunderstood by historians. The neglect is difficult to understand. As a leading member of the New York aristocracy, a tenant landlord, merchant, political figure, and operator of a large estate, his social and economic position was secure. When the war began in 1775 the Second Continental Congress commissioned him a major general and assigned him command of the northern department. In that capacity he directed the abortive invasion of Canada in 1775, held off the British invasion in 1776, and ably conducted the Saratoga campaign until Congress replaced him with Horatio Gates on August 19, 1777. In addition, Schuyler was Indian commissioner, delegate to Congress, and the driving force behind a large and effective logistical organization.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If Mr. Bush had confined his research and writing to telling the story from the documents, this could have been a significant and useful book. Instead, he has tried to write a revisionist account without clearly stating the errors and misconceptions that he is trying to correct. Statements such as "historians say" are meaningless. Furthermore, in an effort to add spice to the story, he has relied on the gossip of William Smith, an admitted Tory, to state that Schuyler was a "fainthearted patriot."

Although Mr. Bush's bibliography looks impressive on paper, he has not used it well. For example, he cites the New York Public Library letter book only to July 3, 1777, but it does not end until 1778. This makes impossible a realistic presentation of the Burgoyne invasion and the battle of Oriskany. Furthermore, he cites materials from the American Antiquarian Society but does not refer to the key Schuyler letter book in that collection. These shortcomings are difficult to understand, because in 1961–62 Mr. Bush collected copies of the twenty-two thousand Schuyler documents that I am editing for publication. More careful use of the manuscripts, instead of secondary accounts, would have given Mr. Bush a better case for his interpretation of Schuyler.

For attempting to tell the Schuyler story, Mr. Bush is to be commended, but his sometimes bombastic approach, uncritical use of sources, and lack of perspective in relating Schuyler to the over-all scene should make the reader or researcher wary of the book.

EUGENE F. KRAMER
Office of State History, Albany, New York

GEORGE ATHAN BILLIAS, editor. *George Washington's Opponents: British Generals and Admirals in the American Revolution.* (Apollo Editions.) New York: William Morrow and Company. 1969. Pp. xxvii, 362. $2.95.

This book was conceived as a companion volume to *George Washington's Generals,* also edited by Mr. Billias, and contains ten essays of commendably high quality. Of the ten, six are about generals—Gage, Howe, Clinton, Carleton, Burgoyne, and Cornwallis—and four are about admirals—Lord Howe, Arbuthnot, Gambier, Thomas Graves, Hood, and Rodney. While we already know a great deal about these officers and only little that is original appears, there is a certain amount of revisionism, some important insight, and significant confirmation of earlier judgments. Moreover, though specific campaigns and battles associated with the subjects are given due attention, the essays are also concerned with political and strategic questions, problems of logistics and communication, and analyses of personality and character. Extensive footnotes together with brief, annotated bibliographies are given with each essay.

These essays underscore factors important to an understanding of what happened and why. One factor of general agreement among the essayists is that the British military and naval leaders did not appreciate the nature of the war. Nor did the ministry itself, which was responsible for their selection. In the beginning, before loyalties became too deeply and irrevocably committed, the prompt and intelligent application of military force might have terminated the rebellion. Certainly, as Maldwyn A. Jones points out in his essay on Howe, there were opportunities to capture or destroy American armies—at Long Island, White Plains, and in New Jersey in 1776. Mismanagement, leisurely movement, and conventional military attitudes helped save the American cause.

A second factor, amply demonstrated, especially in John Shy's essay on Gage, Mr. Jones's on Howe, Paul H. Smith's on Carleton, and William B. Willcox's single essay on Arbuthnot, Gambier, and Graves, was the extreme conservatism of most of these British military leaders. They conducted war well within the conventions of their age, preferring not to take risks: for example, Carleton not chancing the siege of Ticonderoga, Howe refusing to press the attack on the defeated American army at Brooklyn Heights, Arbuthnot declining to help Clinton seize Rhode Island again before de Ternay and Rochambeau arrived, Graves employing conventional tactics when de Grasse's ships were streaming in poor order out of the Chesapeake to engage him. The one admiral consistently aggressive, Hood, was kept in a subordinate role, while generals who showed dash and imagination, such as Burgoyne and Cornwallis, became victims in part of their own misjudgment and of misunder-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

standings and differences with their superiors. The essays by Mr. Willcox and Mr. Smith are remarkably perceptive on this factor of conservatism.

A third factor, lucidly illustrated in the editor's essay on Burgoyne and Mr. Willcox's essays on Clinton and his naval trio, was the large amount of strategic confusion and difficulty in cooperation. The British had no clear, over-all strategy for winning the war; their commanders were often at odds, and, except for the period of the Howe brothers, cooperation between army and navy was scarcely harmonious or effective.

A fourth factor—and here the Cornwallis essay by Hugh F. Rankin is very discerning—was the British reliance on Loyalist support, which was greatly overestimated in advance. This was especially true of the Southern campaigns. Loyalists were too intimidated or too apathetic to turn out, particularly following the King's Mountain disaster.

All of these factors were serious enough before France entered the war; afterward they were almost insuperable obstacles to a British victory. But, as Mr. Billias observes in his introduction, it was not British mistakes alone but the American ability to take advantage of them as well that enabled the patriots to remain in the field until French assistance arrived.

WILLARD M. WALLACE
Wesleyan University

ROBERT J. TAYLOR, editor. *The Susquehannah Company Papers.* Volume 7, *1776–1784;* Volume 8, *1784–1786;* Volume 9, *1787–1788.* (Sheldon Reynolds Memorial Publications.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press for Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. 1969; 1969; 1970. Pp. xxxix, 481; xxxix, 451; xlv, 570. $15.00; $15.00; $20.00.

These three volumes are a further step toward the completion of the ambitious project of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, which will produce twelve volumes of the papers and records of the Susquehannah Company. These papers and records are the sources for the history of that Connecticut-based land and settlement company and its sponsorship of a large-scale migration of New Englanders into northeastern Pennsylvania to occupy lands claimed under Connecticut's original charter. The project was initiated when Julian P. Boyd, director of the society at Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, recognized the value of these papers as an unusually full record of a land company's directed plan for westward expansion in colonial days. Four volumes were edited by Dr. Boyd and contained material covering the period from 1750 through 1772. Publication of the series was resumed, much to the credit of the society for persevering in so ambitious a project, and with the aid of a grant from the National Historical Publications Commission, under the editorship of Dr. Robert Taylor, associate professor of history at Tufts University. The history was picked up in 1772 and with volume 9 is continued through 1788.

It may be worth repeating the point I made in an earlier review of the preceding two volumes. This entire project is most unusual for a local historical society because it is an enterprise of such scope and deals with what a few decades ago many historians probably would have dismissed as local history. It does, of course, represent in the eyes of historians of today much more than local history. The project explains the organization and operations of a major early land company and is a chapter in early westward expansion. In addition it provides information on a boundary dispute that early challenged Congress to seek a national solution to such problems. The society deserves great praise for supporting such a project at considerable expense. Cornell University Press should be congratulated for undertaking publication and producing a series of excellent volumes of source material.

The three volumes here under consideration are as well edited as those that preceded them. The content is the usual mixture of key documents and significant correspondence. The seventh volume covers the period of the American Revolution and will be of great interest to researchers and writers dealing with that era during the forthcoming bicentennial. It includes the story of the battle of Wyoming and the early dispute over the Connecticut claims. In volume 8 the story is carried forward another two years, to 1786, and the relationship of the Susquehannah Company claim to the larger question of land cessions made to the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

new United States is documented. One of many fascinating letters is the offer of none other than Ethan Allen to "speedily repair to Wyoming with a small detachment of Green Mountain Boys" to vindicate the Connecticut claims. This was late in 1785 and points up how a limited civil war could have been a product of the dispute over land claims. Indeed there was local war going on in this beautiful valley, and it demanded restraint by the new national government.

The events reviewed in volume 8 assume a greater significance when one sees them in the context of contemporary arguments for and against establishing a sound base for a stronger central government. Volume 9 (1787–88), one of the largest in the series, continues the story of the boundary conflict. It deals mainly with the efforts of Timothy Pickering to persuade the Connecticut settlers to accept Pennsylvania government along with the confirmation of their land titles, which were a very important part of the boundary settlement. The threat of further violence and separatism is brought out in the recording of the somewhat conspiratorial operations of the opponents of Pickering, who were accused of plotting the creation of a new state in defiance of Congress. They were led by John Franklin, who spent several months in solitary confinement in irons in a Philadelphia prison for his efforts. This is a neglected chapter in the history of the early struggles to form "a more perfect union" and should in itself direct the attention of any historian of the era to this particular volume and the one that precedes it.

S. K. STEVENS
Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission

PAUL S. CLARKSON and R. SAMUEL JETT. *Luther Martin of Maryland.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1970. Pp. ix, 336. $12.00.

At a moment in our history when a Supreme Court justice has again come under threat of impeachment by the congressional leadership of a political party, this biography of Luther Martin has, among other qualities, a certain timeliness. It is more than likely, however, that timing figured little in the publication plans of the authors, whose work appears after an investment of twenty-five years in research on their subject. Indeed they might fairly describe their book as a labor of love rather than a tract for the times. Certainly they deserve credit for producing the first comprehensive account of a fascinating personage who during his life surfaced to major national concerns three times: first as delegate from Maryland to the Constitutional Convention, then as counsel for the defense in a pair of the most famous trials in our early history—the Aaron Burr treason case and the impeachment of Supreme Court Justice Samuel Chase.

Quite properly the authors have allocated the most space—twelve out of twenty-seven chapters—to these three episodes. Aside from their importance as pages in our national history, the documentation for them is fullest and Martin's role in each most clearly delineated. For other years of his career the kind of evidence biographers ideally desire is scarce enough that the few who have been tempted to write the full life have given up the job. Never as methodical as lawyers are thought to be, Martin left no cache of personal papers that reveal the man and the workings of his mind. Accordingly the authors have leaned on his apologia, *Modern Gratitude,* for personal touches and on the public records for the rest. The lack of ready and plentiful sources means that Martin presents difficulties as a biographical victim, difficulties that are compounded by a political career of forty years in the unexciting post of attorney general of Maryland. Lawsuits hold few thrills, even those as significant as the Calvert entail and the British debt cases.

Happily, then, the authors have elected to write a straightforward, factual account without resorting to elaborate psychoanalysis. But it is a pity that, in obvious admiration for their subject, they have felt compelled to explain away Martin's inconsistencies and to traduce his opponents. This special pleading contributes little to the reader's understanding and in the discussion of the Logan-Cresap affair becomes positively misleading. There is room for a range of interpretations of this complex, enigmatic personality who was a bundle of incongruous characteristics: learned, lovable, forceful, drunken, at times gamey, at others passionate, and occasionally cranky. On

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the authors' showing, Martin had an indefinable genius, not of the first order as a Hamilton or Marshall but of a kind that moved Chief Justice Taney to place him first among the great men of the bar and impelled Justice Story to warn a friend, "You should hear of Luther Martin's fame from those who have known him long and intimately, but you should not see him."

As to his "principles"—such would have been the expression in his day—Martin himself had something to say, particularly about his shift from articulate opponent of the Constitution to outspoken Federalist. His statement sounds a note common to utterances of public men as they sorted themselves into congenial groupings within the new national political context. His exact words ("I *am now* and I *unchangeably have been*, a friend to liberty; but—") might have fallen from the lips of half a dozen contemporaries. Actually Martin appears the maverick rather than the turncoat, rocking the boat with deviant views at the Constitutional Convention but still voicing radical doctrine at the Burr trial, long after his political reorientation. Similarly in his law cases one encounters difficulties in discerning a thrust or direction in the assortment. It would be rash to label Martin an opportunist; it is difficult to maintain that he acted consistently on principle. There is no doubt whatever about his passionate attachment to causes that excited his sympathies.

Lawyers and historians have traditionally mistrusted the methods and aims of each other. Historians will think Jefferson, and only less so Madison, somewhat unfairly dealt with by Clarkson and Jett, both distinguished lawyers. They have conceived their task, and rightly so, as viewing the times from the standpoint of Luther Martin, who was not only a lawyer but a polemicist after the swinging manner of the eighteenth century. Whether by intent or not, they have given historians an object lesson in the truth of Justice Holmes's dictum that the life of the law has not been logic but experience, for part 2 is a commentary on the role of resolute personalities and strongly held prejudices in a formative period of American jurisprudence.

Given the character of Luther Martin and the state of the evidence on his career, writing his biography is a tour de force. That the authors have been able to gather the scattered evidence into a full and clear account, and in retrospect a moving one, is gratifying. For historians, accustomed to their own modes of analysis, it will be a useful document.

AUBREY C. LAND
University of Georgia

CHARLES A. MILLER. *The Supreme Court and the Uses of History*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1969. Pp. viii, 234. $6.95.

RICHARD CLAUDE. *The Supreme Court and the Electoral Process*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1970. Pp. xv, 296. $10.00.

"History," the legal realist Jerome Frank once wrote, "liberates from the fetters of the present, for it suggests that there were other ways of doing things than those we now employ." Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, however, looked forward to a time "when the part played by history in the explanation of dogma shall be very small, and instead of ingenious research, we shall spend our energy on the ends sought to be attained and the reasons for desiring them." The concern of bench and bar over the use of history has been a theme running through past and recent considerations of proper legal adjudication. As modern scholars especially have come to acknowledge, judges are political instruments, and consciously so. Their opinions are a form of public communication; to be accepted, they must make sense to the people to whom they are addressed. This means almost instinctively going beyond sheer legal logic and justifying constitutional interpretation with a variety of kinds of supporting evidence. To cynics this means constructing reasoning for conclusions after having reached them. Yet such a view ignores the fact that to be persuasive, the opinion must be accompanied by coherent argument reflecting convincing judicial reasoning. The trials and tribulations of the recent Supreme Court, as both these works make clear, are attributable, in various instances, to the failure to convince the public that conclusions reached are reasonable projections of either the constitutional text, valid legal doctrine, and precedent, or of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

history, either internal to the law or external to it.

Charles A. Miller's work is a particularly suggestive probe into both the American mind and its evaluation of the proper use of history generally and the proper judicial use of it. Exploring in general ways both the role and limitations of history as a tool of legal adjudication, Miller then sets up a series of case studies to demonstrate differing use in specific areas—the contract clause, the presidential removal power, political expression, civil rights, and reapportionment—and in turn evaluates the success and impact of such use. He is concerned particularly with the justices' constituencies and the response of those constituencies to judicial reliance upon differing types of materials. In evaluating conscious and unconscious judicial uses of the past and the types of history on which judges have relied, he makes cogent observations of his own as to the merits, or lack of them, of a number of recent works in constitutional history. If Miller's study has weaknesses, they stem more from its selective quality than from its finely reasoned nature. If it seems at points overly sophistic and infused with a legal realist viewpoint regarding judicial behavior, it nonetheless clearly recognizes that in reaching sociopolitical conclusions the judges are cognizant of the complexity of the task and the many forces operating upon them with which they must contend.

Richard Claude's book, while also acknowledging the Court as a political agency acting especially to give legal expression to prior shifts in the political resources of racial minorities and urban majorities, is generally less satisfying. Proposing to explore the influence Court decisions have had on the extension and standardization of election laws and practices over the last hundred years, it consistently drifts away from that focus, becoming through long sections a somewhat routine recitation of familiar historical developments, from the enactment of the Civil War amendments and enforcing statutes, through state restrictions on voting by blacks, to the development of federal remedies in the civil rights acts of the 1950s and 1960s, on through a careful but not particularly original discussion of reapportionment, finally throwing in a discussion of the electoral college dispute. That the Court was a prime mover in shaping this broad range of electoral processes is not made convincingly clear. Nor is its precise role ever positively explicated. Thus the volume has a catchall character that detracts from its thesis. While the reader may find it convenient to have a body of diverse material surrounding the electoral process brought together in one volume, he will be disturbed by the unevenness of treatment of the different topics included. For the historian this is particularly true of the chapters on nineteenth-century activity, where the volume is not only cursory at many points, but erroneous at others, particularly in its discussion of Reconstruction developments.

The two books are both refreshing, however, in what they take for granted. By rejecting outright any suggestion that the judicial process is more than the use of the law by fallible men to attain their own concept of a just life between living human beings here and now, they present a reality regarding judicial-political behavior that previous generations were neither willing to come to terms with nor even in some cases to acknowledge.

PAUL L. MURPHY
University of Minnesota

GERALD STOURZH. *Alexander Hamilton and the Idea of Republican Government.* Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1970. Pp. viii, 278. $8.50.

This is a very important book, part of a general reassessment of the origins and nature of the ideas of the founding fathers now taking place in American historiography. Gerald Stourzh, professor of history at the University of Vienna, anticipated this recent development a decade and a half ago with his unfortunately neglected *Benjamin Franklin and American Foreign Policy*. As in the case of the Franklin book, this study of Alexander Hamilton's thought uses the man mainly as a peg on which to hang an extended and subtle analysis of a broad range of late eighteenth-century ideas. In five topical chapters conveniently subdivided into short sections Stourzh deals with various aspects of Hamilton's thinking: his notions of political obligation; his indebtedness to various thinkers, including Machiavelli, Blackstone, and Hume; his interpretation

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the meaning of republican government and of its sources in the interests and passions of men; his belief in the interdependence between forms of government and the conduct of foreign policy; and finally his pursuit of fame and greatness. Rarely has anyone—except perhaps Arthur O. Lovejoy, whose work, curiously, is ignored by Stourzh—so carefully related the psychological assumptions of this premodern but knowledgeable age to the founders' political thought. While the book, in good presociological "Hamiltonian" terms, generally neglects the social exigencies and circumstances impinging on and shaping Hamilton's thinking, it does succeed superbly in connecting Hamilton's ideas one to another in a contextual scheme of remarkable distinctiveness. Yet Stourzh always makes clear that Hamilton, however much some of his ideas differed from those of his contemporaries, was very much a man of his own time—very much an eighteenth-century man.

Indeed, in reading this book one is more than ever convinced of our general failure to appreciate the differentness of the eighteenth-century world of the founding fathers. Too often, as Stourzh emphasizes time and again, we have approached the Revolutionary era unhistorically, ignoring the irretrievability of the period in order to impose on it modern assumptions and categories of thought. Douglass Adair would have liked this book, for he understood better than most historians the peculiarities of the intellectual world of the late eighteenth century. It is thus especially fitting that this book, with its fine sense of the history of that period, is dedicated to his memory.

GORDON S. WOOD
Brown University

LINDA K. KERBER. *Federalists in Dissent: Imagery and Ideology in Jeffersonian America.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1970. Pp. xii, 233. $7.50.

In this study of "articulate Federalists," Mrs. Kerber argues that the distinction between Federalists and Jeffersonians was as much cultural as political. Finding that the Revolution had not produced the anticipated golden age, Jeffersonians redefined the terms of the goal, while Federalists clung to the dream. Federalists were bitter after 1800 not solely because they had lost power but because America appeared to be developing a civilization of which they did not approve. To the Federalists, Jeffersonians were committed to an abstract impracticality that would destroy the cultural fabric of the new nation. They saw the repeal of the judiciary act of 1801 as evidence of Republican hostility to the institutions of social order. They were concerned about the Jeffersonian willingness to embark on projects as unpredictable as the acquisition of Louisiana. They stood aghast at the movement to drop Latin and Greek from the curricula of schools and colleges. They disliked not merely Jefferson the politician but Jefferson the inventor, anthropologist, and president of the American Philosophical Society. Jefferson's association with the Philadelphia society, which encouraged the study of natural history, gave political dimension to its differences with the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Boston, where mathematical and astronomical studies were stressed. Federalists saw a disturbing pattern: "astronomers replaced by roving natural historians, aimlessly searching for curiosities," the study of the classics replaced by a vocational curriculum, respect for learning giving way to respect for crasser forms of success.

Mrs. Kerber also examines the antislavery content of Federalist dissent. Northern Federalists and southern Republicans were permitted to speak for their respective parties on the subject, she argues; and, while admitting that Federalists used the issue for political purposes, she credits them with beginning to develop a political antislavery case that their sons would carry forward.

The "articulate Federalists," who are the focus of this study, are seen as "representing an intellectual rather than a sociological stratum." They were "often lawyers and politicians with literary talents," we are told, but the group is not clearly defined; and there is little effort to explore differences within the group. This allows considerable latitude in selecting spokesmen of the Federalist mind. The well-documented study is based on a wide reading of contemporary pamphlets, newspapers, and correspondence, but it would have been

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

strengthened by a clearer definition of scope and a sharper delineation of conclusions.

NOBLE E. CUNNINGHAM, JR.
University of Missouri, Columbia

MERRILL D. PETERSON. *Thomas Jefferson and the New Nation: A Biography*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. ix, 1072. $15.00.

The publication of a full-length biography of Jefferson is an important event. Fortunately, this is a major work. Merrill Peterson had already passed his qualifying examination by an earlier study of Jefferson's significance, and he now fulfills the promise of that work. His biography combines scholarship with sound judgment and good prose.

The new *Thomas Jefferson* replaces all of the previous one-volume biographies. The only comparable work, by Dumas Malone, already extends to three volumes and presumably will reach five or six. Peterson disclaims any attempt to compete with Malone, intending not a definitive history but "a basic narrative of Jefferson's life," stressing its political and intellectual aspects. But this is no mere sketch: it extends to over a thousand pages and touches every part of Jefferson's career. Nor has Peterson simply written a new interpretation based upon the Virginia statesman's papers. He has consulted a variety of sources, including recent monographs and articles, and he does not hesitate to express an opinion on the many controversial questions that the Jefferson scholar must answer.

Peterson, like most biographers of Jefferson —and most historians—ends with a high regard for the great Virginian. Yet his assessment is usually balanced. He shares the general enthusiasm for Jefferson's role as revolutionary statesman, though he makes clear that the revolutionist was no radical: "even his most progressive reforms were streaked with conservatism." He finds much to admire in Jefferson's governorship, while acknowledging that it "could not be reckoned brilliant or even successful." He considers Jefferson a successful president, even a good administrator, with the sole exception of the embargo question, where he failed at the start fully to inform the public of his objectives and at the end refused to act vigorously. If at times Peterson becomes too defensive of Jefferson, he compensates by willingness to criticize. Only in a few passages does the reader feel that Jefferson's faults have been minimized. Peterson guesses that Peter Carr fathered Sally Heming's children. Of the evidence in favor of Jefferson's paternity he states only that it is "highly circumstantial." Such a "miscegenous relationship" he finds "badly out of character"; it "revolted his whole being." Why a relationship between a healthy, kindly, charming widower and an attractive mulatto should be "difficult to imagine" the reader does not know. Would Sally prefer Peter Carr to Jefferson? Again, Peterson attributes Jefferson's financial problems to various misfortunes while minimizing his financial irresponsibility: thus while trying to sell land to pay debts he was buying land, Peterson explains, "to round-out his holdings"!

The more important interpretations concern the character of Hamilton, John Adams, and the two parties. As one might expect, admirers of Hamilton will object to Peterson's treatment of the secretary, whose activities he terms "treacherous" and whose viewpoint Peterson considers antidemocratic. He finds little good in Jay's Treaty. Most students of Adams' presidency will feel the present account one-sided, and indeed the chapter seems the least satisfactory in the book. Peterson draws no distinction between various species of Federalist, and finds no difference between the programs of Hamilton and Adams in 1798. He does not clearly describe the nature and genius of the two parties, for example stating that the Republicans in 1800 "had no clearly defined principles and objectives" apart from Jefferson's own convictions. The account, in short, contradicts or ignores several recent interpretations. But this bias, together with a few other questionable statements, does not destroy the general reliability of the whole.

The book contains few typographical or stylistic errors. Better editorial work should have changed the verbs "bottomed," "founded on," and "grounded" to words more familiar to the modern ear. Surely the British seized 3,000 hogsheads, not pounds of tobacco. A few pronouns follow the wrong antecedent, and in too many instances the reader cannot be sure whether an opinion is that of the author or someone else. Happily these minor flaws are

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

far outnumbered by striking sentences and metaphors. While the style, as a rule, lacks brilliance, it is smooth and unobtrusive.

Historians, if not the general reader, will resent the absence of footnotes. This is no popular biography, no brief sketch, but over a thousand solid pages of scholarship. Granted that detailed citations would burden most readers, yet the serious student deserves to know the sources for important statements and controversial interpretations, while scholars will miss historiographical comments. Footnotes of an explanatory nature would not greatly increase the length of the book and would exceed in value much of the detail.

Peterson's major contribution lies in his description of Jefferson's contribution to American politics and culture. His mastery of the period diminishes with the distance from his subject, though he excels most biographers in his background knowledge; and his discussion of economic and social history falls below his high standard. In general, however, this is a fine biography.

JACKSON TURNER MAIN
State University of New York, Stony Brook

IRVING BRANT. *The Fourth President: A Life of James Madison.* Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1970. Pp. 681. $12.95.

What multivolume historical biography can be crammed into a single volume with the loss of "virtually nothing of pertinence and importance"? Irving Brant contends that his six-volume *Life of James Madison* not only can be, but has been, so compressed in Brant's newest volume, *The Fourth President: A Life of James Madison.*

The truth of this statement depends on what Brant means by "pertinence and importance." If he means facts, most of them are there. An amazing amount of factual Madisoniana is presented in 647 large pages of text. But surely Brant cannot believe that facts represented the principal strength of his *Madison.* Brant's vivid style, his sometimes wild humor, and his pugnacious attacks on other historians are drastically reduced.

The vigor of Brant's support for Madison against earlier historians made his volumes a fascinating historiographical exercise—one aimed at Claude Van Tyne, another at George Dangerfield, and several at Henry Adams. Van Tyne and Adams still get their lumps in *The Fourth President.* Brant feels that Madison can be safely entrusted to a single volume now because he no longer needs protection from neo-Federalist historians' "misappraisals" of Madison and neo-Jeffersonians' insistence that Madison was Jefferson's flunky. Brant devoted six volumes—now seven—to the correction of these canards.

Few biographers retain sufficient interest and energy to distill multivolume works into one. Thus Brant could establish his own precedents. He wisely decided to deal with essentials rather than merely concoct a précis of the larger work. Although the sections correspond to his original volumes—with the exception of two sections, which are devoted to the immense *Commander in Chief: 1812–1836*—Brant concentrates chiefly on Madison's political career. In seven pages, for instance, he leaps "From Cradle to College." Aside from four footnotes his annotation consists of two pages telling where to look in the big *Madison* for sources of material in the present volume. His rather skimpy index is divided into three sections—names, subjects, and War of 1812.

As Brant concludes his seventh, and presumably last, major volume of Madison biography he exemplifies a remark made in 1784 that Madison must be studied "for a long time in order to make a fair appraisal of him." Brant started to write a one-volume biography of Madison in 1938. Thirty-two years later he finally finished it.

DONALD O. DEWEY
California State College, Los Angeles

JOHN W. CHRISTIE and DWIGHT L. DUMOND. *George Bourne and* The Book and Slavery Irreconcilable. Wilmington: Historical Society of Delaware; Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society. 1969. Pp. xi, 206. $5.00.

STEPHEN B. OATES. *To Purge This Land with Blood: A Biography of John Brown.* New York: Harper and Row. 1970. Pp. xii, 434. $10.00.

George Bourne and John Brown made quite different but complementary contributions to the antislavery movement in the United States

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Each significantly abetted major shifts in the direction of abolitionism: Bourne to a recognition of the sinfulness of "man-stealing" and the need for immediate emancipation, Brown to the substitution of violent for peaceful solutions to the controversy over slavery. Historians will therefore thank the Reverend Mr. Christie and Professor Dumond for the first full-scale study of Bourne (to which is appended his most influential and hitherto rare work) and will welcome Stephen B. Oates's major new biography of John Brown.

To George Bourne, his biographers insist, and not to William Lloyd Garrison, properly belongs "the distinction of having been the first immediate abolitionist in America," the first to denounce bondage as sin. Fifteen years before the *Liberator* appeared, Bourne had publicly condemned slavery as a form of theft and had developed immediatist notions that would transform the antislavery crusade. Bourne's tract *The Book and Slavery Irreconcilable*, published in 1816 as part of his fight with the Presbyterian Church, singlehandedly converted Garrison from gradualism to immediatism. From it Garrison took not only his antislavery principles but pungent phrases, telling illustrations and quotations, and the vituperative, sanctimonious tone that made his editorials famous.

So, at least, Christie and Dumond contend. And, although the authors accuse him of shameful negligence in acknowledging his debt to Bourne, Garrison once confessed that next to the Bible, Bourne's work had most shaped his views of slavery. Yet, as is perhaps inevitable in a biographical rescue mission of this sort, Christie and Dumond somewhat inflate Bourne's claims to pre-eminence—and unfairly belittle Garrison's. Not only do they overlook the larger social and intellectual forces that underlay the rejection of gradualism on both sides of the Atlantic, but they make too much of Bourne's prior espousal of immediatist doctrines. Bourne helped to transmit powerful new ideas, and it is well to be reminded of his contributions. But it was Garrison and not Bourne, whose wooden, contorted prose even his champions admit makes for "heavy reading," who more than any man turned such notions into a driving movement.

Neither Bourne nor Garrison (at least before Harpers Ferry) ever found in the sinfulness of slavery justification for the use of violent measures to uproot it, although the "retaliatory doctrine" that Bourne discovered in Obadiah ("As thou hast done, it shall be done unto thee; thy reward shall return upon thine own head") seemed to point that way. But the cry of "sinner!" with which they and other abolitionists went after the slaveholder helped to tighten Southern defenses of the "peculiar institution" to the point where a man like John Brown, justifying himself with Biblical phrases familiar to Bourne, could conclude that only "by the shedding of blood" might the slave be set free.

Brown's life is a hard one for a biographer to catch, colored as it is by the controversial deeds of his last years, clouded by myth and the man's own occasional deviousness, chronicled in sources of varying reliability. To his credit, Professor Oates has surmounted most of these difficulties and produced a dispassionate, engagingly written biography that helps us to understand an extraordinarily enigmatic man. The Brown who emerges from these pages is neither the charlatan and horsethief of James Malin and Robert Penn Warren nor the selfless hero of his earliest biographers. Rather, he stands as a well-meaning but erratic and often irascible man whose hostility to slavery was deep and long standing and whose commitment to violence arose from a curious mixture of realism and irrationality—an awareness of slavery's entrenched position and a messianic belief that a vengeful God had elected him to purge the land with blood.

Oates offers nothing strikingly new either in fact—though his research has been exhaustive—or in method. He easily (perhaps too easily) resists the temptation to put his subject on the couch. And some will still find occasion to consult Villard's more compendious study of Brown (1910). But for its attention to Brown's pre-Kansas years and his Calvinistic background, as well as for its judicious interpretation of such events as the Pottawatomie Massacre and the question of Brown's sanity, Oates's biography merits careful consideration by all students of the struggle for freedom in America.

RICHARD H. SEWELL
University of Wisconsin, Madison

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CARLETON MABEE. *Black Freedom: The Nonviolent Abolitionists from 1830 through the Civil War.* [New York:] Macmillan Company. 1970. Pp. ix, 435. $9.95.

DAVID BRION DAVIS. *The Slave Power Conspiracy and the Paranoid Style.* (The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History, Louisiana State University.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University. 1969. Pp. ix, 97. $4.00.

LEONARD L. RICHARDS. *"Gentlemen of Property and Standing": Anti-Abolition Mobs in Jacksonian America.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. ix, 196. $6.50.

Pacific and disruptive, saintly and abrasive, tradition-oriented and innovative, agreeing on goals but squabbling over means, ante-bellum abolitionists challenged a skittish North and a defensive South. In turn they were attacked both verbally and physically by Northerners whose tranquil communities they disrupted and by Southerners whose institutions they threatened.

The ante-bellum period, therefore, seems in part not unlike the present, fraught with violence, thoughts of conspiracy, and a paranoid unease. Historians have been intrigued with the parallels. Carleton Mabee, with the world of Martin Luther King in mind, examines the nonviolent tradition in antislavery. A nonviolent activist himself, he unmercifully presses all of antislavery into the same mold. Having described a tripartite distinction among total nonresistants such as the Garrisonians and the Quakers, and among partial nonresistants like the Tappanites—distinctions filled with an apparent importance never clearly adduced—he narrates in endless, repetitive, and highly unreadable prose the nonviolent struggle against discrimination and the nonviolent war against slavery.

It may be that the general reader will be inspired, but he will also crave closer analysis. Nowhere is there a theory of nonviolence. Consequently there is no fundamental distinction made between the absolute pacifism of Samuel J. May, for example, who questioned even emancipation through civil war, and the action of, say, Henry Highland Garnet, who in his Address to the Slaves urged insurrection. Nor is there consideration of the problems raised by the ostensible nonresistance that Stephen Foster preached in such a manner as to provoke widespread violence in response. The descriptions are all in Mabee's account; but the contradictions, the paradoxes, the puzzles are never resolved. In short, there is no effective conceptualization.

Distressingly, Mabee leaves one with an empty husk, a story without insight, a tale without perception. For these one must look to David Davis and Leonard Richards. Davis' theme is familiar; one has encountered its substance in the early essays of Avery Craven and its techniques in the more recent studies of Richard Hofstadter, as well as in previous essays by Davis himself. Still and all, if one comes new to the field, it is stimulating.

Confronted with and beset by changing times and values, many ante-bellum Americans drifted in eddies and currents they no longer fathomed. To reorient themselves they embraced a form of role playing, attempting to rephrase the drama, the better to cast themselves in it. Collectively these beset Americans were a team, eager to achieve their agreed-upon goals. And the team, precisely because it was a team, had—and Davis quotes Erving Goffman—"something of the character of a secret society" and therefore "something of the sweet guilt" of conspiracy.

Once they had thus established the machinery by which to reorient themselves and be "right," these Americans needed to create an enemy to fulfill the antagonist's role of being "wrong." "The image of an expansive, subversive force," writes Davis, "was a means of articulating individual and communal anxieties over being duped and slipping behind." Thus the paranoid style. North and South, antiabolitionists perceived their opponents as subverters of traditional and established institutions, secretly in league with foreign powers. In turn those appalled by slavery reacted against a slave power conspiracy.

On the one hand it is Davis' contention that conspiracies of slaveholders or of abolitionists were few and small. On the other hand he is making the far more important point that the delineation of conspiracy lies in the mind of the believer. In the larger sense there are three victims of the paranoid vision. Two of them he deals with directly—the Southerner who saw an antislavery conspiracy and the abolitionist who saw a slave power conspiracy. But there

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is also a third victim—the historian, who in the present as in the past succumbs to the temptations of paranoid role-playing. It is in this concern with the perception of the past that Davis indirectly makes the telling point of his Fleming Lectures.

Finally, Leonard Richards has combined in his book the best techniques of both analysis and data gathering. He has concentrated on what Davis might have analyzed as a paranoid group—the antiabolitionist mob—dissecting its actions, its structure, its personnel, and its internal variations. In the process he has told us a good deal about antiabolitionist mobs in particular and has contributed a brief but pointed essay to the growing literature about the mob in general. Focusing explicitly on the period 1834–37 and upon the riots in Cincinnati, Utica, New York City, and Alton, Illinois, Richards defines two basic mob types —the antiabolitionist mob that attacked whites and the overtly racist mob whose principal target was blacks. The former group was dominated by upper-middle-class professional people of old American stock—bankers and traders, believers in traditional values and the status quo, men who feared being edged out by a new antislavery leadership more recently American but less exalted in socioeconomic rank and less tradition-bound. The latter group was composed chiefly of artisans and laborers, men who lived near blacks in mixed neighborhoods and who feared not the theory of antislavery amalgamation but the practice. The differences were marked, yet there were similarities as well. Nowhere in either type of mob did the "rabble" prevail, nowhere were the mobs formless or capricious. Always they had clear leadership—frequently from ranking citizens of the community; always they were planned to achieve well-defined goals.

Richards carefully assembles data about every known participant in the mobs and summarizes the courses of mob action. He rigorously eschews, however, broad speculative theory. Instead he draws so precise a picture that one is forced to ponder its larger implications. Here are the frustration, fear, and dismay that Davis describes—the very stuff of which paranoid dreams are made.

The combined strengths of these books would bespeak a historical masterpiece—Davis' provocative hypothesis, the meticulous probing of Richards' case study, Mabee's gargantuan narrative assemblage. Davis remains primarily speculative. Mabee is superficial and imperceptive. But only Richards provides both significant theory and analysis, idea and substance in a book whose dimensions are small but whose importance is large.

WILLIAM H. PEASE
University of Maine

HENRY D. SHAPIRO and ZANE L. MILLER, edited with introductions by. *Physician to the West: Selected Writings of Daniel Drake on Science & Society*. [Lexington:] University Press of Kentucky. 1970. Pp. xxxviii, 418. $12.50.

Any publication that enlarges our acquaintance with Daniel Drake deserves a warm welcome. His fame justly rests on his massive *Systematic Treatise . . . on the Principal Diseases of the Interior Valley of North America,* but, like a number of physicians of the nineteenth century, he wrote prolifically and by no means exclusively on medical subjects. Readers, as the editors acknowledge, may take exception to the principles that have guided the editors in their selections. The *Systematic Treatise* is readily available in complete and abridged editions. Drake's *Discourse on the History, Character, and Prospects of the West* has appeared in facsimile with an introduction by Perry Miller. Space given in the present book to extensive passages from these works might better have been devoted to a fuller presentation of Drake's views on natural history and particularly on medicine. Here Drake made his greatest contributions, and his stress on the relations of the physical and social environment to disease strikes quite a modern note.

The editors wish to present Drake, however, not as the remarkable and unique individual he was, but as representative of the society of the West and of American society as a whole struggling with the tensions of rapid development, democratization, and industrialization. Even this principle of selection does not obscure Drake's commanding scientific and descriptive accomplishments. Each editor has contributed an illuminating essay in keeping with the representative theme. Shapiro offers a synthesis of Drake's medical and sociopolitical thought and activity. Miller's contribution is

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

exclusively concerned with Drake's social thought. The editors have compiled a bibliography of the writings of Daniel Drake, the usefulness of which is slightly marred by the omission of all twentieth-century reprints. Nevertheless, we can only be grateful to have before us a much broader spectrum of the work of Daniel Drake than has been available.

ROBERT W. MCCLUGGAGE
Loyola University, Chicago

HARRY E. KELSEY, JR. *Frontier Capitalist: The Life of John Evans.* [Denver:] State Historical Society of Colorado; [Boulder:] Pruett Publishing Company. 1969. Pp. xiv, 371. $12.50.

John Evans in many respects typified much that was nineteenth-century America, with its mixed selfish ambition and social consciousness. Born in a log cabin in Ohio on March 9, 1814, he died a wealthy man, in Colorado, on July 3, 1897. Acquiring such medical education as was then available, he practiced in several small towns before moving to Chicago, where he invested heavily and shrewdly in real estate and soon became independently wealthy and gave up his medical practice. In 1862 Evans was appointed territorial governor of Colorado, a post he held until 1866, when public reaction to the unfortunate Sand Creek Massacre—no fault of his—forced his resignation. He remained in Denver, where he was active in various financial enterprises, especially railroad promotion and real estate, and increased his already considerable fortune by several fold.

Even while serving his own interests, Evans was constantly involved in public service and beneficences. He was the moving spirit behind the establishment of the Indiana Hospital for the Insane and was one of the first members of the Rush Medical College faculty, to which he selflessly devoted a portion of his time. He helped establish several medical societies, founded two medical journals, wrote a number of articles on medical techniques, and invented but did not patent an advanced obstetrical instrument. He was also one of the principal founders of Evanston, Illinois, and of Northwestern University. In Colorado he made heavy contributions to churches of all denominations and to other charities, but his major effort was the founding of the University of Denver, which he endowed with an amount equal to his gifts to Northwestern.

While this book will probably win no literary prizes, its great charm is its wealth of detail, which undoubtedly gave the author problems of organization, here and there apparent but not effectively detracting from the merit of the book. It is thoroughly documented, has an extensive bibliography, and contains excellent illustrations. It is, moreover, a handsome book, artfully designed.

SEYMOUR V. CONNOR
Texas Tech University

JOHN F. STOVER. *The Life and Decline of the American Railroad.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. xi, 324. $7.50.

Published without footnotes indicating the author's sources and without a formal bibliography pointing to authorities, this volume boldly suggests that the reader simply accept as true the things the writer has to say. Fortunately the reader can. Professor Stover gets better with each new book. This one distills into a small and intriguing package the understanding and insight of a mature scholar looking back over his work; it is the calm judgment of the savant at his leisure.

There is not much here particularly startling to the student of America's railroads, yet the book still packs a wallop. Professor Stover corrects in straightforward prose—but urbane, graceful, and sometimes witty—many widely held misconceptions concerning the operations of railroads. If instructors in survey courses on the history of the United States would only read the book, there would be fewer unconscious classroom canards concerning railroads.

Obviously a lover of iron horses and steel rails, Stover neither overstates the virtues of the system of connecting tracks that once filled the nation's major transportation needs nor does he write off as anachronistic the freight-hauling Goliaths of the present day. A certain sense of nostalgia creeps into his review of the development of the railway network; but when he writes of the twentieth century, he is neither apologetic for the industry's record nor unrealistic about its future.

Stover's work would be important if it were only a brief and judicious account of the rise

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and fall of the railroad as the nation's primary transportation agency. But it is more. Skillfully woven into the history of the railroad system is a balanced commentary: Stover surveys the almost overpowering competition of trucks, buses, automobiles, pipelines, and airplanes; but he makes it clear that they have not challenged the efficiency of trains in hauling freight for long distances. And in spite of the railroad's relative decline, Stover concludes on a note of guarded optimism. He believes that management is more forward-looking, experimental, and innovative than in the past; and he thinks that mergers, diversification, and improved commuter service brighten the industry's prospects.

ROBERT L. PETERSON
University of Montana

GEORGE W. KNEPPER. *New Lamps for Old: One Hundred Years of Urban Higher Education at the University of Akron.* (Centennial Publication.) [Akron: University of Akron.] 1970. Pp. 407.

ROBERT N. MANLEY. *Centennial History of the University of Nebraska.* Volume 1, *Frontier University (1869–1919).* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1969. Pp. xii, 331. $5.95.

MANUEL P. SERVÍN and IRIS HIGBIE WILSON. *Southern California and Its University: A History of USC, 1880–1964.* [Los Angeles:] Ward Ritchie Press. 1969. Pp. xix, 319. $10.00.

W. WAYNE DEDMAN. *Cherishing This Heritage: The Centennial History of the State University College at Brockport, New York.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1969. Pp. xiv, 317. $7.95.

HOWARD D. WILLIAMS. *A History of Colgate University, 1819–1969.* New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company. 1969. Pp. 358. $6.95.

JOHN C. CRIGHTON. *Stephens: A Story of Educational Innovation.* Columbia, Mo.: American Press. 1970. Pp. xv, 432. $5.50 postpaid.

BURTON R. CLARK. *The Distinctive College: Antioch, Reed & Swarthmore.* Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company. 1970. Pp. vi, 280. $8.95.

Despite inherent limitations, official college histories remain indispensable to students of American education. The ideal study would combine a perceptive reconstruction of past educational experience with an assessment of social and cultural forces affecting institutional development. Such accounts are extraordinarily difficult to produce; frequently source materials are entirely inadequate. Here are six official histories, uneven in quality but typical of the recent output. Four describe institutional adaptation to public service and two the evolution of denominational colleges. A seventh volume by a Yale sociologist compares educational innovation since World War I at three celebrated undergraduate colleges. All point to a contemporary concern for academic excellence in institutions whose original character and purposes were entirely dissimilar. They may, however, be more significant in 1971 for revealing the sources and uses of institutional diversity and strategies for survival in times of crisis.

Professor Knepper's book is the best of the institutional histories. From archives, newspapers, and his own experiences as a student, professor, and former dean at Akron he presents, broadly rather than intensively, a balanced account of the administration, the faculty, and student life. Buchtel College, a Universalist institution founded in 1871, depended financially on Akron businessmen, especially the manufacturer for whom it was named, but was a self-contained rather than distinctively urban institution. Despite troubled terms of office, five clerical presidents recruited a strong teaching faculty. Facing financial crisis in 1913, President Park Kolbe converted Buchtel into a municipal university modeled on Cincinnati and Toledo. Akron's subsequent history is one of community service. Never wealthy and long without adequate facilities, it served earnest, self-supporting undergraduates. A pioneer graduate program developed in rubber chemistry. Strong presidents enjoyed stable tenure. In 1967 Akron "went State," which brought ampler resources and reduced autonomy.

Knepper's style is informal and genial. His vignettes of student life and appraisals of presidents are perceptive; informative comments on educational policy reflect his experiences as a dean. His book offers an excellent foundation for detailed interviewing by inquirers seeking to understand the development of modern urban universities.

Professor Manley treats only the first fifty years of the University of Nebraska; another author will complete this endowed history. Occasionally more vivid than Knepper's, his ac-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

count is generally less satisfactory. Manley's central theme is sound: the dependence of the sole university in a large agricultural state on the confidence of the public and politicians. Nebraska was unchallenged by denominational colleges and united agricultural and liberal education in one institution; but its location in the state capital was an ambiguous blessing, and Omaha editors were long hostile. Until after 1900 the liberal arts, including graduate work, overshadowed the agricultural program, which secured the Morrill land grant and served the state's largest interest. Manley fully describes faculty contributions, the vicissitudes of six short-term chancellors, and (in a separate section) the experiences of a student body drawn from farms and small towns. He depends heavily on newspapers, necessarily, he states, because of the scarcity of other sources. Unfortunately these materials distort his conceptualization and have contributed to an excessively discursive narrative. From his own evidence, Nebraska at the turn of the century was a remarkable institution. Its chancellors, depicted almost entirely as Nebraska public figures with inadequate consideration of their inner personalities or assessment of their entire careers, included such conspicuous figures as James H. Canfield and E. Benjamin Andrews. The faculty, too, included remarkable individuals. Their impact on students is suggested in the achievements of Willa Cather, Alvin Johnson, and Roscoe Pound. Manley has not provided the clearly focused portrait that this community merits.

Like Akron and Nebraska, the University of Southern California, founded in 1880, has educated large numbers of students from its community. USC, however, is a private institution, dependent for years on tuition and football receipts, while serving an area inadequately provided until lately with public colleges. The school's quest for endowment and distinction is a recent phenomenon. Its rivalry with the University of California, nowhere explicitly stated in this history, is suggested by several biting passages (pp. 117–18, 213).

The Servín-Wilson volume is the poorest of these studies. Badly written, cluttered with lists of alumni celebrities, disproportionately concerned with athletics and student activities, its illustrations apparently were chosen as much for promotional as for historical purposes. Yet it does reflect the main themes of USC's history and provides impressive evidence of the school's role in educating such professionals as dentists and school administrators. Its authors candidly describe crises and deficiencies. It may not be altogether facetious to characterize their book as a reflection if not a parody of the artificial culture in which USC long struggled to survive.

Professor Dedman honors his rather unimportant school with a very readable history. The Baptist "Collegiate Institute" founded at Brockport, New York, in 1841 survived by becoming a state normal school in 1867. Promoted to a teachers college in 1942 and absorbed by the State University of New York in 1948, it has been transformed into a liberal arts college during the 1960s, its most important decade. Dedman's felicitous blend of institutional and local history is most appealing; his book is as much a sketch of the village of Brockport as of its college. He also offers useful information on the evolution of teacher-training courses.

Colgate in upstate New York and Stephens in Missouri, both founded by Baptists, have become successful private institutions. Professors Crighton and Williams write primarily for alumni, though both schools merit the attention of educational historians for their striking transformations and success in attracting more than a local constituency. Founded in 1819 as a theological seminary, Colgate gained support from New York City and Vermont and became a nursery of foreign missionaries. Barely surviving a removal crisis in 1847–50 when most of its faculty joined the new University of Rochester, it attained stability after the Civil War, supported by the soap manufacturing family whose name it assumed in 1890. Its subsequent history parallels that of other Eastern men's colleges. In treating the pre-1850 period, the subject of his Harvard doctoral dissertation, Williams only hints at the cultural contributions and social importance of the New York Baptists, topics whose adequate exploration would be extremely enlightening. His final chapters grow successively thinner. Half of Crighton's volume chronicles an impoverished Baptist female seminary founded in 1833. Modern Stephens was shaped by James Madison ("Daddy") Wood, president from 1912 to 1947. Popularly ridiculed as a " 'Progressive' finishing school," it regarded itself as experimental and innovative. Crighton

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

treats the Wood era in six diffuse topical chapters, making general assessment difficult, and offers no analysis of the alumni constituency. His most interesting chapter, which some will read as a caricature of educational progressivism, describes curricular reform in the 1920s. Stephens, however, cannot be dismissed by scoffers. It prospered between the wars while diverging from the academic mainstream; recently it has manifested greater intellectual emphasis.

Professor Clark describes three other instances of innovation in undergraduate education. Arthur Morgan, water control engineer and utopian, revived nearly defunct Antioch in the 1920s and 1930s. His college became known for a work-study program and for loyalty so strong that during the depression the senior faculty helped to subsidize junior members. Reed College, founded in 1911, retained its initial academic emphasis despite the difficulties of its presidents. Swarthmore, an established Quaker institution, was transformed between the wars by Rhodes Scholar Frank Aydelotte through an Oxonian honors program. Clark assesses the consequences of these reforms down to 1963 with a perception of the interdependence of various facets of institutional life seldom displayed in official histories. In conclusion he offers a model for colleges seeking distinctiveness. Here sociological jargon becomes poetic: a college's "role" may rise to a "mission," and in exceptional instances such as these three, to an "organizational saga." Yet Clark's narrative reveals tensions and conflicts strikingly similar to those recently evident across the country in consequence of increasing academic pressures and the self-consciousness or alienation of intellectuals. Perhaps, then, his model is less significant than his account of academicians pursuing excellence in an earlier age of innocence.

THEODORE R. CRANE
University of Denver

MERRILL J. MATTES. *The Great Platte River Road: The Covered Wagon Mainline via Fort Kearny to Fort Laramie.* (Nebraska State Historical Society Publications, Volume 25.) [Lincoln:] the Society. 1969. Pp. xv, 583. $7.95.

Between the Missouri River towns and Fort Laramie lay the Great Platte River Road, a six-hundred mile segment of the longer trails to California, Oregon, and other places that attracted emigrants before and during the Civil War. Merrill J. Mattes, a distinguished National Park Service historian, estimates that 350,000 travelers from 1841 to 1866 followed the Platte River and its northern tributary to Fort Laramie, the key to the Rockies and South Pass.

This book, sponsored by the Nebraska State Historical Society, is a soundly conceived and researched study. Mr. Mattes bases his volume upon more than seven-hundred narratives written by the emigrants while they were en route west or at a later time. Mr. Mattes estimates that he examined at least ninety per cent of the eight-hundred known "covered wagon testaments," leaving to others the task of compiling a definitive bibliography of the Platte River travel accounts. In an extremely useful bibliography, however, the author provides an excellent research tool; he locates the depository where the published and unpublished documents are available for those interested in studying the Platte route.

After 1841 emigrants gathered for twenty-five years from Council Bluffs to Independence along the Missouri River. They used six principal and many smaller roads to arrive at Fort Kearny, the funnel for most emigrants onto the Great Platte River Road. Each chapter describes, sometimes repetitiously, the experiences of the overland travelers as they encountered the physical hardships, epidemic diseases, and difficulties of terrain, and as they compensated for faulty preparations. The chapters recount the journeys of the emigrants as they moved beyond the "jumping-off places" on the Missouri River; toiled between the guarding military posts; viewed Ash Hollow, Court House Rock, Chimney Rock, Scott's Bluff; and finally reached Fort Laramie on their westward treks. The precise maps and excellent illustrations add clarity to the author's text, which occasionally is clouded by redundant detail and extended quotations. *The Great Platte River Road* will serve as an invaluable reference work for historians and collectors of Western Americana, because little information about sites, terrain, and available overland narratives is missing.

DONALD J. BERTHRONG
Purdue University

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ERROL T. ELLIOTT. *Quakers on the American Frontier: A History of the Westward Migrations, Settlements, and Developments of Friends on the American Continent.* Richmond, Ind.: Friends United Press. 1969. Pp. 434. $6.50.

EDWIN B. BRONNER, editor. *An English View of American Quakerism: The Journal of Walter Robson (1842–1929) Written during the Fall of 1877, While Traveling among American Friends.* (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume 79.) Philadelphia: the Society. 1970. Pp. xviii, 162. $2.50.

Mr. Elliott's work is not what it purports to be, namely, a history of Quakerism as related to the westward movement (p. 14). Instead, he has compiled a mass of facts concerning Quakerism in general with special emphasis on the growth and consolidation of the evangelical-pastoral branch of Quakerism west of the Appalachians.

Commissioned by a national committee of the Friends, the book is addressed to fellow Friends rather than to students of history. It shows little understanding of the relation of Quaker history to the general history of the United States. It relegates revivalism and other directly connected historical phenomena to a bare appendix of historical parallels to Quaker history listed by date. The "American Frontier" intrudes only here and there: in two or three primitive allusions to Turner and Webb and in the purple prose of transitions from one Quaker frontier to the next: "Farther, farther west the wagons rolled. Their only foreknown boundary was the mighty Mississippi . . . ," and so on.

The first half of the book is unified by a relentless series of summaries of the foundings of all meetings worth noting and many not worth noting. Interspersed are lists of obscure leaders and obscurer followers and brief defensive accounts of the many separations, splits, and squabbles that took place from Wapakoneta to Newburg.

The second half is a variegated summary of Quaker activities and institutions that the West had supposedly created by the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The author leaves unexplained the turn from "orthodox" to evangelical-pastoral practices and institutions, except by his undocumented assertion of Western environmental influences. He offers laudatory descriptions of Quaker schools, Indian policy, music, retirement homes, and the like. The largest part of the second half is devoted to a history of the Five Years Meeting from its founding in 1902 to the present, including its activities in Africa, China, and other areas far removed from the theme of the Friends' frontier. This account is based almost solely on the minutes of the organization, in which the author has held high office.

The genre of official denominational history is usually unsatisfactory. But in this, as in so many other such works, the pious industry of an insider has made available a large amount of factual material not otherwise easily accessible. Elliott's book is thus a very useful point of reference for the more meaningful studies of modern Quakerism that ought to be written.

The other volume under review, Robson's journal, is packed with details of Quaker meetings and their leaders from the East Coast to Kansas. Though it covers only one year, that year came in the midst of a period of turmoil for modern Quakerism. The journal is not exciting reading, but Robson's English point of view, opposed as it was to all American forms of enthusiastic "groaning, or singing, or responding," is revealing of the changes that had taken place in American Quakerism and is, in fact, a good corrective to the pro-evangelical bias of Elliott. Mr. Bronner has done a thorough, balanced, and altogether excellent job of scholarly editing.

MARIO S. DE PILLIS
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

CONRAD WRIGHT. *The Liberal Christians: Essays on American Unitarian History.* Boston: Beacon Press. 1970. Pp. x, 147. $7.50.

DWIGHT W. HOOVER. *Henry James, Sr. and the Religion of Community.* Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 1969. Pp. 152. $2.45.

CARL E. HATCH. *The Charles A. Briggs Heresy Trial: Prologue to Twentieth-Century Liberal Protestantism.* (Exposition-University Book.) New York: Exposition Press. 1969. Pp. 139. $6.00.

Historians of Protestantism in nineteenth-century America for many years devoted their energies so exclusively to the study of particular sects or individuals that they failed to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

develop either a comprehensive overview of religion or an understanding of its relationship to the major movements in social and intellectual history. This oversight, which could be seen in most denominational histories, is now in the process of being corrected. The three books reviewed here, which examine different aspects of liberal Protestantism, illustrate the advantages and difficulties of trying to place American religious history in a larger perspective.

Conrad Wright's latest study of Unitarianism, a collection of six essays, is an excellent example of the insights that may be gained from the new approach. In a brilliant opening chapter on rational religion in the eighteenth century, Wright argues that deism—properly defined as a belief in natural religion as discerned by reason alone—attracted only a small following in America. Most of those men previously described as deists, Wright contends, believed that natural religion had to be supplemented by the revealed religion of the Bible. The Unitarians, then, were part of a larger movement, "Supernatural Rationalism," that cut across denominational and sectarian lines. Wright's second and third essays, which analyze the sources of William Ellery Channing's religious views and the origins of Emerson's Divinity School Address, are equally successful in shedding new light upon the nature of Unitarianism and its relationship to evangelical Protestantism and Transcendentalism. The remaining essays are more specialized; and, in some cases, such as the chapter on the involvement of Unitarian ministers in the antislavery crusade, they could have benefited from the use of recent scholarship.

If Wright's book demonstrates the usefulness of viewing religion from a broader perspective, Dwight Hoover's *Henry James, Sr. and the Religion of Community* illustrates the difficulties inherent in such an approach. Although Hoover declares that the purpose of his study is "to portray the religious thought of the elder Henry James in terms of its nineteenth-century setting," he adds little to our knowledge of the Calvinist, Unitarian, Transcendentalist, and Swedenborgian movements that he discusses. In a thorough, detailed, and sophisticated analysis of James's complicated religious views, Hoover argues that "James believed in the perfectibility of both man and society, and he therefore attempted to compromise between the perfectionism of his time which led to radical individualism and anti-institutionalism, and the perfectionism which led to a utopian socialism and the postulation of perfect institutions." The chief shortcoming of the book, outside of its ambiguous title, is its failure to use James to gain insights into the religion of the period. Hoover concludes simply that James shared the nineteenth-century faith "in the free individual's ability to live harmoniously in a society free from compulsion" and thus had "more in common with the thinkers of his age than either he or they suspected."

Even more specialized than Hoover's book is Carl E. Hatch's study of the 1891 heresy trial of the Presbyterian Biblical scholar, Charles A. Briggs. Using the scrapbooks and manuscript materials in the Union Theological Seminary Library, Hatch presents a detailed account of Briggs's early career, his interest in Biblical criticism, and the heresy trial itself. Although the book is well researched and well written, it is nevertheless disappointing because Hatch fails to get below the surface to the conflict of values that Briggs's heresy trial represented. Hatch pictures the trial as evidence of the intellectual watershed of the 1890s, but he misses the conflict of ideals that has recently been set forth so well in the books of Robert Wiebe and R. Jackson Wilson.

CLIFFORD E. CLARK, JR.
Carleton College

THOMAS L. KARNES. *William Gilpin: Western Nationalist.* Austin: University of Texas Press. 1970. Pp. 383. $7.50.

One might describe William Gilpin as a second-echelon leader in the westward movement. Born of well-to-do parents in the East in 1815, his adventurous spirit and pursuit of the "one big chance" made him a participant in many of the stirring events in nineteenth-century America. Yet in his varied career Gilpin was successful only once or twice. He finally did make a lot of money, but it was due more to his good luck than to any great ability on his part.

He also found time to lecture and write extensively about the Great West. Scholars "discovered" him about a generation ago; since then

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

estimates of his worth have varied. Bernard De Voto saw Gilpin as a nineteenth-century prophet of geo-politics; Henry Nash Smith viewed him as a booster of westward expansion leading to trade with the Orient; James C. Malin credited him with defending the value of the grasslands; and Wallace Stegner pictured him as an early example of the flamboyant Western booster who has harmed the West so much. Which of these estimates of the man are correct? Professor Karnes leaves the final judgment to the reader.

There has been a need for a good biography of Gilpin, and this study is entirely adequate. It is well researched, well organized, well written, and pleasantly impartial. Its weakness lies in the subject. Since Gilpin was a second-echelon participant in the events of the times, there is a paucity of reliable information available about him. Much extraneous material has been added, therefore, and the writer has been forced to use speculation and conjecture about many incidents in Gilpin's life. Yet, assuming the dearth of material, what else can a biographer do? Who is better qualified to draw speculative conclusions?

Gilpin emerges from this study as an eccentric, egotistical, prevaricating character who may or may not deserve a high place in the history of the westward movement. The statement credited to him that "he wanted to be buried on the highest summit of the Snowy [Sangre de Cristo] Range, on his back, with one eye pointed toward each ocean" (p. 307) reveals rather typically the distortions in his thinking.

This is, then, a solid biography of a not-so-solid man.

RICHARD A. BARTLETT
Florida State University

CLARK C. SPENCE. *Mining Engineers & the American West: The Lace-Boot Brigade, 1849–1933.* (Yale Western Americana Series, Number 22.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1970. Pp. xii, 407. $12.50.

Professional mining engineers were key figures in the development of the West. At first self-trained, many by the 1860s were educated at Freiburg or other European centers. Columbia University and the University of California by the 1890s were the foremost American schools of mining. To provide practical experience in the summers, a few conducted unpretentious field expeditions or owned a mine to practice on.

Some engineers worked primarily as consultants, most commonly assigned to evaluate a mine when change of ownership was contemplated. A reputable man thus staked his name only for fees that were worthwhile. Experience was valuable in making difficult appraisals, especially since attempts to deceive the expert for fraudulent purposes were common. Travel difficulties, inferior accommodations, and poor conditions within the mine often made the appraiser's fee hard-earned; abandoned properties were especially risky.

Most engineers at some time in their careers supervised a mine. A good manager systematically extracted all the profitable ore, not just the most valuable, as he went along, and he avoided erection of an expensive mill until he was sure that his property contained enough minerals to justify the expense. He was usually responsible for the entire operation of the property and handled a variety of tasks. Some especially well qualified engineers were expert witnesses in conflicting land title suits. Federal law gave the locator of a vein or lode the right to follow it, "with its dips, angles and variations," downward to any depth beyond the sidewalls, provided its top, or apex, was enclosed within the end lines of the location. This proviso spawned a great many suits. The expert witnesses found the work demanding but the fees high. Some engineers entered the field of metallurgy; some prospected; others leased or purchased their own mine; still others sold or promoted mineral property; a few became high executives in large companies. The average engineer, a physically tough man of some culture, was financially in the upper middle class. From 1890 to World War I there was a considerable demand abroad for American engineers. They were especially sought in Australia, South Africa, and Mexico; but also spread out to Asia, South America, and Russia.

This social and technological history covering a little explored field is a mosaic from a host of manuscript and printed primary sources. Exhaustively researched, logically

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

organized, and clearly written, it is a well-executed monograph.

WILLIAM S. GREEVER
University of Idaho

JAMES A. RAWLEY. *Race & Politics: "Bleeding Kansas" and the Coming of the Civil War.* (Critical Periods of History.) Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1969. Pp. xvi, 304. $5.95.

ERIC FONER. *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. xii, 353. $8.50.

These two studies—the first a succinct, well-paced account of the Kansas crisis, the second a meticulous examination of the ideology and composition of the Republican party in the 1850s—offer different explanations for the coming of the Civil War. Professor Rawley's interpretive point of departure in tracing the course of the Kansas imbroglio is the blundering generation thesis. His analysis abounds in revisionist tests of "statesmanship," "firmness," and "leadership," and he is particularly concerned with scoring the "executive failure" of Pierce and Buchanan. Yet the author is rightly dissatisfied with the revisionist explanation as failing finally to explain why a political generation blundered and, more specifically, why it was baffled by the challenge of Kansas. He finds his own answer in the pervasive race prejudice of the ante-bellum years, in the racism of the great majority of Americans in both sections of the country, which declared the permanent unfitness of the black race for democratic life and a determination to keep America a white man's country. In Rawley's reading of the Kansas crisis the Randall-Craven thesis takes on added dimension. "They were indeed blundering because they were a flawed generation—flawed by their belief in the African's innate inferiority." Thus "racialism," which the author documents with new but not surprising evidence, formed "the obdurate substratum of all political argument beyond which a blundering generation could not penetrate." A commonly shared conviction of white supremacy and the resulting failure to find viable alternatives to slavery were the fundamental causes, first of the Kansas fiasco and then of the disruption of the Union itself. "It was their deeply rooted race bias that caused men to become fanatical, to discard compromise, and to march blindly toward secession and a brother's war."

Despite his impressive evidence of well-nigh universal race prejudice, Rawley leaves the reader with a nagging question of his own. How was it that a generation of Northerners and Southerners sharing similar convictions about the incapacity of the black race nevertheless fell out over the question of extending slavery into the territories? The answer suggested in *Race and Politics* is tantalizingly brief. Northerners, the author concludes, came to fear the institution of slavery along with the blacks themselves because they intended to keep the country white, place the national government in hands friendly to their interests, and hopefully postpone the "dread questions" of emancipation and equality. Why then, we may ask, did Republicans in spite of their general agreement with Southerners on the dubious future of the black man nevertheless balk at the extension of slavery? The answer to this question, as Professor Foner's brilliant analysis of the Republican mind in the 1850s makes clear, lies in the realm of ideology.

To account for growing Republican intransigence, Foner argues persuasively, we cannot detach the question of race from the larger controlling Republican concept of "free labor" by which party members defined the nation's goals, measured the shortcomings of the South, and weighed the prospects of the black race. At the center of Republican ideology lay a passionate belief in the virtues of free labor of which racism was simply a negative expression. Unlike the Democrats' confused celebration of localism and squatter sovereignty, the free labor concept served the Republicans as a powerful social model—an ideal society, which they saw threatened by slavery. "Political antislavery," Foner proves conclusively, "was not merely a negative doctrine, an attack on southern slavery and the society built upon it; it was an affirmation of the superiority of the social system of the North—a dynamic, expanding capitalist society whose achievements and destiny were almost wholly the result of the dignity and opportunities which it offered the average laboring man." It was precisely this model

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that Lincoln had in mind when he spoke of the "race of life" open to the country's "middling classes" in whom labor and capital were combined and for whom a bright entrepreneurial future beckoned, a race leading not to corporate capitalism and concentration but to the security of regional, small-town development and "republican simplicity."

Such in outline form was the social philosophy to which the various groups of Republicans contributed and from which they derived originally divergent but increasingly similar meanings: a relative handful of radicals, the view of the Union as only the means to ultimate freedom; former Whig moderates and conservatives, the ideal of Union as an end in itself; and ex-Democrats, an intense fear of Southern domination. While admitting the wide currency of racism and racial stereotypes in the period before the Civil War, Foner clearly distinguishes differences within the Republican coalition no less real for being subtle, differences not so much on basic rights as on questions of legal and political equality that made a workable consensus difficult to achieve. That fragile consensus nevertheless was stated by Lincoln on the eve of secession when he affirmed the essential humanity of the black man and his right to the livelihood promised him by the free labor doctrine. However ambiguous and incomplete its pledges to the blacks, the Republican ideology barring the spread of slavery was enough to drive the South out of the Union. Foner considers secession a "total and logical response by the South to the situation which confronted it in the election of Lincoln—logical in the sense that it was the only action consistent with its ideology." Similarly, the Republicans' commitment to the Union in 1861 was an inflexible synthesis of two views once considered opposites. "For the integrity of the Union, important as an end in itself, was also a prerequisite to the national greatness Republicans felt the United States was destined to achieve."

While Rawley's readable account of Bleeding Kansas calls needed attention to the pervasiveness of a generalized race prejudice in the decade before secession, Foner's analysis of the wide variety of prejudices and fears and their shifting connection with the controlling Republican vision of the good society places racism in clearer perspective as only one part of a larger ideological configuration, an understanding of which is essential for explaining the Civil War.

JOHN L. THOMAS
Brown University

J. CUTLER ANDREWS. *The South Reports the Civil War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1970. Pp. xiii, 611. $15.00.

Fifteen years ago J. Cutler Andrews published his exhaustive study of Northern war reporting. Now he has given us a companion volume for the Confederacy.

In an early chapter the author provides a succinct introduction to the Confederate press, and in the last chapter he gives a useful summary of his findings. The rest of the book is mainly a narrative that describes the adventures of various reporters and that looks at the war through their eyes. Andrews has identified numerous hitherto nameless correspondents and has given richly deserved attention to such able observers as Peter W. Alexander and Felix Gregory de Fontaine.

Press coverage of the campaigns was very uneven. The two major armies received the lion's share of attention, and even there reporting was handicapped by hostile generals such as Bragg and J. E. Johnston and by problems of communication. Henry-Donelson, Seven Pines, Seven Days, the Kentucky invasion, Vicksburg, and Chickamauga were among the campaigns that were very poorly reported. The trans-Mississippi was almost wholly neglected. Even when news was obtained, military censorship often intervened. Indeed, Andrews remarks that in the South censorship preceded the war, and that the press was restrained by the shibboleths of a closed society: "Southern freedom of the press during the Civil War is another myth. . . ." Although only one newspaper—Brownlow's Knoxville *Whig*—was suppressed by state authority and none by the Confederate government, he maintains that others would have been "had not public pressure induced a change in editorial policy." This is faulty arguing. The absence of a Communist press in the United States today does not prove that the press is unfree. More

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

convincingly, Andrews, as have others before him, points to the damaging effects on the Confederate cause of the failure of public information, remarking that "President Davis had little understanding or appreciation of the press as a medium of public opinion." More attention could have been given to the feud between the press and the Confederate government.

The author believes that at its best Confederate war journalism was comparable to "the top performances of the North's leading reporters," but there was necessarily less of it and thus less readable copy. The plentiful quotations that enlivened Andrews' earlier book occupy far less space here. That fact and the somewhat excessive length have made for a story that is sometimes rather thin. Better too long than too short, however, for the book's comprehensiveness, combined with the quality of research, makes it the standard work on the subject.

LUDWELL H. JOHNSON, III
College of William and Mary

CAROL K. ROTHROCK BLESER. *The Promised Land: The History of the South Carolina Land Commission, 1869–1890.* (Tricentennial Studies, Number 1.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press for the South Carolina Tricentennial Commission. 1969. Pp. xvi, 189. $6.95.

South Carolina has the distinction of being the only state during Reconstruction to establish a system of acquiring land for sale to the freedmen on reasonable terms. This monograph attributes the origins of that attempt to the Civil War experience of land distribution on the Sea Islands and the pressure from the large delegation of blacks in the constitutional convention of 1868. Receiving no encouragement for a federal program of this type, the convention instructed the legislature to create a state land commission empowered to purchase "improved and unimproved real estate" to be subdivided and sold to actual settlers.

The commission's record prior to 1877 falls into two distinct phases. Administrative inefficiency and gross frauds characterize its activities until 1872 when responsibility was transferred to the secretary of state. Land purchases proceeded "at a breath-taking rate, accompanied by bribe upon bribe and fraud upon fraud" (p. 57). The honest and conscientious administration by two black secretaries of state between 1872 and 1876 saved the program and stand in striking contrast to the misdeeds of the first two commissioners, one white and one black.

After 1877 the Redeemers altered the emphasis and direction of the program. In its effort to raise revenue, the commission frequently sold the remaining land in large blocks to whites, and during the 1880s more blacks were evicted than took up residence. Activities ended in 1890 when all salable land had been disposed of. Although existing records are incomplete, Bleser estimates that 14,000 black families participated in the program, receiving 44,579 acres, while whites purchased 68,355 acres (pp. 144, 158).

Although the book advances no major reinterpretations, it does treat in a concise, carefully documented, and reasonably well-written form a little known aspect of Southern and Reconstruction history. The author could have employed the limited number of pages to greater advantage by including more detail and analysis of the commission's work and by giving less attention to South Carolina's Reconstruction and Redeemer history in general.

ALLEN J. GOING
University of Houston

RICHARD J. WRIGHT. *Freshwater Whales: A History of the American Ship Building Company and Its Predecessors.* [Kent:] Kent State University Press. 1969. Pp. xiv, 299. $9.00.

The general purpose of this volume is to provide a history of "the steel-hulled bulk freighter" on the Great Lakes. Toward the end of the nineteenth century many influences converged to further the employment of this type of vessel. Fundamental was the discovery of the iron ranges along or beyond Lake Superior's shores and the construction of railroads to carry the ore to dockside at Duluth and elsewhere. The national government financed both the enlargement of locks at the Soo and the deepening of shallow channels along the route to more easterly points. The old bulk cargoes of lumber and grain began to give way in importance, and the wooden carriers were suddenly

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

obsolete and worn out. Vessels of iron, and later of steel, took their place. In the late eighties lake yards were launching the whale-backs; when loaded they looked "like a water-logged cigar." But they were longer and deeper vessels, and their topsides were a succession of adjacent hatchways to facilitate a rapid loading and unloading by mechanical means. As the punishing deflation of the panic of 1893 got under way, shippers and builders turned to these vessels to cut costs. These groups, inspired by promoters, also sought a business consolidation to still their competition and attain the economies of scale. The outcome was the American Ship Building Company, one of many fashionable New Jersey holding companies. In the second half of his book, the author focuses upon the growth of this giant corporation during two world wars as well as in intervals of more peaceful growth. Throughout, the author displays thorough research in the documents. He also has selected a large group of appropriate illustrations.

Most topics are competently covered. Wright describes the assemblage of managerial and manual skills from this country and from abroad, particularly Scotland. Yet the treatment of labor policy is rather bland. In any case, the author avoids drowning in a surfeit of anecdotage. Technology in construction and in operation gets commendable clarification. The one spot where I detect a slight deficiency is in the matter of finance. The Great Lakes fleet was a link in the integration of the fundamental industry of steel making. Enterprisers could not leave to chance the interrelations between railroads and mines and lake carriers. Investment in any one factor led to investment in the others. For instance the influence and control by the Hannas and the Hoyts and the Colbys is rather casually treated: the intrusion of the Rockefeller and the Carnegie interests is so offhand that it comes almost as a surprise to the reader. Toward the end of the volume the author cuts loose—comparatively speaking—from documentation and summarizes the developments with almost Rotarian cheer and complacency. The St. Lawrence Seaway, unmentioned by Wright, may be a portent as well as a promise to the builders of the fleets on the Great Lakes.

EDWARD C. KIRKLAND
Thetford, Vermont

WILLIAM J. POMEROY. *American Neo-Colonialism: Its Emergence in the Philippines and Asia.* New York: International Publishers. 1970. Pp. 255. Cloth $7.50, paper $2.85.

PAOLO E. COLETTA, edited with a prologue by. *Threshold to American Internationalism: Essays on the Foreign Policies of William McKinley.* (Exposition-University Book.) New York: Exposition Press. 1970. Pp. 334. $8.00.

Assuming the validity of Lenin's analysis of imperialism and its causes, William Pomeroy has undertaken to derive from the Philippine experience an explanation for the seemingly anomalous "rise of the United States to world imperialist supremacy with only a minimum participation in outright seizure of colonies." Briefly, he finds that Americans acquired the Philippines and destroyed an indigenous "agrarian revolution" in order to obtain a base for participating in the China market. The bitterness of the Filipino people, the racism of Americans living in the islands, and the selfish machinations of various industrial, agricultural, and labor interests at home precluded intensive exploitation of the islands as a colony; and when the China market failed to live up to expectations, possession of the Philippines seemed a risky burden amid the growing power rivalries of the Far East. Anticolonialists who had opposed governing the Philippines but approved of making Latin America financially and commercially tributary showed the way. Cuba became the model: actually dependent, but technically independent, it was a land to be exploited without cost. Here is the origin, in Pomeroy's view, of America's mid-century "neo-colonialism"—its wars of "aggression" in Korea and Vietnam, its suppression of national liberation movements throughout Asia, and its economic colonization of the third world.

The argument is stimulating but simplistic. Pomeroy has eliminated most of the variables in the Philippine-American encounter, starting with the Filipinos themselves. There is almost no treatment of the islands' nineteenth-century society, culture, or economy, apart from references to the inaccurate Regidor and Mason sketch of commerce and the unreliable observations of American consuls and boosters. Turn-of-the-century Filipinos emerge from this vacuum in stereotypes—agrarian revolutionaries and self-seeking capitalist collaborators—and the diver-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sity of their aspirations is permanently lost. In the ensuing account, there is no significant dialogue between Filipinos and Americans. The islanders are objects; the Americans are the movers. On the American side, something similar has occurred. Virtually all motivation and causality have been reduced to economics and racism, and for good measure imperialism has been cast as an actor in its own right: "American imperialism . . . felt that it had the means to overcome the new, liberated nations and that the risk and the cost were worth it" (p. 11). The resulting argument is characterized by bias in the evaluation of sources, omissions of inconvenient facts, and a tendency to assert something about one person or action and document it by reference to another.

Threshold to American Internationalism is another matter altogether: a book that is sound but predictable and apparently without sufficient reason for existience. Professor Coletta promises a collection of essays to compensate for the allegedly sparse existing coverage of McKinley's foreign policies. His conception of foreign relations is traditional, however, and most of the contributors have previously addressed themselves to their topics elsewhere: Julius Pratt and Coletta cover the Spanish-American War and the Treaty of Paris; Charles S. Campbell, the growing amicability of Anglo-American relations; William Braisted, China policy; and Whitney Perkins, the beginnings of a colonial policy. Essays by David Healy on "McKinley as Commander-in-Chief" and George Pope Atkins on "McKinley and Latin America" complete the volume. These individual essays are, of course, professionally competent and, for the most part, nicely crafted. They will be valuable in certain types of courses. But no one should expect many surprises.

PETER W. STANLEY
University of Illinois, Chicago Circle

JOHN J. CONDER. *A Formula of His Own: Henry Adams's Literary Experiment.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1970. Pp. xiv, 202. $7.95.

MELVIN LYON. *Symbol and Idea in Henry Adams.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1970. Pp. 326. $9.75.

John Conder and Melvin Lyon, both professors of English, eschew the historical and biographical approaches popular among previous Adams critics and bring a determinedly literary bias to their subject.

Conder's intention is the more clearly assessed: he relates the successive forms of Adams' work to Adams' subjective intellectual purposes. For example, *Democracy* and *Esther* are seen as experiments in liberation; fiction permitted Adams to explore the realm of feeling in ways not encouraged by the Rankean techniques of the *History*. And feeling was clearly a vital entry in the balance sheet of Adams' scientific bookkeeping. Sensory liberation was a necessary precursor of the work of the last phase, for *Chartres* and the *Education* have in common their fusion of the rational with the affective realms of experience to achieve a unified statement of the human condition. Thus the "personalized cultural history" of the late works, employing the arbitrary narratives of autobiography in the *Education* and travel book in *Chartres,* allowed theorizing "without the necessity of resorting to abstraction." Adams' effort to discover a new twentieth-century unity, founded in the revelations of science and succeeding the vastly differing unities of the twelfth and of the eighteenth centuries, is more accurately defined as art than as historical philosophy.

Conder's study is extended and enriched by Melvin Lyon's more intricate investigation of Adams' symbolism. Lyon pursues Adams through his identification with medieval anarchism to his search for consolidating and unifying impulses in nature on to his recognition that chaos and reality are one. Adams' devices for suggesting these ideas are meticulously examined by Lyon. He finds in Adams' use of water imagery, for example, the varying phases of his resignation to chaos and his spiritless surrender to the unholy Second Law of Thermodynamics. Finally, in the proliferation of esthetic symbols, Lyon locates a modified spiritual recovery. Adams, he argues, tentatively concedes to the polar forces of illusion and reason the capacity to deliver some measure of resistance to the senseless multiplicity and meaninglessness of nature.

Lyon's concluding evaluation of Adams pushes his significance beyond what Conder has seen as a primarily esthetic achievement: "Disinclined to action by temperament, provoked to action by background, led to thought by temperament and background, dissuaded

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from too much reliance upon thought by both temperament and background, Adams ultimately combined these tendencies into works which provide a bridge between action and thought, between experience and its meaning, a bridge difficult to achieve in any age, but particularly so in our own complex and chaotic era." Lyon's appendixes and critical notes are important adjuncts to his far-ranging and sometimes overwrought analysis. They review with scholarly subtlety those unanswered questions that continue to beguile the confirmed student of Henry Adams.

ANNETTE K. BAXTER
Barnard College

DARNELL RUCKER. *The Chicago Pragmatists.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 200. $6.00.

Here is a modest book that will serve purposes far beyond those that the author had in mind. His object is to describe the origins and growth of the Chicago School of pragmatists at the turn of the century and to expound the central features of their philosophy. He has done this with such scholarly thoroughness and balance and with such a just understanding of the fundamental intellectual issues at stake, that he has written not only a definitive chapter in the history of American philosophy and higher education, but a first-rate introduction to pragmatic philosophy as represented by John Dewey and George Herbert Mead.

The story of the Chicago School is in itself fascinating. Who would have thought that the new University of Chicago, in such a short period, would become a major intellectual center? Mr. Rucker tells us that when the university was first contemplated, someone in the East remarked that Chicago was about as likely a place for a great university as the Fiji Islands. Moreover, its president, William Rainey Harper, was looking for men somewhat more religiously orthodox than Dewey or Mead. He tried hard to bring much stodgier people to Chicago and settled for Dewey only after being told, apparently, that the young philosopher, then at Michigan, was a churchgoing man.

But Dewey came; he brought Mead with him and was joined in his work by James H. Tufts, James R. Angell, and others. As William James remarked, Harvard had thought but no school, Yale had a school but no thought. Chicago had both. Working together under Dewey's leadership, the Chicago School of philosophers reached out and influenced their colleagues in education, social work, psychology, and the social sciences. They created a university that was a community. Mr. Rucker tells this story beautifully, but he never loses himself in it. He is aware that the Chicago School created an epoch in American thought as well, and he shows why. His book is first rate.

CHARLES FRANKEL
Columbia University

DONALD C. SWAIN. *Wilderness Defender: Horace M. Albright and Conservation.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1970. Pp. xii, 347. $10.75.

During his lifetime Horace M. Albright engaged in two disparate and, in some respects, antithetical professions—first as a government official and later as a business executive. Relying heavily upon the Albright papers and other manuscript sources, Donald C. Swain has written a lively and sympathetic account of Albright's two careers in which he clarifies the contributions of one man to conservation in the United States.

Albright's first career began in 1913 when he left his native California to become an administrative assistant in the Department of the Interior. Two years later he teamed with Stephen T. Mather to provide the neglected national park system with administrative unity. The Mather-Albright partnership remained intact for the next fourteen years, and through its skillful direction the National Park Service became a professionalized administrative agency capable of successfully resisting the sporadic forays of politicians and businessmen who coveted control of existing and potential park lands for exploitative purposes. When Mather departed from government employ in 1929, Albright carried on as director of the National Park Service and presided over a significant expansion of park holdings, including the creation of Grand Teton National Park, a project upon which Albright had labored since 1919. In 1933 Albright terminated a twenty-year association with the national parks to embark upon an equally successful, if not as eventful, career as

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

chief executive of United States Potash, a position he held until his retirement in 1956.

The bulk of Swain's study deals, and justly so, with Albright's public career. His achievements while with the National Park Service were significant ones, and he unquestionably deserves the plaudits given him as an expert administrator and pragmatic politician, whether operating on a local level as superintendent of Yellowstone Park or on a national level as director of the Park Service. Swain is, however, on much less firm ground in asserting that Albright was at heart an esthete who, as he matured as a conservationist, took a middle ground between the purists and the utilitarians for the sake of compromise and accommodation. Swain's cited evidence indicates, to me at least, that Albright always had the mind of an administrator and political opportunist who placed practical considerations above the ideal. It is difficult to believe that an esthete, purist or otherwise, would favorably recommend a proposed Grand Canyon cableway, even if that action were only a temporary aberration and even if one admits to the practical political connection between the volume of park use and congressional appropriations. It is equally improbable that a true esthete would pen wild animals and expand the bear pits (garbage dumps) at Yellowstone Park for the amusement of tourists.

Despite this criticism this is a valuable book and a welcome addition to the library of conservation history.

GEORGE T. MORGAN, JR.
University of Houston

DAVID M. KENNEDY. *Birth Control in America: The Career of Margaret Sanger*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1970. Pp. xi, 320. $8.75.

EMILY TAFT DOUGLAS. *Margaret Sanger: Pioneer of the Future*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1970. Pp. viii, 274. $7.50.

In the brief span of 276 pages, David M. Kennedy has, in effect, given us three books: a biography of Margaret Sanger, an account of the birth-control movement down to about 1945, and an exploration of its ideological antecedents and implications. As biographer, Kennedy dwells on Mrs. Sanger's faults and failings, concluding that her megalomania, her simplistic approach to complex issues, and her intolerance of possible rivals seriously damaged her cause. He deplores her strident anti-Catholicism (the legacy of a free-thinking father) and her failure to seek allies in liberal Catholic circles. In tracing the movement's organizational history—mainly a story of wrangling among competing groups—he examines the responses of doctors, lawmakers, judges, and clergymen to the reform. His account of the medical profession's concern over lay involvement with an essentially "medical" issue is particularly sensitive.

In his "intellectual history" chapters, which seem to have engaged him somewhat more deeply, Kennedy relates Mrs. Sanger's outlook to late nineteenth-century notions about sex, marriage, and the family; he brilliantly traces the evolution of the birth-control ideology from the pre-1917 period, when it was a radical rallying cry and a red flag to the bourgeoisie, to the 1920s, when it was championed by racist-minded eugenicists and embraced by significant elements of the middle class as a weapon against the proliferating lower classes and, especially, as a means of rejuvenating the imperiled institution of marriage. In a provocative chapter entitled "Margaret Sanger, Sexuality and Feminism," he argues that Mrs. Sanger's feminism was a reactionary version rooted in the belief that "only in maternity and the cultivation of their sexuality" could women achieve fulfillment. The quotations with which he buttresses this point do not seem quite able to bear the ideological weight he places upon them, while Mrs. Sanger's own career might be offered as counterevidence to the contention that she saw the bedroom and the nursery as the outer bounds of woman's sphere. But, speaking more broadly, Kennedy documents well his concluding observation that "in many significant ways birth control has served conservative ends." His is a valuable addition to the studies of Lasch, Kraditor, O'Neill, and others who are so fruitfully exploring aspects of modern American feminism.

Emily Taft Douglas' sentimental and eulogistic biography of Mrs. Sanger exemplifies well the hagiographic approach against which Kennedy has reacted. Yet, taken on its own terms, it is a highly readable narrative, adding flesh and blood to the rather abstract figure

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Kennedy delineates. This is particularly true of its treatment of Mrs. Sanger's early years, her two marriages, and her relations—cerebral and otherwise—with Havelock Ellis and H. G. Wells. Though in too uncritical a fashion, Mrs. Douglas does remind us that Margaret Sanger was, after all, a figure of world-wide influence, a woman whose final achievement was to secure from a sympathetic benefactor the funds that financed development of "the pill"—potentially one of the landmark events of our age.

PAUL S. BOYER
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

PAOLO E. COLETTA. *William Jennings Bryan.* Volume 3, *Political Puritan, 1915–1925.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 334. $8.25.

Since his death in 1925, there has been no scholarly biography of William Jennings Bryan, partly because his correspondence is scattered throughout the country, and scholars have been reluctant to travel from one end of the country to the other in order to study Bryan's multifaceted and lengthy career. Paolo Coletta has now done this, and the result is a three-volume biography of Bryan. This, the last volume, covers the years from 1915, with Bryan's involvement in the antipreparedness crusade, until his death in 1925.

The research undertaken for this study is impressive. The author has meticulously examined dozens of manuscript collections, numerous newspapers, and the vast secondary literature dealing with Bryan. Moreover, he has conducted scores of interviews with people who knew Bryan. Indeed, it is rare that one reads a historical study that has been so carefully researched as this one.

While the strength of this volume is in its research and documentation, its weakness lies in its conception. The volume is filled with factual information about Bryan—what he did and said and how people responded to him. But an understanding of Bryan does not emerge from these pages.

The author has chosen not to engage in a systematic and explicit analysis of Bryan's psyche. As a result, we are still without an adequate understanding of the inner dynamics that motivated him to participate in one crusade after another for over a quarter of a century. Nor is Coletta's social analysis entirely satisfactory. In this respect it would have been a better volume had the author provided a more systematic analysis of Bryan's interaction with political parties during these years or offered more explicit explanations as to how and why Bryan became a leader in the fundamentalist-modernist debate.

Coletta quite properly views Bryan as an important figure in the movement for women's suffrage, antitrust legislation, and currency and banking reform; and there is the suggestion that Bryan's activities helped to achieve posthumously the guarantee of bank deposits, minimum farm prices, old age annuities, and insurance programs (p. 293). But one can easily exaggerate Bryan's significance in American history, and the over-all impact of this volume is to overstate Bryan's importance.

When one compares modern American history with that of other highly industrial countries, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that in the process of modernization, certain policies emerge at common levels of industrialization regardless of the country under consideration. And many of the reforms advocated by Bryan are programs that have emerged at comparable levels of industrialization in all modernizing societies. Indeed, it is my judgment that most of the reforms suggested by Bryan and enacted into legislation would have been realized had Bryan never come on the scene. This is not to argue that Bryan was an unimportant person in American history. Rather, it is an effort to place Bryan's influence in proper perspective.

Much of Bryan's importance in American history results from the fact that it was through him that certain forces of industrialization were transmitted into reality. Also, it was through Bryan that the forces of modernization stirred up certain counter currents—witness his support of fundamentalism and prohibition. Indeed, Bryan is an ideal subject for biography, as his life reveals the contradictory forces unleashed in the American modernizing process.

Despite its conceptual shortcomings, this volume contains much information about efforts to keep the United States out of World War I, the debate over the Treaty of Versailles, the presidential compaigns of 1924, and the prohibitionist and fundamentalist movements. Indeed, the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

three volumes will long be a valuable storehouse of information for scholars who study that third of the century prior to Bryan's death in 1925.

J. ROGERS HOLLINGSWORTH
University of Wisconsin, Madison

ROY LUBOVE. *Twentieth-Century Pittsburgh: Government, Business, and Environmental Change.* (New Dimensions in History: Historical Cities.) New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1969. Pp. x, 189. Cloth $7.95, paper $4.95.

The history of urban reform and environmental change in twentieth-century Pittsburgh is, according to Roy Lubove, the history of decision making by the city's corporate elite. Early attempts by voluntary reform associations to rationalize urban development without government expansion failed because of reluctance to antagonize the city's competing interest groups. For example, smoke equaled prosperity in the Steel City; thus, smoke control could not be instituted easily.

Pittsburgh's urban "Renaissance" did not materialize until a new generation of businessmen, led by R. K. Mellon and supported by David L. Lawrence's Democratic political machine, rejected the notion of voluntarism and recognized the need for expansion of public power and expenditure. Alarmed by the environmental crisis of the late 1930s and early 1940s, they formed the Allegheny Conference on Community Development to meet the challenge of Pittsburgh's automobile-strangled and dilapidated downtown area, polluted skies, swollen rivers, and inability to attract new industry.

Ironically, however, as the era of voluntarism declined, a "reverse welfare state" was established: public resources became closely identified with corporate welfare, as best symbolized by the city's renewed downtown commercial area, Gateway Center. A business-inspired social renaissance, emphasizing housing reform, improved conditions little for Pittsburgh's lower classes. Thus, during the late 1960s, neighborhood leaders—often blacks—rose to challenge the city's corporate elite. Their aims were to reverse the "reverse welfare state" and to share in urban decision making.

Roy Lubove's study of Pittsburgh contributes significantly to the fields of urban history and planning; it extends to more recent times the thesis that urban reform during the Progressive era should not be interpreted as an uprising against business but was actually business initiated. Although Lubove laments poor local record keeping, he makes good use of the urban history materials that do exist, especially the resources of the Pennsylvania Division of Pittsburgh's Carnegie Library, the records of the Buhl Foundation, and the publications of ACTION-Housing. But, because of its local emphasis and the nature of the materials used, *Twentieth-Century Pittsburgh* leaves one wondering about the relationship, if any, of environmental change in that city to events on the national level. Was Pittsburgh's corporate elite locally inspired, or did it finally accept the "reverse welfare state" because the New Deal's program of liberal capitalism laid the groundwork for just such an acceptance?

BRUCE M. STAVE
University of Connecticut

WILLIAM D. ROWLEY. *M. L. Wilson and the Campaign for the Domestic Allotment.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1970. Pp. x, 219. $8.50.

DON F. HADWIGER. *Federal Wheat Commodity Programs.* Ames: Iowa State University Press. 1970. Pp. xi, 407. $10.50.

LOUIS GANTOR. *A Prologue to the Protest Movement: The Missouri Sharecropper Roadside Demonstration of 1939.* (Duke Historical Series.) Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1969. Pp. 204. $6.50.

MICHAEL P. MALONE. *C. Ben Ross and the New Deal in Idaho.* Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1970. Pp. xxiii, 191. $7.95.

FRANCIS W. SCHRUBEN. *Kansas in Turmoil, 1930–1936.* Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1969. Pp. xiv, 240. $8.50.

In his volume William D. Rowley has written the first full account of the ideas and events that led up to the adoption of the Agricultural Adjustment Act in May 1933. Beginning with a discussion of wheat as a symbol of despair among farmers in the 1920s, the author describes how Wilson, a Montana State College agricultural economist, became disillusioned with cooperatives and McNary-Haugenism and began to advocate agricultural readjustment through better land utilization and the adoption of the domestic allotment plan. Taking

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ideas worked out by W. J. Spillman and John D. Black, Wilson sought to translate the domestic allotment plan of farm relief into reality by winning the support of important politicians. In this he was successful.

Much of this historical ground has been pretty well tilled, but Rowley plows deeper and provides more detail on Wilson's work than has yet been published. This study is important because it demonstrates the influence of one intelligent and persistent man in spanning the gap between academic economics and public policy. The author has relied heavily on the pertinent manuscripts and other basic sources, including the Wilson Papers. This book provides a fuller understanding of the background of one important aspect of the New Deal.

If problems facing wheat farmers prompted M. L. Wilson to search for an effective program of agricultural relief, they provided Don F. Hadwiger with the subject matter for his book, *Federal Wheat Commodity Programs.* Hadwiger shows clearly that the problem of wheat was excessive supplies and inadequate demand, especially after 1920. This situation prompted Congress to develop a variety of programs between the 1920s and 1960s to help the wheat situation. It is these programs—McNary-Haugenism, the Agricultural Marketing Act, the New Deal legislation, later production control schemes, conservation, and export programs—that Hadwiger covers in some detail.

This book is more than just a study of federal wheat legislation. It provides a great deal of information on total farm policy since the 1920s. The chapter on the Eisenhower years is among the best. Many valuable tables are included on production, exports, storage, and other aspects of the wheat industry. The weakest aspect of the book is its organization. For example, repetition could have been reduced if the materials included in chapters 2 and 3 had been treated in their proper chronological order. But overall this is a very useful book for anyone concerned with farm policy during the last half century.

Louis Cantor has made it clear that New Deal farm policies did not help the genuinely poor operators. In *A Prologue to the Protest Movement, The Missouri Sharecropper Roadside Demonstration of 1939,* the author tells the story of how more than a thousand oppressed and destitute sharecroppers, most of them black, finally sought to dramatize their plight in January 1939, by camping along highways 60 and 61 in southeast Missouri. Led by Owen H. Whitfield, a Negro farmer-minister who was active in the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, these landless peasants were the victims of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, which encouraged cotton planters to get rid of their tenants and sharecroppers so they could receive all of the cash benefit payments. There were other factors that contributed to their plight, but the AAA greatly added to their problems. Within four days the protesters had been moved away from the highways and out of sight. Yet for a moment in history they had dramatized their plight before the nation as newspapers presented the events in bold headlines. As Cantor says, this was an "early use of nonviolent demonstration to dramatize human want and suffering." But the tragedy was that it achieved so little. There was no basic change in the act that benefited tenants, and other government programs resembled symbols more than substance when it came to helping the poor.

Cantor's book points up at least three important things. Whitfield, a black, emerged as an effective leader who was interested in poor people, both black and white. Yet Cantor shows how difficult it was to get unity among leaders interested in doing something meaningful for the poor. And finally this study demonstrates how very difficult it is to develop and implement programs that might help America's underprivileged. Indeed, this book is a kind of case study of New Deal indifference to the lowest economic groups in American society.

Two books dealing with state politics during the New Deal period are Michael P. Malone's *C. Ben Ross and the New Deal in Idaho* and *Kansas in Turmoil, 1930–1936,* by Francis W. Schruben. Both Idaho and Kansas were agrarian states severely hit by the depression; both were still under the strong influences of the Populist-Progressive tradition; both were predominantly Republican in the 1920s. Idaho, however, turned to C. Ben Ross, a Democrat, for leadership, while Kansans placed their faith in Alf Landon, the Republican.

Ross, a rancher-farmer, Farm Bureau leader, and mayor of Pocatello, won Idaho's governorship in 1930 to close out more than a decade of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Republican control. He skillfully took advantage of the radicalism that was never far below the political surface because of agricultural misfortunes in the post-World War I period. Ross built up a strong following by advocating, among other things, honesty and economy in government, tax reform, and moratorium legislation. Although Ross had some of the characteristics of a demagogue, his rhetoric was usually much more radical than his actions. Indeed, Ross's career lends support to the contention that the New Deal was firmly in the Populist-Progressive tradition of American reform. The remarkable thing about Ross was how much support he could garner during the worst of the depression with programs that were neither very new nor very novel.

Kansas in Turmoil, 1930–1936 is an excellent example of state history placed in proper national context. It is essentially a political study, but economic conditions receive needed attention. The first part of Professor Schruben's book deals with conditions in Kansas in the 1920s, the gubernatorial election of 1930, the impact of the depression on the state, and the election of Republican Alf Landon who defied the Democratic deluge in 1932. A discussion of the famous goat-gland doctor John R. Brinkly adds spice and significance to this study. The last half of the book deals with Landon's race for the presidency in 1936. Schruben maintains that, while Kansans were anxious to benefit from New Deal programs, they tried to maintain their individualism and independence by keeping moderate, common-sense Landon in Topeka during the stresses and uncertainties of the early New Deal. Moreover, Kansas, like Idaho, was still under the influence of Populist-Progressive traditions and ideas.

By providing two fine state studies, Schruben and Malone have broadened our understanding of the New Deal and its impact on the nation. Both books are well researched, as the authors have relied on a wide variety of sources, including manuscript materials. They provide a somewhat fuller understanding of the relationship between the New Deal programs designed in Washington and their implementation in the states. It is here, however, that both studies are weakest. Both books are mainly descriptive of the complex and sometimes controversial relationships between the state and national governments, and, consequently, they do not greatly expand our understanding of federal-state relations in those crucial years. Nevertheless, these volumes present a view of the New Deal from the grass roots rather than from Washington, a perspective that is greatly needed.

GILBERT C. FITE
University of Oklahoma

DAVIS R. B. ROSS. *Preparing for Ulysses: Politics and Veterans during World War II.* (Contemporary American History Series.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1969. Pp. vi, 315. $10.00.

We have had few serious historical studies of the United States during World War II except in military and diplomatic subjects. The best Roosevelt biography for the period gives little attention to matters not directly concerned with the war. It may be forever thus, but there are some important unworked themes whose study might provide us with some new insights.

Ross has taken up one of these subjects—veterans' policy—and has examined it with diligence and imagination. His topic is, of course, an offshoot of military history but one with broad domestic, political, and social implications. He has not stopped with the New York *Times*, published government documents, and memoirs; he has studied the pertinent holdings in the National Archives, the Roosevelt and Truman libraries, and the widely scattered congressional collections, as well as the American Legion archives.

The result is a monograph that is one of the best accounts we have of the development of public policy. No brief summary can do justice to the book, but a few points may suggest its richness. Roosevelt had a long record of opposition to "veterans' exclusiveness" and a determination to secure social and economic benefits for society in general. The elections of 1942, however, gave added power to the anti-New Deal coalition in Congress, which thereupon scuttled the National Resources Planning Board, the agency most directly concerned with the development of veterans' policy. Anti-New Deal congressmen, led by the powerful John E. Rankin of Mississippi, chairman of the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation, seemed able to take charge in the face of a preoccupied

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

administration. A revitalized American Legion, however—eager to win members among the sixteen-million veterans—supported measures to broaden and liberalize the provisions of what came to be the "G. I. Bill of Rights" act of 1944. In doing this it broke with other old-line veterans' groups jealous of the prerogatives of their membership. Perhaps the most astonishing news in the book is Ross's discovery that the Legion was "susceptible to bargaining," a fact the Roosevelt administration missed. Ross thinks that "the Legion might have listened to New Deal appeals to depart from the narrow perspective of veterans' exclusiveness" (p. 123). This is iffy, but the evidence is persuasive.

This is an important book in a promising new series. If only Ross had resisted the temptation to drag the *Odyssey* in at every opportunity in his effort to find prototypes and analogies. G. I. Joe may have had a counterpart, but a Ulysses he wasn't.

ROBERT E. BURKE
University of Washington

Foreign Relations of the United States, 1946. Volume 7, *The Near East and Africa.* (Department of State Publication 8490.) Washington: Government Printing Office. 1969. Pp. viii, 941. $5.25.

For some time after the Second World War the Middle East was the storm center of the cold war. Out of that storm center the United States emerged the most influential power in the Middle East and the main challenger to the Soviet Union. Britain learned to play "second fiddle" to the United States and not the other way around. The United Nations received and survived its first most serious challenges in the course of numerous crises in the Middle East. Secretary of State Byrnes and the diplomatic corps composed a more effective team than a number of critics have led so many to believe. President Truman and finally Byrnes and the Joint Chiefs of Staff refused to compromise human decency and a homeland for the Jews in the Middle East for oil and a more easily arranged plan of security.

These and more conclusions of substantial importance come to light through an analysis of the immediate postwar Iranian, Greek, Turk, and Palestinian crises, which are revealed here in all their naked diplomatic realities. The Department of State certainly had cause to fear the making of a tragedy if the Soviet Union were permitted to bludgeon Greece, Iran, and finally Turkey into granting bases along the Straits and in the Aegean and also control of the oil resources of the Middle East. Such prospects stirred American policy makers and diplomats to new heights of determination and effectiveness. Even the half-century-old "unwritten" Anglo-American alliance was made to come through in spite of President Truman's distrust of Prime Minister Attlee in the Palestine crisis. Attlee was "astonished" that Truman could not have been more generous and patient with British policy makers. American firmness prevailed nonetheless. American troops, for example, were not committed to help Britain out of its Palestine dilemma because such a commitment "would unnecessarily risk such serious disturbances throughout the area as to dwarf any local Palestine difficulties." Besides, "a great part of our military strength, as well as our standard of living, is based on oil."

Many moments of tense diplomatic exchange about such matters are revealed for the first time and in the liveliest of detail. For the most part the editing has been judiciously arranged, including more than the usual number of footnote directives for further reference. Several United States position papers are included and are of special importance. On the other hand, the scholar's appetite is also aroused by the many noticeable omissions. Unfortunately, a most serious criticism must be made of the poor quality of paper and binding used in this and several preceding volumes. The use of not one but two quite different inferior grades of paper in this volume certainly compounds the cause to insist that a higher priority of official concern should be given to the publication of these important and permanent reference volumes of official diplomatic discourse.

MITCHELL WILLIAM KERR
Towson State College

NUMAN V. BARTLEY. *The Rise of Massive Resistance: Race and Politics in the South during the 1950's.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 390. $10.00.

Professor Bartley has mined the rich resources of the Southern Education Reporting Service and the Southern Regional Council to produce

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one of the most important volumes yet to appear on the political history of the recent South. This is political history defined broadly, for the author places his account of massive resistance in the context of the sharp demographic, economic, and social changes occurring in the South in the post-World War II era. The region suffered from cultural lag as "the southern environment was changing substantially more rapidly than southern attitudes." This climate was ideal for the growth of "neobourbonism" whose leaders led the massive resistance movement in an effort to defeat the second Reconstruction as their predecessors of the last century had defeated the first Reconstruction.

The neobourbons came primarily from the black belt, although there was no lack of support in the small towns and the cities in general. They sought to retain control over a fast-changing society that had traditionally recognized their prerogatives, and they employed the old tactic of scaring the majority of whites with the "black threat," which seemed real enough as the pace of the civil rights revolution quickened in the 1950s. States' rights, the shopworn theory of interposition, and protective vigilance against Communist subversion were elements in the ideological fog used to hide these baser motives. No short review can do justice to this book, but the author examines in depth the origins of massive resistance in the Dixiecrat movement, the role of the White Citzens' Councils as the shock troops of the movement, the ideology of resistance, and the general timidity of the Supreme Court, the federal government, and business, church, and educational leaders of the South that enabled the neobourbons to make a mockery of the law in the name of legality. No doubt the neobourbons are in the vanguard of those calling for law and order today. By the early 1960s, the massive resistance forces were in retreat before aroused "moderates," believers in segregation but motivated enough by pocketbook ethics to lead the way toward acceptance of tokenism in dealing with racial justice, and thus toward the national norm for white America.

One major criticism of the book is that it fails to provide more than a perfunctory account of the victims of massive resistance, black and white. This shortcoming does not detract from the over-all accomplishment, however, and this volume should be required reading for anyone seeking to understand the demise of the civil rights movement in the 1960s, particularly the declining confidence in the law—or at least its enforcement—in the black community.

RICHARD M. DALFIUME
State University of New York, Binghamton

Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States. Lyndon B. Johnson. Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and Statements of the President, 1968–69. Book 1, *January 1 to June 30, 1968;* Book 2, *July 1, 1968 to January 20, 1969.* (Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration.) Washington: Government Printing Office. 1970. Pp. lxix, 761, A-93; lxiii, 763–1404, A-93. $10.50; $9.50.

These two volumes, composed of many of Lyndon B. Johnson's previously published statements and transcripts of his press conferences, reflect the pains of a nation torn by racism, violence, and war. During his last thirteen months in the White House, no issue consumed more time and energy or receives greater space in these books than the war in Vietnam. Throughout 1968 Johnson's then-familiar explanations continued: the war was against an external aggressor (North Vietnam) and its "puppet" forces in the South; aggression had to be halted in Southeast Asia or a major part of the world would be lost to freedom; America's eager allies were also fighting for freedom; the government and forces of "democratic" South Vietnam were growing stronger; and the United States was prepared to negotiate a settlement. What had changed is that the president no longer openly suggested the possibility of a U.S. military victory in Vietnam, and he ultimately halted the build-up of U.S. troops there.

By 1968, as the *Papers* makes clear, Johnson had become a prisoner in the White House, a president unable to venture to or near many college campuses. Many Americans, and particularly the growing Left, were finding additional reasons to distrust him. They charged his administration with an unwillingness to settle the war and with insisting on terms that were unacceptable to the South's enemies. They learned that the widely-heralded "de-escalation" of the spring exempted only about seventy-five per cent, not ninety per cent (as Johnson re-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

peatedly claimed), of the North's population from American bombs, and that the U.S. Air Force during the early months of "de-escalation" almost doubled the number of sorties against the North. Some Americans gasped after the Tet offensive when the administration contended that it was not a defeat for the South and when Johnson brought Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker to a press conference to explain that Tet was a "military . . . psychological, and political defeat" for the NLF. Also, Americans found additional reason to doubt whether the alleged North Vietnamese attack on an American ship in Tonkin Bay had ever occurred. More and more Americans spoke of the "credibility" gap, and certainly the mistrust of the president was greater than ever before. But for those who recalled the Greer incident under FDR or the White Paper on Cuba under Kennedy, there was less surprise at the lack of candor from the White House. For some scholars, and for more students, there slowly developed many of the same tests for truth that critics of the Soviets had long employed: assume that a statement is dubious until it can be evaluated by independent means.

On the home front in his last year, the president strengthened the civil rights program, expanded medicare and social security, deplored some violence, secured legislation to improve "law and order," won greater aid to education, struggled to halt inflation, increased income taxes, improved manpower programs, gained some protection for consumers, advanced programs for conservation, and alerted the nation to the plight of the Indians. His administration may yet be heralded as the culmination of New Deal-Fair Deal reforms and as the achievement of much of the promise of the New Frontier. But the dominant events at home in 1968 involved not legislation but violence: assassinations of Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy; burning of ghettos; and police brutality in Chicago.

In looking through the *Public Papers*, one also notes certain minor themes: Johnson referred to blacks as Negroes; he broke precedent and did not deliver a farewell address; and he continued to suspect the press but still held twenty press conferences, only slightly below the average of Kennedy and Eisenhower.

Over the years the editing of the *Public Papers* has improved, or at least the conception of the task has expanded slightly. As a result, the annotations, while still narrowly conceived, are fuller than in the Eisenhower and early Truman volumes. Yet there are still some disappointing practices: for example, the note after LBJ's statement on King's death mentions riots during the next week, but the editors did not see fit to cite Secretary Robert McNamara's testimony before a congressional committee on what Johnson's promise of "de-escalation" actually meant in practice. Also, the process of selection is occasionally surprising. A presidential statement on a report on federal aid to education is omitted, but more than two dozen presidential citations to combat units are included. In addition it is unclear why only some statements (for example, numbers 100 and 299) are noted as following the text of the White House Press Office when the introduction to the volumes implies that this office is a major source for an accurate text of most, if not all, documents. These are minor criticisms, and scholars have every reason to be grateful for what the government has provided at comparatively low cost: a convenient collection of many official statements of the president.

BARTON J. BERNSTEIN
Stanford University

LESLIE B. ROUT, JR. *Politics of the Chaco Peace Conference, 1935–1939.* (Latin American Monographs, Number 19.) Austin: University of Texas Press for the Institute of Latin American Studies. 1970. Pp. xiv, 268. $7.50.

It seems a reasonable conclusion that the Chaco War between Bolivia and Paraguay from 1932 to 1935 was as involved an episode in international relations as can be found in the long panorama of Latin American history.

Not only were the two landlocked and hence frustrated states fighting each other in one of the hemisphere's bloodiest conflicts, but each had within itself the seeds of division. Argentina intermeddled, Chile was a very concerned bystander, other states of the hemisphere—not omitting the United States—exerted pressure, and the League of Nations got into the act. The struggle for peace, once the guns stopped firing, was no less complex. One might well wonder how a settlement was ever achieved; it may still be a question whether peace has permanently descended on the tortured Chaco Boreal.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In this excellent study Leslie B. Rout, Jr. carefully examines the tortuous course of negotiations from 1935 to 1939 that marked the quest for peace, at least for peace of a sort. The book is a competent, workmanlike job. Dr. Rout, associate professor of history at Michigan State University, has thoroughly consulted the primary sources in not only the belligerent states but also in Argentina, Brazil, the United States, and elsewhere. He interviewed or corresponded with many of the actors in the drama. His presentation is calm and objective; indeed, one wishes he might have interjected more of his own informed judgments. A number of well-drawn maps, photographs of key figures, and documentary appendixes are all helpful.

The bibliography is selective but not as full as it might be. One notes, for example, the omission of Wood's *The United States and Latin American Wars* (1966), Cooper's *American Consultation in World Affairs* (1934), and the two volumes of González's *Preparación del Paraguay para la Guerra del Chaco* (1957).

After examining the early diplomatic maneuvers and the highlights of the war itself, the author turns a microscope on the long Buenos Aires conference itself. The arrogant, intransigent, and egotistical Carlos Saavedra Lamas emerges as the *bête noire* of the sessions; and Brazil's José Carlos de Macedo Soares and especially Spruille Braden of the United States stand out as among the sturdiest of the wheelhorses who finally managed to beat out a settlement.

Dr. Rout's study is a highly valuable addition to the literature on a needless war.

RUSSELL H. FITZGIBBON
University of California, Santa Barbara

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Communications

TO THE EDITOR:

In an article recently published entitled "Red Fascism: The Merger of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia in the American Image of Totalitarianism, 1930's–1950's" (*AHR*, 75 [1969–70]: 1046–64), Les K. Adler and Thomas G. Paterson set out to show that in the period covered many Americans drew an analogy between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia as having similar totalitarian systems. Having demonstrated that such an analogy did in fact exist in the minds of many Americans, the authors contend that the analogy was a "potent and pervasive notion that significantly shaped American perception of world events in the cold war" (p. 1046), and "forced rigidity upon postwar American foreign policy . . ." (p. 1060). As a result, Adler and Paterson maintain, the United States lost an unspecified number of opportunities in the years 1945–46 to reach an accommodation with the Soviet Union after World War II (pp. 1060–61). However, the authors fail to prove that American policymakers were indeed influenced by the popularly accepted analogy.

The authors attempt to suggest that the analogy influenced American foreign policy by quoting such public figures as Senator Arthur Vandenberg, George F. Kennan, Adlai Stevenson, Secretary of the Navy Forrestal, and General Douglas MacArthur on the question of postwar appeasement, which the authors maintain was one aspect of the Nazi-Soviet analogy. They fail to mention that the views of neither of the last two received much support within the government. (See the entry of September 21, 1945, *Forrestal Diaries*, ed. Walter Millis [New York, 1951], 96, and Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945–1966* [New York, 1967], 119). They conclude that "indeed, for some, diplomacy and appeasement were probably nearly identical in meaning, and diplomacy with totalitarian states meant concession to principle" (p. 1058). Adler and Paterson then allege that such a "national stance" was suggested by President Truman in his Navy Day speech of October 1945, when he stated: "We shall firmly adhere to what we believe to be right; and we shall not give our approval to any compromise with evil" (p. 1058). The authors comment that "such an attitude had a paralyzing effect on international give and take and certainly impeded the accommodation of international differences."

It is clear, however, that the excerpt was taken out of context and used to misrepresent the tenor and content of the original. It is difficult to believe that Truman could have felt that "diplomacy and appeasement were probably nearly identical in meaning," since the sentences that follow the excerpt read: "But we know that we cannot attain perfection in this world overnight. We shall not let our search for perfection obstruct our steady progress toward *international cooperation*" (*Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States. Harry S. Truman. . . . January 1 to December 31, 1945* [Washington, 1961], 433–35; emphasis added). A little later in the speech he said:

> The world cannot afford any letdown in the united determination of the allies in this war to accomplish a lasting peace. The world cannot afford to let the cooperative spirit of the allies in this war disintegrate. The world simply cannot allow this to happen. The people in the United States, in Russia, and Britain, in France and China, in collaboration with all the other peace-loving people, must take the course of current history into their

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

own hands and mold it in a new direction—the direction of continued cooperation. It was a common danger which united us before victory. Let it be a common hope which continues to draw us together in the years to come.

Since the authors' flagrant distortion of this speech is the only evidence offered of a supposedly inflexible attitude in international affairs on Truman's part, their contention remains unproven.

There are other distortions. Adam Ulam is cited to support the contention that the USSR had no blueprint for expansion in the postwar period, thereby implying that the Soviets had no aggressive intentions abroad (p. 1062). What Ulam in fact wrote was: "It is fairly clear that no such blueprint existed, that in fact Soviet policies responded to the specific circumstances and to the wider repercussions of Soviet thrusts in this or that area . . ." (A. Ulam, *Expansion and Coexistence: The History of Soviet Foreign Policy, 1917–67* [New York, 1968], 345). Ulam never suggested that the lack of a "blueprint" meant that the Soviets had no aggressive intentions.

After quoting the contention of Francis P. Matthews, a director of the United States Chamber of Commerce, that "all Communists, like all fascists, who owed a 'superior loyalty to a foreign power' should be excluded from government employment and from other sensitive positions," Adler and Paterson write that "Attorney General Tom C. Clark *concurred* [emphasis added] in a speech in 1946 to the Chicago Bar Association, pointing out that 'we know that there is a national and international conspiracy to divide our people, to discredit our institutions, and to bring about disrespect for our government' " (p. 1055). The passage does not show that Clark "concurred" with Matthews' demand.

There are numerous examples of value judgments inadquately supported by the evidence provided, of general statements offered without substantiating evidence, and of assertions made as if they were historical facts when actually they may be either incorrect or subject to debate. Some examples:

(1) "The analogy itself obstructed accommodation: it did not allow for a sophisticated understanding of power relationships in Europe; it substituted emotion for intellect; and it particularly affected the American perception of reality" (pp. 1060–61). There is no proof offered that the analogy in fact obstructed accommodation; there is also no proof that the analyses of totalitarianism were guided by emotion.

(2) "The documents [captured German documents concerning the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939 and published by the United States State Department in 1948] reinforced and reflected the American image of the Nazi-Soviet connection and strengthened the argument of those who believed that Russia had never shared Allied war goals, but rather embraced the German aims of world domination" (p. 1059). Not one of the quotations that precede this statement serves to support it. In none of these is it stated or implied that Russia "had never shared Allied war goals," or that Russia "embraced the German aims of world domination."

(3) "Blinded by the analogy, American leaders could only perceive the civil war in Greece as a Hitler-like fifth-column intrusion by the Russians and not, as it was in reality, a struggle of Greeks against a British-supported monarchy with little interference by the Soviet Union" (p. 1055). The authors present this statement as a simple historical fact, when actually there exist many questions about the extent of Soviet Russia's interference in these events. For a contrary view, see I. J. Lederer, "Russia and the Balkans," in *Russian Foreign Policy: Essays in Historical Perspective* (New Haven, 1962), 450.

Soviet policies and practices during the period discussed are virtually ignored by the authors. Since the article is a revisionist critique of the "traditional" interpretation of the origins of the cold war, such an omission is to be regretted. It has inevitably led to a one-sided treatment of an obviously multi-faceted problem. There is no attempt to discuss either the evidence that indicates that secret Soviet preparations were beginning for the replacement of the "war on fascism" by the "war on capitalism" as early as 1944; or the Duclos letter denouncing U.S. Communist leader Earl Browder for obstructing such a shift in April 1945 and for predicting, in his book *Teheran: Our Path in War and Peace* (New York, 1944) "generations of peace" between Russia and the United States; or the grave and growing con-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cern Franklin D. Roosevelt felt about Soviet conduct before his death; or the many ways in which the USSR alarmed those Americans and Europeans who were doing their utmost to plan a peace settlement and an occupation of Germany in cooperation with the Soviets in 1945–46.

Finally, having themselves admitted that the Soviet system has failed to live up to its ideals, the authors complain that in her study of totalitarianism Hannah Arendt "avoided the important distinction between one system [the Soviet] proclaiming a humanistic ideology and failing to live up to its ideal and the other [the Nazi] living up to its antihumanistic and destructive ideology only too well" (p. 1049). The magnitude of the Soviet failure, however, makes such a distinction more semantic than real.

We have raised the above criticisms not to argue the merits of the stance taken by Adler and Paterson but to question the authors' scholarship. The shortcomings that we believe are in the article leave us greatly disturbed and do nothing to aid the search for truth. We hope that future studies will give evidence of more thorough, careful, and honest appraisals of the issues.

EDWARD J. LAZZERINI
LAWRENCE W. LERNER
University of Washington

THE AUTHORS REPLY:

This challenge to our article on "Red Fascism" falls into the ambiguous trap of claiming to question our scholarship while in reality questioning our argument. It is all the more confusing since it is motivated by what appear to be unexamined premises, of which the authors themselves seem to be unaware, about the origins of the cold war. In addition, their comments on our use of historical data are seriously weakened by their persistent and painfully naive conceptions of how to weigh evidence and present an argument, by the shallowness of their analysis, by their lack of evidence, and by their general insensitivity to differences between image and reality.

Let us begin with their first point, which ignores the large body of evidence we presented on the widespread vogue of the Red Fascist image in the minds of men with considerable influence in diplomacy, up to and including the president of the United States. Their statement that neither Forrestal nor MacArthur "received much support within the government" requires close scrutiny. Let us go to page 96 of the *Forrestal Diaries* and read more carefully. What was the issue? Lazzerini and Lerner never mention it. We did in our article. Forrestal labeled Henry Wallace's idea of sharing atomic information with the Russians "appeasement." Now it may be true that not everyone in the cabinet meeting of September 21, 1945, supported Forrestal's choice of words, but as Walter Millis, editor of the *Diaries*, notes, "The underlying attitude of nearly all seemed closely in accord with Forrestal's contribution" (p. 95). Forrestal did have support within the government. And if we should wish to carry the question to the general level of influence and support in American cold-war foreign policy, we find Forrestal quite often in the forefront of decision making, sending out the Mediterranean Task Force Fleet, elevating George F. Kennan to positions of influence, and publicizing the containment doctrine, for example. (See Lloyd Gardner, *Architects of Illusion: Men and Ideas in American Foreign Policy, 1941–1949* [Chicago, 1970], 270–300.) No one would claim that everybody in the cabinet or government at that time endorsed the Red Fascist notion or spoke in the rhetoric of Red Fascism. Forrestal did; he held considerable influence; and he joined others in utilizing the analogy to argue their case for America's cold-war diplomacy.

In their handling of MacArthur, Lazzerini and Lerner similarly lack an awareness of the complexity of the question involved. We must assume that they mean MacArthur did not receive support within the government because he was fired by Truman. Their point here is shallow and distorts our argument. He was fired not because of his statements about appeasement or Red Fascism—the evidence is overwhelming that many top officials in Washington were speaking and thinking similarly—but because President Truman considered him to be insubordinate in the civil-military relationship.

Now to Truman's Navy Day speech. We deny categorically Lazzerini's and Lerner's charge of scholarly malpractice. Their statements about this speech illustrate well our

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

point about their own unexamined premises and naive sense of the use of evidence. No scholar weighs every line in every speech equally when assessing the significance of the address. Statements are compared with those of other speeches to evaluate changes in emphasis—changes that are evident to many scholars who have studied Truman's speeches in 1945. The substantive question is clear: On what evidence do Lazzerini and Lerner choose to emphasize Truman's statement on international cooperation? The entire tenor of a speech must be evaluated, certainly, but with an eye to what is concealed as well as to what is revealed and with a sensitive attempt to grasp what underlies the presence of any phrase in the document. What did Truman mean by "international cooperation"? What did he mean by "progress" toward international cooperation and "lasting peace"? Statements such as Truman's on international cooperation are axiomatic in almost all public addresses by leading Americans and Europeans. Truman uttered them again and again; so did Senator Arthur Vandenberg; and so did Joseph Stalin.

What is the evidence? Did the United States by its actions and decisions support international cooperation? We contend that the most accurate meaning of the phrase "international cooperation" in the Navy Day speech is cooperation on American terms. The American record in international organizations in the early cold-war period, for example, should not be very comforting to Lazzerini and Lerner. The reality is that the World Bank and International Monetary Fund of Bretton Woods were dominated by American votes (one-third of the total, not counting those from Latin America) and dollars (especially because of their shortage in the world). The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was disbanded in 1946, because the United States refused to grant it any more funds on the grounds, as Dean Acheson put it, that the U.S. could not control it because Washington had "only one voice out of many voices and many votes . . ." (U.S. Congress, Senate, Foreign Relations Committee, *Assistance to Greece and Turkey*, 80th Cong., 1st sess. [March 24, 1947], p. 37). Neither the Truman Doctrine nor the Marshall Plan bear the mark of international cooperation, in large part because the United States deliberately bypassed existing international institutions such as the United Nations, the Food and Agriculture Organization, and the Economic Commission for Europe to initiate American programs on American terms. Whether one criticizes or admires these diplomatic cornerstones of American foreign policy, he must admit that there is quite a gap between rhetoric and reality. That our readers in this case failed to see the gap and, even worse, were unaware that this kind of interpretive problem exists for scholars, demonstrates their historical myopia. Their charge of "flagrant distortion" is both insulting and ridiculous. As we pointed out in our previous reply to critics (*AHR*, 75 [1969–70]: 2155–64), the problem is one of interpretation. Until Lazzerini and Lerner recognize this problem and become conscious of their own unexamined assumptions, their charge of "flagrant distortion" should be taken as nothing more than the blind projection that it is.

Though denying any intention of questioning our argument, Lazzerini and Lerner quote us out of context in an attempt to leave the impression that our argument is overdrawn and unsubstantiated. Being well aware of the difficulties presented by the problem of proving the influence of an idea or an image, we were deliberately cautious with our language, a caution our critics do not grasp. They quote us from page 1058 without giving the full statement with the qualifications. For emphasis here, let us quote ourselves with italics: "Since the cry of appeasement was pervasive in the American mind, diplomats *may have been* less willing to bargain and more willing to adopt uncompromising positions *vis-à-vis* the Soviet Union. Indeed, *for some*, diplomacy and appeasement were *probably nearly* identical in meaning, and diplomacy with totalitarian states meant concession to principle" (p. 1058). We then go on to quote the Navy Day speech and conclude that such a stance was detrimental to diplomacy. Earlier in the paragraph we quoted others on the appeasement theme. It would be absurd and unscholarly to claim absolute influence for the "Red Fascism" idea, and we do not, as the italicized words indicate. What we do claim is that a great deal about the nature of American perception and policies in the cold-war years can be understood and explained

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by recognizing the presence of the "Red Fascist" analogy in the thinking of many American leaders. This is an interpretation; Lazzerini and Lerner are welcome to offer another, but certainly on the basis of research rather than facile assumption and innuendo.

We quoted Ulam correctly. We suggest that the writers of the letter read the entire quotation on page 345, which includes the important distinction between the Soviet domination of Eastern Europe and a perceived threat of a Soviet plan of attack on Western Europe—a plan both Ulam and George F. Kennan argue did not exist, except in the images nourished by some "Western observers."

With respect to the allegation that the words quoted from Attorney General Tom C. Clark do not support our argument, we suggest that Lazzerini and Lerner reread the entire paragraph that deals with the issue of communist and fascist subversion from within. This is precisely the question Clark was addressing. We should also point out that in writing an article it is necessary to leave out much material that would be useful only in a more extended work. For clarification, let us include some of it here. Not only did Clark make the 1946 statement, but in a 1948 speech he proudly quoted his earlier remarks and added, "It is gratifying to note that the American Bar Association, a few days ago . . . took steps to expel those within the organization who are not loyal to our form of Government, and to prohibit from membership any applicant with subversive ideology. This effective work should be extended to all non-governmental groups and agencies." (Speech, September 18, 1948, Stephen Spingarn Papers, White House Assignment, Harry S. Truman Library.) Our research convinces us that Clark "concurred" with Matthews both in general and in specifics.

Of course there are value judgments in our essay. What scholar does not have them? But we do not pass them off as facts, and we could not agree more that our assertions are subject to debate. Was there really need to state this truism? Emotion is evident in Red Fascism. Can Lazzerini and Lerner prove that it was not, or that reason was a more important factor in it? We repeat that one cannot separate the publication of the Soviet-Nazi documents from popular ideas and the cold war.

We answered the point about the Greek civil war in our last exchange, but we wish to point out that I. J. Lederer, whom Lazzerini and Lerner cite, makes his assertion, which is questionable, without a citation or shred of evidence (p. 450). A deliberate distortion? Misrepresentative scholarship? No, a differing interpretation.

There is an implied assumption that bothers us greatly. Lazzerini and Lerner state that "Since the article is a revisionist critique of the 'traditional' interpretation of the origins of the cold war, such an omission is to be regretted." This suggests to us that there are supposed to be different standards of scholarship for "revisionists" and "traditionalists"—labels that are of dubious help in understanding the complexity of ideas—and that if we were not "revisionists" our alleged omission would not have been regretted as much. We do not wish to belabor this matter, but it does reveal something about Lazzerini and Lerner, their clumsiness in analysis, and their lack of care.

Their comment about the Duclos letter confirms our belief that Lazzerini and Lerner are unaware of a considerable amount of historical controversy and scholarship that make their statement superficial. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. would agree with them, of course, because he gave a similar interpretation in his much quoted *Foreign Affairs* article of October 1967. But where is Schlesinger's evidence that the letter was written on orders from Moscow and that it alerted Communists to assume a new posture of noncooperation? Christopher Lasch, Gar Alperovitz, Gabriel Kolko, and William A. Williams, among others, have argued that the question is complex, that the letter can in fact be read as both cooperation and noncooperation. Kolko writes in his *The Politics of War* (New York, 1968) that Duclos was an advocate of United Front politics, that he pursued a moderate line, and that the Duclos letter was simply a casual survey of the dissolution of the American Communist party. Few scholars have penetrated the Duclos letter question deeply, and until they do, Lazzerini and Lerner should be more cautious about asserting such grand positions.

We have never said in our writings that there were no differences between Russia and the United States and that relations were smooth

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

or could have been after the war. Of course the Russians were difficult to deal with and there would be friction after the war. But the bitterness, the military escalation, the heated rhetoric, and the alliances were not inevitable. Of course Roosevelt displayed some annoyance, even anger, in 1945; but he was also angry in 1939–40 over the Soviet subjugation of Finland. And his "grave and growing concern" was not the same as that of Truman, who was clearly more blustering, less cautious, and less willing to compromise. Their letter suggests that Roosevelt's anger would have impeded pacific Soviet-American relations of any degree and would have brought about some realization that the Russians were nothing more than obstructionists. Roosevelt knew they were difficult; he had bargained with them at Yalta a few months before. There is no solid evidence that Roosevelt was not seeking at the time of his death an accommodation with the Soviets.

The complex history of American relations with the powers over Germany calls into question Lazzerini's and Lerner's statement. What does "peace settlement" mean? On American terms? Terms agreed to by cooperation? As John Gimbel has pointed out in his *The American Occupation of Germany* (Stanford, 1968), France in 1945–46 was more the obstructionist than Russia, and the myth of Soviet intransigence needs to be strongly questioned. The Soviets were difficult over central administration and reparations issues in Germany, but a reading of the minutes of the Allied Control Council reveals that the Soviets made a number of key compromises, whereas the French adhered stringently to their opposition to centralized four-power control of Germany.

The Soviet "war on capitalism" was always there. It was toned down during the war, as was American anticommunist sentiment. The Soviet anticapitalist line became more vociferous toward the end of the war, as did the American anticommunist line. We grant their existence, but ask if their existence per se precluded any accommodation in the cold war. We might add that American foreign policy might have had something to do with the rise of anticapitalist rhetoric in Russia. And it is true also that the "war on fascism" was a fact; the "war on capitalism" was rhetoric, unless we give such a loose definition to "war" that it loses meaning.

The view of totalitarianism suggested by Lazzerini and Lerner in their continuing efforts not to argue "the merits of the stance" taken in our article has several problems. First, it assumes that similarities in domestic political forms will necessarily carry over into the area of foreign affairs. Second, it is essentially static in its assumption that because two systems have certain similarities at a certain time they are forever fixed in that relationship, and third, it avoids dealing with the vast social, cultural, and ideological factors that differentiate and motivate differing systems. Following the logic of their letter—not unfairly, we think—Lazzerini and Lerner would seem to be in the difficult position of arguing, for example, that because certain American actions in Southeast Asia (invasions, disregard of international opinion and law, massacres of civilians, wanton bombings, etc.) are very similar in actuality to those of Nazi Germany in Europe, the distinction between America's failure to live up to its humanistic ideology and Germany's success in living up to the Nazi faith is also "more semantic than real." Our feeling is that to make such an argument, one has to be willing to sacrifice a great deal of complexity for soothing simplicity.

In conclusion, we are all the more confirmed in the findings of our research that the Red Fascist analogy distorted reality and was a serious impediment to peaceful relations in the early cold war. We have enjoyed this debate, but we believe that debates are usually more productive and analytical if the other team does its homework and avoids sweeping assumptions that lack substantiation and analysis of complexities and that tend to confuse rather than to clarify. To Lazzerini and Lerner, who write that our study does not qualify as a "search for truth," we can only suggest that it may appear so to them because they are too sure of what the "truth" is.

LES K. ADLER
Sonoma State College

THOMAS G. PATERSON
University of Connecticut

TO THE EDITOR:

Regarding my fascinating piece on "The Royal Navy and the Ethiopian Crisis, 1935–36" (*AHR*, 75 [1969–70]: 1327–56), on page 1351,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

at the end of paragraph one, I state that the Anglo-French naval agreement allocated to the British "the area westward of a line drawn eighty degrees from Cape de Gata, Spain, about seven miles east of Gibraltar, where the British Home Fleet would be responsible." This is nonsense. The passage should read: "the area westward of a line drawn one hundred and eighty degrees from Cape de Gata, Spain, where the British Home Fleet would be responsible. This line hits the African coast almost exactly on the frontier between Morocco and Algeria."

In reference to page 1340, note 36, where I say that the origin of the expression to give an officer a "bottle" (to rap him on the knuckles) is obscure, the full term, it develops, is "a bottle of acid." This you deliver or collect as the case may be. Perhaps the full meaning is that when an admiral is displeased, his comments tend to be pretty acid!

A few bits and pieces from letters received since publication from senior officers of the Royal Navy to whom I had sent offprints may be of passing interest. A fact not generally known is that the first offensive action planned by the Vice-Admiral, Aircraft Carriers, Sir Alexander Ramsay, if Britain found herself at war with Italy, was a Fleet Air Arm night attack on the Italian fleet in Taranto harbor. Because of the short range of the aircraft, the British would have had to land at Janina airfield in northwest Greece and be landed-on at sea, off Zante Island, west of the Peloponnesus, the next morning. This involved amicable negotiations with the Greek government. There was, of course, no war with Italy in 1935–36; but the germ of the idea remained in being and, modified to suit the conditions, evolved into the actual attack on Taranto harbor in World War II. Again, the naval concentration at Aden during the crisis gave the Germans the key to the British naval cipher. The ships used their wartime codes and ciphers, "offering a cryptanalyst's feast. Call-signs were easily identified; key words and phrases regularly repeated" (Donald McLachlan, *Room 39: A Study in Naval Intelligence* [New York, 1968], 77). Malta apparently had no antiaircraft (A/A) guns in the beginning, and the air defenses of Gibraltar were little better: two three-inch guns. Serious consideration was given to sending one of these A/A guns to the naked island fortress! In the Far East the fleet had been so drained of ships for the Mediterranean that, to give the Japanese the impression that it had not been weakened appreciably, one old cruiser and four destroyers "rushed madly about and pretended they were the China Station Fleet!"

Finally, there is this raw bit of history that points up the attitude of the British sailors toward the "Ities," and vice versa. In the words of one who was there: "We were guard ship at Port Said for many weeks and used to see the troopships passing. In one of them an Italian sailor peed over the stern to show his feelings for the British. A sailor shouted, 'Do it while you can!' which brought the house down, because the Ethiopians were well known for their trick of castrating their prisoners!" On which high note I conclude.

ARTHUR MARDER
University of California, Irvine

TO THE EDITOR:

James M. McPherson's excellent article, "White Liberals and Black Power in Negro Education, 1865–1915" (*AHR*, 75 [1969–70]: 1357–86), described the continued demands for black control of white-financed institutions of higher education for blacks. He proposed that the unwillingness of those who raise the funds to relinquish control of them and the lack of adequately prepared blacks to take charge of the institutions were critical factors in the development of these institutions. His data, however, lend themselves to an additional analysis, and suggest two important alternate hypotheses.

McPherson accepts that the drive for black control centered on demands for greater participation as teachers, deans, presidents, and trustees. He presents tables showing, among other things, the proportion of the staff and faculty that was black and whether or not the principal or the president of the school was black for the years 1894–95 and 1914–15. The following table, based on McPherson's data, shows the correlation between these two factors. Black executive leadership is rarely found when the proportion of black faculty is below fifty per cent; it occurs most often when the proportion of black staff and faculty exceeds seventy-five per cent. The distributions were the same whether one examined the data for 1894–95 or for 1914–15.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Relationship between the Proportion of Black Staff and Black Leadership of White-Financed Institutions of Higher Education for Blacks

Proportion of Black Staff and Faculty	Number of Leaders of Each Race		
	White	Black	Total
.76–1.00	1	10	11
.51– .75	4	1	5
.26– .50	22	1	23
.00– .25	18	1	19
Total	45	13	58

Based on a two-by-two table (white and black; over fifty per cent black, under fifty per cent black), statistical analysis yields a Chi Square of 27.10. For one degree of freedom, this value indicates an association between the two variables, significant well below the .0001 level of probability. It is highly unlikely that the values in the table above represent a random distribution of numbers.

All of the institutions were white funded, and all had totally black student bodies. From McPherson's data, a general hypothesis can be derived that black executive leadership will be related to the proportion of blacks serving in the institution, and not to the proportion served by it. (An index of the community control of service organizations being developed by Frank J. Corbett and Edward Cole of the Office of Urban Affairs, State University of New York at Buffalo, identifies black executive leadership and budgetary control as important indexes of community control.) The hypothesis could be tested, furthermore, by examining trends in a wide variety of institutions—prisons, businesses, or antipoverty programs. The hypothesis may be particularly adaptable to the public school situation. The funding for public schools comes from tax revenue, and, as in McPherson's study, this revenue is collected primarily from whites. Usually the prime argument in demands for community control of schools is the proportion of nonwhites in the student body. The proposed hypothesis suggests, however, that the critical variable in determining whether or not the top administrator will be black is the proportion of black faculty and staff, and not the proportion of black students in the schools. The data also suggest an alternate hypothesis: When the top administrator of an institution is black, the proportion of black faculty and staff may become progressively greater. This hypothesis could be tested by examining the dates of the appointments of the top administrator and the black members of the faculty and staff in various institutions. Confirmation of either hypothesis would have bearing on the strategies of groups concerned with community control of their schools.

MURRAY LEVINE
State University of New York, Buffalo
DAVID I. LEVINE
Calasanctius Preparatory School

TO THE EDITOR:

In his review of my collection *España Bélica* (*AHR*, 75 [1969–70]: 141–42), Mr. Charles H. Carter comments that the work is not sufficiently informative. As I stated several times in the volumes, the work was intended as a survey, not as an exhaustive investigation; it is impossible to write a thorough study of three centuries of military history in a thousand pages.

Mr. Carter's allegation that more information is given about the conquest of the Canary Islands than about the conquest of Italy is unjustified. Ninety-seven pages are devoted to the conquest of Italy and thirty-one pages to the Canaries. The reviewer claims that not a single modern history of the Thirty Years' War is mentioned in the bibliography. In fact, George Wagner's *Wallenstein, der böhmishe Condottiere* (Vienna, 1958), August Leman's *Richelieu et Olivares. Leurs négotiationes secrètes de 1636 à 1642 pour le rétablissement de la paix* (Lille, 1938), General D. Julio Fuentes' *Batalla de Nördlingen* (Madrid, 1906), and other long Spanish historical works are cited. And why would Charveriat and Janssens, for example, not be adequate sources for a survey? When he criticizes me for relying solely on Churchill for Elizabethan England, Professor Carter ignores my use of Lingard's *A History of England* and the Spanish works on the period.

The comments about Denia and Lerma are not clear at all. Sandoval, Marquis of Denia, became Duke of Lerma in November 1599 (see,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for example, the annuaries of the Spanish secretary of justice).

Professor Carter's criticisms could have been more accurate and dispassionate. It is regrettable that such an unfair critique has been published in the *American Historical Review.*

CARLOS MARTINEZ DE CAMPOS
Madrid, Spain

Professor Gordon Rimmer regrets that in his review of *Courtaulds: An Economic and Social History,* by D. C. Coleman *(AHR,* 75 [1969–70]: 1111–12), he inadvertently referred to George Courtauld III instead of Samuel Courtauld III (1793–1881) in the first and second paragraphs of the review, and that in the second paragraph he referred to Samuel Courtauld III instead of George Courtauld III.

Professor Moses Rischin regrets that in his review of Robert M. Crunden, *A Hero in Spite of Himself: Brand Whitlock in Art, Politics, & War (AHR,* 75 [1969–70]: 1788–89), he inadvertently failed to mention Jack Tager's *The Intellectual as Urban Reformer: Brand Whitlock and the Progressive Movement* (Cleveland, 1968). If not a full-scale biography like Crunden's, it is a superb portrait of Whitlock as a Progressive. It is regrettable that Crunden neglected to take a few cues from Tager's monograph, which he fails even to cite. It would have aided him substantially in locating Whitlock's "center of gravity."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Festschriften and Miscellanies

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed. Other *Festschriften* and similar volumes that are amenable to reviewing will be found in the review section.

Essays on Western History in Honor of Elwyn B. Robinson. Sioux Books. Grand Forks: University of North Dakota Press. 1970. Pp. 86. $2.00.

ROBERT P. WILKINS, Elwyn B. Robinson: An Appreciative Sketch. EDWARD C. BLACKORBY, George B. Winship: Progressive Journalist of the Middle Border. WILLIAM W. PHILLIPS, Growing Up With the Country: Asle J. Gronna's Apprenticeship. WESLEY A. WAAGE, *The Wheat Grower:* A Journal of the Commodity Pooling Movement. RALPH J. KANE, The Paradox of California Populism. JACKSON K. PUTNAM, Down to Earth: A. B. Guthrie's Quest for Moral and Historical Truth. D. JEROME TWETON, Progressivism Discovers the Farm: The Country Life Commission of 1908. SINCLAIR SNOW, Protestant versus Catholic: U.S. Reaction to the Mexican Church-State Conflict of 1926–29. A Bibliography of the Writings of Elwyn B. Robinson.

HOLLINGSWORTH, HAROLD M., editor. *Essays on Recent Southern Politics.* [The Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures, Number 4.] Austin: University of Texas Press for the University of Texas at Arlington. 1970. Pp. 115. $4.00.

JOHN B. CONNALLY, Introduction. E. C. BARKSDALE, The Power Structure and Southern Gubernatorial Conservatism. GEORGE NORRIS GREEN, Some Aspects of the Far Right Wing in Texas Politics. T. HARRY WILLIAMS, Huey Long and the Politics of Realism.

HOLLINGSWORTH, HAROLD M., and MYRES, SANDRA L., editors. *Essays on the American West.* [The Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures, Number 3.] Austin: University of Texas Press for the University of Texas at Arlington. 1969. Pp. 114. $4.50.

OTIS A. SINGLETARY, Introduction. SANDRA L. MYRES, The Ranching Frontier: Spanish Institutional Backgrounds of the Plains Cattle Industry. BLAINE T. WILLIAMS, The Frontier Family: Demographic Fact and Historical Myth. ROBERT L. WILLIAMSON, The Muzzle-Loading Rifle: Frontier Tool. RAY A. BILLINGTON, Frederick Jackson Turner and Walter Prescott Webb: Frontier Historians.

Indiana Historical Society Lectures, 1969–1970. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society. 1970. Pp. 88.

HOWARD H. PECKHAM, Redcoats and Red Men: The Development of American Military Confidence. JAMES MORTON SMITH, The Transformation of Republican Thought, 1763–1787. HARRY L. COLES, Some Recent Interpretations of Jeffersonian America.

NASH, PAUL, editor. *History and Education: The Educational Uses of the Past.* New York: Random House. 1970. Pp. x, 338. $6.95.

PAUL NASH, History and Education: The Dialectics of Enquiry. KENNETH CHARLTON, The Teaching Profession in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England. HENRY J. PERKINSON, René Descartes and Modern Education. MICHAEL B. KATZ, Education and Social Development in the Nineteenth Century: New Directions for Enquiry. BRIAN SIMON, Classification and Streaming: A Study of Grouping in English Schools, 1860–1960. A. V. JUDGES, The Meaning of Equality in Education. TIMOTHY L. SMITH, Parochial Education and American Culture. DAVID B. TYACK, Onward Christian Soldiers: Religion in the American Common School. A. C. F. BEALES, Church and State in Education: Public Support for Confessional Schools in Some English-Speaking Countries. W. H. G. ARMYTAGE, Battles for the Best: Some Educational Aspects of the Welfare-Warfare State in England. BRIAN HOLMES, The Contribution of History to a Science of Education.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Other Books Received

Books listed were received by the *AHR* between October 1, and December 1, 1970. Books that will be reviewed are not listed, but listing does not preclude subsequent review.

GENERAL

ABADIE-AICARDI, OSCAR. *El Uruguay, los Estados Unidos y la Unión Panamericana (1916–1918)*. Preliminary study and notes by CARLOS MARIÁ DE PENA: *Apuntes diplomáticos*. Montevideo: Impresora Cordón. 1969. Pp. 250.

BERMAN, MARSHALL. *The Politics of Authenticity: Radical Individualism and the Emergence of Modern Society*. Studies in Political Theory. New York: Atheneum. 1970. Pp. xxiv, 325. $8.95.

BEŠEVLIEV, V., and TĂPKOVA-ZAIMOVA, V. (eds.). *Recherches de géographie historique*. Studia Balcanica, No. 1. Académie Bulgare des Sciences, Institut d'Études balkaniques. Sofia: Éditions de l'Académie Bulgare des Sciences. 1970. Pp. 243. 2.80 L.

BULLOUGH, VERN L. (ed.). *The Scientific Revolution*. European Problem Studies. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1970. Pp. 129.

CROUZET, MAURICE. *The European Renaissance since 1945*. History of European Civilization Library. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 1970. Pp. 216. $2.95.

EASTON, STEWART C. *The Heritage of the Past: Earliest Times to 1500*. 3d ed.; New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1970. Pp. xvi, 792.

GAY, PETER. *The Bridge of Criticism: Dialogues among Lucian, Erasmus, and Voltaire on the Enlightenment—on History and Hope, Imagination and Reason, Constraint and Freedom—and on Its Meaning for Our Time*. Harper Torchbooks. New York: Harper and Row. 1970. Pp. 173. $1.95.

GROSE, DAVID D., *et al.* (eds.). *A Select Bibliography of History*. Comp. by the Henry Adams History Club, Harvard University. 4th ed.; [Cambridge, Mass.: the Club.] 1970. Pp. xi, 428.

HITTI, PHILIP K. *Islam: A Way of Life*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1970. Pp. 198. $6.50.

ILLICK, JOSEPH E. (ed.). *America & England: 1558–1776*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1970. Pp. viii, 299. $3.65.

KISCH, GUIDO. *Consilia: Eine Bibliographie der juristischen Konsiliensammlungen*. Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn. 1970. Pp. 86. 25 fr. S.

LÉON, PIERRE. *Économies et sociétés préindustrielles*. Vol. 2, *1650–1780: Les origines d'une accélération de l'histoire*. Collection U, Ser. "Histoire moderne." Paris: Armand Colin. 1970. Pp. 459.

LEWIS, I. M. (ed.). *History and Social Anthropology*. A.S.A. Monographs, No. 7. London: Tavistock Publications; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1968. Pp. xxviii, 307. $8.00.

LOTHSTEIN, ARTHUR (ed.). *"All We Are Saying . . .": The Philosophy of the New Left*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1970. Pp. 381. $7.95.

NAGELS, JACQUES. *Genèse, contenu et prolongements de la notion de reproduction du capital selon Karl Marx: Boisguillebert, Quesnay, Leontiev*. Centre d'Histoire économique et sociale. [Brussels:] Université Libre de Bruxelles, Institut de Sociologie. 1970. Pp. 274. 585 fr. B.

OGLEY, RODERICK. *The Theory and Practice of Neutrality in the Twentieth Century*. The World Studies Ser. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1970. Pp. xiv, 217. $8.00.

RUGGLES, NANCY D. (ed.). *Economics*. The Behavioral and Social Sciences Survey. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1970. Pp. viii, 182. $2.45.

SETTON, KENNETH M., *et al. The Renaissance: Maker of Modern Man*. The Story of Man Library. Washington: National Geographic Society. 1970. Pp. 402. $12.55 postpaid.

STAVRIANOS, L. S. (ed.). *The Epic of Man to 1500: A Collection of Readings*. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1970. Pp. 366. Cloth $7.95, paper $5.95.

WOLOCH, ISSER (ed.). *The Peasantry in the Old Regime: Conditions and Protests*. European Problem Studies. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1970. Pp. 112.

ZIEL, RON. *Steel Rails to Victory*. New York: Hawthorn Books. 1970. Pp. 288. $14.95.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ANCIENT

ARNOTT, PETER D. *The Romans and Their World.* [New York:] St. Martin's Press. 1970. Pp. 318. Cloth $6.95, paper $3.50.

BENGTSON, HERMANN. *Introduction to Ancient History.* Tr. from the 6th ed. by R. I. FRANK and FRANK D. GILLIARD. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1970. Pp. viii, 213. $7.50. See rev. of 1st German ed. (1949), *AHR*, 56 (1950–51), 850.

JARRETT, JAMES L. (ed., with an introd. and notes). *The Educational Theories of the Sophists.* Classics in Education, No. 39. New York: Teachers College Press, Teachers College, Columbia University. 1969. Pp. x, 231. Cloth $6.95, paper $2.75.

NYLANDER, CARL. *The Deep Well.* Tr. from the Swedish by JOAN TATE. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1970. Pp. 210. $7.95.

PINEAU, HENRI. *La côte atlantique de la Bidassoa à Quiberon dans l'Antiquité.* École Pratique des Hautes Études—VI[e] Section. Centre de recherches historiques. Mémoires de photo-interprétation, No. 7. Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1970. Pp. 92, 44 maps, 13 plates. 49 fr.

MEDIEVAL

BEARDWOOD, ALICE (ed. for the Royal Historical Society). *Records of the Trial of Walter Langeton, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, 1307–1312.* Camden 4th Ser., Vol. 6. London: the Society. 1969. Pp. v, 370.

CAVARNOS, CONSTANTINE. *Byzantine Thought and Art: A Collection of Essays.* Belmont, Mass.: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies. 1968. Pp. xii, 14–139. Cloth $4.50, paper $2.95.

CLARK, CECILY (ed.). *The Peterborough Chronicle, 1070–1154.* 2d ed.; New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. lxxxvii, 136. $9.75.

DIACONU, PETRE. *Les Petchénègues au Bas-Danube.* Bibliotheca Historica Romaniae, No. 27. Bucharest: Editions de l'Académie de la République Socialiste de Roumanie. 1970. Pp. 158. Lei 6.

LÉVIS MIREPOIX, DUC DE. *Saint Louis, roi de France.* Le Mémorial des Siècles. Les Hommes, treizième siècle. Paris: Albin Michel. 1970. Pp. 373. Cloth 39 fr., paper 27 fr.

PACAUT, MARCEL. *Frederick Barbarossa.* Tr. by A. J. POMERANS. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1970. Pp. 223. $6.95.

WEBB, A. N. (transcribed, ed., and introd.). *An Edition of the Cartulary of Burscough Priory.* Remains Historical and Literary Connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester, Vol. 18, 3d Ser. Manchester: [Manchester University Press,] for the Chetham Society. 1970. Pp. vii, 297. 80s.

BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AND IRELAND

DE PAOR, LIAM. *Divided Ulster.* Penguin Special. [Baltimore:] Penguin Books. 1970. Pp. 207. $1.25.

The English Revolution. I, *Fast Sermons to Parliament.* Vol. 1, *Nov 1640–Nov 1641.* Reproductions in facsimile with notes by ROBIN JEFFS. London: Cornmarket Press. 1970. Pp. 401.

The Great Exhibition, London, 1851. New York: Bounty Books. 1970. Pp. xxvi, 328, xvi, viii, viii, viii, xxii.

HAYES, JOHN. *Catalogue of the Oil Paintings in the London Museum: With an Introduction on Painters and the London Scene from the Fifteenth Century.* London: H.M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1970. Pp. xx, 267. $18.00 postpaid.

HOLMES, M. R. *Arms & Armour in Tudor & Stuart London.* The London Museum. London: H.M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1970. Pp. 40. $1.40 postpaid.

JUDD, DENIS. *The Victorian Empire: A Pictorial History 1837–1901.* New York: Praeger. 1970. Pp. 223. $10.00.

PARKER, VANESSA. *The English House in the Nineteenth Century.* Helps for Students of History, No. 78. [London:] Historical Association. 1970. Pp. 48. 6s.

ROUTLEDGE, F. J. (ed.). *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers Preserved in the Bodleian Library.* Vol. 5, *1660–1726.* With index to Vols. 4 and 5. New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. xvii, 942. $38.50.

FRANCE

ARBELLOT, GUY. *La cartographie statistique automatique appliquée à l'histoire: Une expérience sur 332 villes et villages de Haute-Champagne aux XVII[e] et XVIII[e] siècles.* École Pratique des Hautes Études—VI[e] Section. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Démographie et sociétés, No. 14. Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1970. Pp. 112. 34 fr.

BERTAUD, JEAN-PAUL (ed.). *Valmy: La démocratie en armes.* Collection Archives. [Paris: René Julliard.] 1970. Pp. 323.

BERTIER DE SAUVIGNY, GUILLAUME DE. *La révolution de 1830 en France.* Collection U2, Ser. "Dossiers pour l'Histoire contemporaine." Paris: Armand Colin. 1970. Pp. 336.

BRODERICK, ALBERT (ed.). *The French Institutionalists: Maurice Hauriou, Georges Renard, Joseph T. Delos.* Tr. by MARY WELLING. Introd. by MIRIAM THERESA ROONEY. 20th Century Legal Philosophy Ser., Vol. 8. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1970. Pp. xxv, 370. $15.00.

CAMUS, JEAN-PIERRE. *Homélies des États généraux (1614–1615).* Ed., with an introd. and notes, by JEAN DESCRAINS. Textes littéraires français. Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1970. Pp. 646.

CHAVARDÈS, MAURICE. *Une campagne de presse: La droite française et le 6 février 1934.* Questions d'histoire. [Paris:] Flammarion. 1970. Pp. 119.

COBBAN, ALFRED. *France since the Revolution: And Other Aspects of Modern History.* New York: Barnes and Noble. 1970. Pp. 251. $7.50.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EHRARD, JEAN. *L'idée de nature en France à l'aube des lumières*. Science de l'histoire. [Paris:] Flammarion. 1970. Pp. 443.

MARANA, GIOVANNI P. *Letters Writ by a Turkish Spy*. Selected and ed. by ARTHUR J. WEITZMAN. [Philadelphia:] Temple University Publications; distrib. by Columbia University Press, New York. 1970. Pp. xix, 233. $7.95.

OSGOOD, SAMUEL M. *French Royalism since 1870*. 2d ed.; The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1970. Pp. x, 241. Gls. 25.20. See rev. of *French Royalism under the Third and Fourth Republics* (1960), *AHR*, 67 (1961–62): 199.

SAMARAN, CHARLES, and HIGOUNET, CHARLES (pubs.). *Recueil des actes de l'abbaye cistercienne de Bonnefont en Comminges*. Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques. Section de Philologie et d'Histoire jusqu'à 1610. Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Ser. in-8°, Vol. 8. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale. 1970. Pp. 330.

THE LOW COUNTRIES

Bibliographie zur Geschichte Luxemburgs für das Jahr 1969 (Mit Nachträgen aus früheren Jahren). Luxemburg: Nationalbibliothek. 1970. Pp. 52.

HOUTTE, J. A. VAN (pub. under the direction). *Un quart de siècle de recherche historique en Belgique, 1944–1968*. Comité National Belge des Sciences Historiques. Louvain: Éditions Nauwelaerts. 1970. Pp. xiv, 586. 690 fr. B.

KOCH, A. C. F. *The Year of Erasmus' Birth: And Other Contributions to the Chronology of His Life*. Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert. 1969. Pp. 54.

RIJKSCOMMISSIE VOOR VADERLANDSE GESCHIEDENIS. *Jaarverslagen, 1966–1968*. The Hague: Staatsuitgeverij. 1969. Pp. 64.

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

DOLLINGER, PHILIPPE. *The German Hansa*. Tr. and ed. by D. S. AULT and S. H. STEINBERG. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1970. Pp. xxii, 474. $15.00. See rev. of French ed. (1964), *AHR*, 70 (1964–65): 430.

FATIO, OLIVIER, and LABARTHE, OLIVIER (pubs.). *Registres de la Compagnie des pasteurs de Genève*. Vol. 2, *1565–1574*. Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, No. 107. Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1969. Pp. xxiv, 327.

HASENKAMP, GOTTFRIED (ed.). *Dem Worte verpflichtet: 250 Jahre Verlag Aschendorff, 1720/1970. Mit einer Bibliographie der Verlagswerke von 1912–1970*. Münster: Verlag Aschendorff. 1970. Pp. 457. DM 40.

JAUERNIG, REINHOLD, and STEIGER, MARGA (eds.). *Die Matrikel der Universität Jena*. Vol. 2, *1652 bis 1723*. Pt. 7, *Ortsregister Be—He*. Veröffentlichungen des Historischen Instituts der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena. Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger. 1970. Pp. 961–1112. DM 17.

EASTERN EUROPE

BIEŃKOWSKI, WIESŁAW. *Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz: Żychie i Dzieło* [Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz: His Life and Work]. Polska Akademia Nauk—Oddział w Krakowie. Prace Komisji Nauk Historycznych, No. 24. Krakow: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk. 1969. Pp. 316. Zł. 60.

CAVARNOS, CONSTANTINE (tr. and ed. with a preface, introd., and notes). *Modern Greek Philosophers on the Human Soul: Selections from the Writings of Five Representative Thinkers of Modern Greece on the Nature and Immortality of the Soul*. Belmont, Mass.: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies. 1967. Pp. 111. Cloth $3.00, paper $1.85.

BOŽINOV, V., *et al.* (eds.). *L'histoire bulgare dans les ouvrages des savants européens*. Recherches et études sur l'histoire du peuple bulgare, No. 1. Académie Bulgare des Sciences, Institut d'Histoire, Institut d'Études Balkaniques. Sofia: Éditions de l'Académie Bulgare des Sciences. 1969. Pp. 439. 5 L.

CRAWLEY, C. W. *John Capodistrias: Some Unpublished Documents*. Ἑταιρεῖα Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν, Ἵδρυμα Μελετῶν Χερσονήσου τοῦ Αἵμου, No. 114. Thessalonika: Institute for Balkan Studies. 1970. Pp. 109.

The Creative Force of the Leninist Ideas. Bibliotheca Historica Romaniae, Studies, No. 31. Bucharest: Publishing House of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania. 1970. Pp. 304. Lei 12.

CZERSKA, DANUTA. *Sobornoje Ułożenije 1649 Roku: Zagadnienia Społeczno-ustrojowe* [*Sobornoe Ulozhenie* of 1649: Its Social and Constitutional Problems]. Polska Akademia Nauk—Oddział w Krakowie. Prace Komisji Nauk Historycznych, No. 25. Krakow: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk. 1970. Pp. 135. Zł. 25.

DICULESCU, VLADIMIR, *et al. Relaţiile Comerciale ale Ţării Româneşti cu Peninsula Balcanică (1829–1858)* [Commercial Relations of Walachia with the Balkan Peninsula (1829–1858)]. Academia Republicii Socialiste România, Institutul de Studii Sud-Est Europene. Biblioteca istorică, No. 22. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România. 1970. Pp. 308. Lei 11.50.

ETEROVICH, FRANCIS H., and SPALATIN, CHRISTOPHER (eds.). *Croatia: Land, People, Culture*. Vol. 2. [Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1970. Pp. xvii, 568. $17.50.

Foreign Investment in Yugoslavia. Committee for Invisible Transactions. Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. 1970. Pp. 30. $1.00.

GARBACIK, JÓZEF (ed.). *Materiały do Dziejów Dyplomacji Polskiej z Lat 1486–1516 (Kodeks Zagrzebski)* [Materials for the History of Polish Diplomacy, 1486–1516 (The Zagreb Codex)]. Polska Akademia Nauk—Oddział w Krakowie. Materiały Komisji Nauk Historycznych, No. 11. Krakow: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk. Pp. xvii, 220. Zł. 45.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GRECEANU, RADU IOGOFĂTUL. *Istoria domniei lui Constantin Basarab Brîncoveanu Voievod (1688–1714)* [History of the Reign of Constantin Basarab Brîncoveanu (1688–1714)]. Introd. study and critical ed. by AURORA ILIEŞ. Cronicile Medievale Ale României, No. 8. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România. 1970. Pp. 279. Lei 19.50.

GYIVICSÁN, SZ., *et al.* (eds.). *Études historiques 1970, publiées à l'occasion du XIII^e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques par la Commission Nationale des Historiens Hongrois.* Vol. 2, *Bibliographie d'oeuvres choisies de la science historique hongroise, 1964–1968.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1970. Pp. 262.

KAMIŃSKI, ANDRZEJ. *Konfederacja Sandomierska wobec Rosji w Okresie Poaltransztadzkim, 1706–1709* [The Confederation of Sandomierz vis-à-vis Russia after the Altranstadt Treaty, 1706–1709]. Polska Akademia Nauk—Oddział w Krakowie. Prace Komisji Nauk Historycznych, No. 23. Krakow: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk. 1969. Pp. 159. Zł. 32.

RADZIWIŁŁ, ALBRYCHT STANISŁAW. *Memoriale Rerum Gestarum in Polonia, 1632–1656.* Vol. 1, *1632–1633.* Ed. by ADAM PRZYBOŚ and ROMAN ŻELEWSKI. Polska Akademia Nauk—Oddział w Krakowie. Materiały Komisji Nauk Historycznych, No. 15. Krakow: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk. 1968. Pp. lxi, 233. Zł. 64.

REBRO, KAROL: *The Road to Federation.* Bratislava: Tatra Press. 1970. Pp. 130.

RODNICK, DAVID. *The Strangled Democracy: Czechoslovakia 1948–1969.* Lubbock, Texas: Caprock Press. 1970. Pp. ix, 214. Cloth $7.95, paper $4.95.

ROSSET, EDWARD. *Bilans Reprodukcji Ludności na Ziemiach Zachodnich i Północnych* [Reproduction of the Population in the Western and Northern Territories of Poland]. Studia nad Zagadnieniami Gospodarczymi i Społecznymi Ziem Zachodnich, No. 6. Poznań: Instytut Zachodni. 1970. Pp. 255. Zł. 65.

Ujedinjena Omladina Srpska: Zbornik Radova [Association of the United Serbian Youth: Collected Studies]. Novi Sad: Matica Srpska. 1968. Pp. 626.

UNC, G. *Die Solidarität der Werktätigen Rumäniens mit der proletarischen Revolution in Ungarn.* Bibliotheca Historica Romaniae, No. 26. Bucharest: Akademie-Verlag. 1970. Pp. 125. Lei 5.

WAGNER, FRANCIS S. (ed. and with an introd.). *Toward a New Central Europe: A Symposium on the Problems of the Danubian Nations.* Problems behind the Iron Curtain Ser., No. 7. Astor Park, Fla.: Danubian Press. 1970. Pp. xiv, 392. $8.50.

SOVIET UNION

CHEW, ALLEN F. *An Atlas of Russian History: Eleven Centuries of Changing Borders.* Rev. ed.; New Haven: Yale University Press. 1970. Pp. xi, 127. $10.00.

DYBOSKI, ROMAN. *Seven Years in Russia and Siberia (1914–1921).* A translation of *Siedem lat w Rosji i na Syberji.* Tr., ed., and annotated by MARION MOORE COLEMAN. Cheshire, Conn.: Cherry Hill Books. 1971. Pp. viii, 177. $5.00.

HÜNIGEN, GISELA. *Nikolaj Pavlovič Ignat'ev und die russische Balkanpolitik, 1875–1878.* Göttinger Bausteine zur Geschichtswissenschaft, No. 40. Göttingen: Musterschmidt-Verlag. 1968. Pp. 381. DM 48.

KOLKOWICZ, ROMAN, *et al. The Soviet Union and Arms Control: A Superpower Dilemma.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1970. Pp. xvi, 212. Cloth $9.00, paper $2.95.

OLIVA, L. JAY (ed.). *Peter the Great.* Great Lives Observed. Spectrum Book. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1970. Pp. viii, 181. Cloth $5.95, paper $1.95.

NEAR EAST

ALLON, YIGAL. *The Making of Israel's Army.* Foreword by MICHAEL HOWARD. New York: Universe Books. 1970. Pp. viii, 273. $8.95.

DAVIS, FANNY. *The Palace of Topkapi in Istanbul.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1970. Pp. xiii, 306. $14.95.

TERZIAN, ARAM. *An Armenian Miscellany: Window on History.* Paris: Librairie Orientale H. Samuelian. 1969. Pp. 227, 8 plates. Cloth 38 fr., paper 30 fr.

AFRICA

BROOKS, HUGH C., and EL-AYOUTY, YASSIN (eds.). *Refugees South of the Sahara: An African Dilemma.* Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies, No. 4. Westport, Conn.: Negro Universities Press. 1970. Pp. xviii, 307. $13.00.

CHARSLEY, S. R. *The Princes of Nyakyusa.* With a foreword by P. H. GULLIVER. East African Studies, No. 32. [Nairobi:] East African Publishing House for the Makerere Institute of Social Research. 1969. Pp. xii, 125. Sh. 16.

DORESSE, JEAN. *Histoire de l'Éthiopie.* "Que sais-je?" No. 1393. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1970. Pp. 126.

NKRUMAH, KWAME. *Class Struggle in Africa.* New York: International Publishers. 1970. Pp. 96. Cloth $4.95, paper $1.25.

WELCH, CLAUDE E., JR. (ed.). *Soldier and State in Africa: A Comparative Analysis of Military Intervention and Political Change.* Evanston: Northwestern University Press. 1970. Pp. viii, 320. $9.00.

ASIA

ARIFF, M. O. *The Philippines' Claim to Sabah: Its Historical, Legal and Political Implications.* Oxford in Asia Current Affairs. New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. xiii, 76, 4 maps. $4.00.

Bulletin of Research Theses and Dissertations (June 1959–May 1966). No. 4. New Delhi: National Archives of India. 1968. Pp. iv, 162.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CH'EN, JEROME (ed.). *Mao Papers: Anthology and Bibliography*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. xxxiii, 221. $10.00.

GETTLEMAN, MARVIN and SUSAN, and KAPLAN, LAWRENCE and CAROL (eds.). *Conflict in Indo-China: A Reader on the Widening War in Laos and Cambodia*. New York: Vintage Books. 1970. Pp. xiii, 461. $2.45.

GUILLAIN, ROBERT. *The Japanese Challenge*. Tr. from the French by PATRICK O'BRIAN. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott. 1970. Pp. 352. $8.50.

HARRISSON, TOM, and O'CONNOR, STANLEY J. *Gold and Megalithic Activity in Prehistoric and Recent Borneo*. Data Paper, No. 77. Cornell: Southeast Asia Program, Department of Asian Studies, Cornell University. 1970. Pp. xiv, 331. $4.00.

The Indochinese Peoples Will Win. Hanoi: Foreign Languages Publishing House. 1970. Pp. 150.

LE DUAN. *The Vietnamese Revolution: Fundamental Problems; Essential Tasks*. Hanoi: Foreign Languages Publishing House. 1970. Pp. 195.

LUNT, JAMES. *Bokhara Burnes*. Great Travellers. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1969. Pp. 220. $4.75.

REYNOLDS, C. V., JR. *Why Not Admit Red China to the United Nations?* Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corp. 1970. Pp. xii, 103. $2.50.

SINGH, TARLOK. *Towards an Integrated Society: Reflections on Planning, Social Policy and Rural Institutions*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Corp. 1969. Pp. xii, 554. $13.50.

SUH, DAE-SOOK. *Documents of Korean Communism, 1918–1948*. Studies of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1970. Pp. xxii, 570. $15.00.

UNITED STATES

ANDERSON, DAVID D., and WRIGHT, ROBERT L. *The Dark and Tangled Path: Race in America*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1971. Pp. xvi, 444. $4.95.

BARGAR, B. D. *Royal South Carolina, 1719–1763*. Tricentennial Booklet No. 7. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press for the South Carolina Tricentennial Commission. 1970. Pp. viii, 74. $1.95.

BRAY, MAYFIELD. *Guide to the Ford Film Collection in the National Archives*. National Archives Publication No. 70–6. Washington: National Archives, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration. 1970. Pp. xiii, 118. $5.00.

The Constellation Question. Pt. 1, *The Story of the* Constellation, by HOWARD I. CHAPELLE; Pt. 2, *Comments on "The Story of the* Constitution," by LEON D. POLLAND; Pt. 3, *An Outline of the Present Restoration*, by LEON D. POLLAND. Smithsonian Studies in History and Technology, No. 5. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press. 1970. Pp. viii, 152. $3.75.

COOPER, J. WESLEY. *Ante-Bellum Houses of Natchez*. Foreword by BEVERLY WARNER MARTIN. Natchez: Southern Historical Publications. 1970. Pp. 208.

DAVIES, J. CLARENCE, III. *The Politics of Pollution*. New York: Pegasus. 1970. Pp. xiii, 17–231. Cloth $6.95, paper $1.95.

DENHARDT, ROBERT MOORMAN. *The King Ranch Quarter Horses: And Something of the Ranch and the Men That Bred Them*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1970. Pp. xiv, 256. $9.95.

EPSTEIN, FLORENCE, and PECK, IRA. *Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow: American Adventures Program*. Vol. 4, *1939–1970*. New York: Scholastic Book Services. 1970. Pp. 175.

FAIRMAN, CHARLES, and MORRISON, STANLEY. *The Fourteenth Amendment and the Bill of Rights: The Incorporation Theory*. Introd. by LEONARD W. LEVY. Da Capo Press Reprints in American Constitutional and Legal History. Reprint; New York: Da Capo Press. 1970. Pp. xxv, 307. $12.50.

FISHER, LEONARD EVERETT. *Picture Book of Revolutionary War Heroes*. Giniger Book. [Harrisburg, Pa.:] Stackpole Books. 1970. Pp. 62. $4.95.

FREIDEL, FRANK. *America in the Twentieth Century*. 3d ed.; New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1970. Pp. xxvi, 692, xxv.

GARNER, WILLIAM ROBERT. *Letters from California, 1846–1847*. Ed., with a sketch of the life and times of their author, by DONALD MUNRO CRAIG. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1970. Pp. xiii, 262. $8.95.

GARTNER, LLOYD P. (ed., with an introd. and notes). *Jewish Education in the United States: A Documentary History*. Classics in Education, No. 41. New York: Teachers College Press, Teachers College, Columbia University. 1969. Pp. xv, 224. Cloth $6.95, paper $2.75.

GRAF, LEROY P., and HASKINS, RALPH W. (eds.). *The Papers of Andrew Johnson*. Vol. 2, *1852–1857*. Asst. ed., PATRICIA P. CLARK. Sponsored by the University of Tennessee, the National Historical Publications Commission, the Tennessee Historical Commission. Nashville: University of Tennessee Press. 1970. Pp. xliv, 562. $15.00. See rev. of Vol. 1 (1967), *AHR*, 73 (1967–68): 1637.

GRAHAM, FRED P. *The Self-Inflicted Wound*. [New York:] Macmillan. 1970. Pp. x, 377. $7.95.

GRIFFITH, LUCILLE. *The Virginia House of Burgesses, 1750–1774*. Rev. ed.; University: University of Alabama Press. 1970. Pp. viii, 215. $7.50. See rev. of 1st ed. (1963), *AHR*, 69 (1963–64): 1159.

GRIMSTED, DAVID (ed., with introd. and notes). *Notions of the Americans, 1820–1860*. The American Culture, No. 3. New York: George Braziller. 1970. Pp. xii. 347. Cloth $7.50, paper $3.95.

HAMER, PHILIP M., *et al.* (eds.). *The Papers of Henry Laurens*. Vol. 2, *Nov. 1, 1755–Dec. 31, 1758*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press for the South Carolina Historical Society. 1970. Pp. xxv, 580. $15.00. See rev. of Vol. 1 (1968), *AHR*, 74 (1968–69): 1707.

HAWGOOD, JOHN A. (ed.). *First and Last Consul: Thomas Oliver Larkin and the Americanization of California. A Selection of Letters*. 2d ed.; Palo Alto, Calif.: Pacific Books. 1970. Pp. xxxviii, 147. $5.75.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HIXON, DONALD L. *Music in Early America: A Bibliography of Music in Evans.* Metuchen, N. J.: Scarecrow Press. 1970. Pp. xv, 607. $15.00.

HUBER, JOHN PARKER. *Toward Camelot: The Admission of Women to the University of Michigan.* Bulletin No. 18. Ann Arbor: Michigan Historical Collections, University of Michigan. 1970. Pp. 27.

HUCKLEBERRY, E. R. *The Adventures of Dr. Huckleberry: Tillamook County, Oregon.* [Portland:] Oregon Historical Society. 1970. Pp. viii, 272.

JOHNSON, LADY BIRD. *A White House Diary.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1970. Pp. ix, 806. $10.95.

KENNEDY, DAVID M. (ed.). *Progressivism: The Critical Issues.* Critical Issues in American History Ser. Boston: Little, Brown. 1971. Pp. xiv, 191. $2.50.

LACOUR-GAYET, ROBERT. *Everyday Life in the United States before the Civil War, 1830–1860.* Tr. by MARY ILFORD. New York: Frederick Ungar. 1969. Pp. x, 300. $6.50.

LIVINGSTON-LITTLE, D. E. (ed. and with an introd.). *The Mexican War Diary of Thomas D. Tennery.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1970. Pp. xxxix, 117. $4.95.

MEIER, AUGUST, and RUDWICK, ELLIOTT (eds.). *Black Protest in the Sixties.* New York Times Book. Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1970. Pp. xi, 355. Cloth $8.95, paper $2.95.

POLE, J. R. (ed.). *The Revolution in America, 1754–1788: Documents and Commentaries.* Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1970. Pp. xxxi, 614. $13.50.

RINZLER, ALAN (ed.). *Manifesto Addressed to the President of the United States from the Youth of America.* New York: Collier Books. 1970. Pp. xi, 228. $1.50.

SILBERMAN, CHARLES E. *Crisis in the Classroom: The Remaking of American Education.* New York: Random House. 1970. Pp. xiv, 552. $10.00.

SKLAR, ROBERT (ed., with introd. and notes). *The Plastic Age (1917–1930).* The American Culture, No. 7. New York: George Braziller. 1970. Pp. xv, 344. Cloth $7.50, paper $3.95.

STEIN, JEAN. *American Journey: The Times of Robert Kennedy. Interviews.* Ed. by GEORGE PLIMPTON. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 1970. Pp. xii, 372. $8.95.

STEVENSON, ROBERT M. *Music in El Paso 1919–1939.* Southwestern Studies, Monograph No. 27. El Paso: Texas Western Press, University of Texas. 1970. Pp. 40. $2.00.

STUBENRAUCH, BOB. *Where Freedom Grew.* New York: Dodd, Mead. 1970. Pp. xii, 186. $6.95.

TAGER, JACK, and GOIST, PARK DIXON (eds.). *The Urban Vision: Selected Interpretations of the Modern American City.* The Dorsey Ser. in American History. Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press. 1970. Pp. x, 310. $3.95.

WEBER, FRANCIS J. *Catholic Footprints in California.* [Newhall, Calif.:] Hogarth Press. 1970. Pp. xx, 235. $10.00.

WHITNEY, ELLEN M. (comp. and ed.). *The Black Hawk War, 1831–1832.* Vol. 1, *Illinois Volunteers.* With an introd. by ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE. Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. 35. Springfield: the Library. 1970. Pp. xxvi, 682. $20.00.

WILCOX, FRANK. *Ohio Indian Trails: A Pictorial Survey of the Indian Trails of Ohio Arranged from the Works of the Late Frank Wilcox.* Ed. by WILLIAM A. MCGILL. [2d ed.; Kent:] Kent State University Press. 1970. Pp. xvi, 144. $15.00.

WRIGHT, JIM, *et al. Congress and Conscience.* John B. Anderson, ed. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott. 1970. Pp. 192. $4.95.

LATIN AMERICA

Anuario bibliográfico peruano, 1964–1966. Lima: Ediciones de la Biblioteca Nacional. 1969. Pp. xxiv, 839.

BONINE, MICHAEL E., *et al. Atlas of Mexico.* Austin: Bureau of Business Research, University of Texas. 1970. Pp. 138. $10.00.

DUNCAN, W. RAYMOND, and GOODSELL, JAMES NELSON (eds.). *The Quest for Change in Latin America: Sources for a Twentieth-Century Analysis.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. xiv, 562. Cloth $12.50, paper $4.95.

FLEENER, CHARLES J., and CARGAS, HARRY J. (eds.). *Religious and Cultural Factors in Latin America.* Papers presented at the Midwest Council of the Association of Latin American Studies, St. Louis University October 24–26, 1968. St. Louis: Office of International Programs, St. Louis University. 1970. Pp. xiii, 159. $3.95.

GABALDÓN MÁRQUEZ, EDGAR. *Venezuela, su imagen desvelada: Ensayo sobre el coloniaje, la forma societaria peculiar de nuestro país, y de la América Latina.* Colección Senderos de Nuevamérica, No. 1. México, D. F.: [Ediciones José Ramos Pimentel.] 1969. Pp. viii, 19–192.

JOHNSON, H. B., JR. (ed. with an introd.). *From Reconquest to Empire: The Iberian Background to Latin American History.* Borzoi Books on Latin America. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1970. Pp. 230. $4.50.

LAGOS, JOSÉ. *Protocolo (1768–1793).* Ed. with an introd. by JORGE COMADRAN RUIZ. Transcribed by MARTA BEATRIZ HERRERA. Ser. I (Fuentes Documentales), No. 2. [Mendoza:] Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Instituto de Historia. 1968. Pp. xii, 274.

LATHRAP, DONALD W. *The Upper Amazon.* Ancient Peoples and Places, Vol. 70. New York: Praeger. 1970. Pp. 256. $8.50.

PARKER, FRANKLIN D. *Travels in Central America, 1821–1840.* Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1970. Pp. xiv, 340. $12.50.

RODMAN, SELDEN. *South America of the Poets.* New York: Hawthorn Books. 1970. Pp. xiv, 270. $9.95.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Recent Deaths

CECIL ROTH, eminent historian of the Jewish people, passed away on June 21, 1970, at the age of seventy-one. He was born in London on March 5, 1899, and, like his brother Leon, a distinguished philosopher of the Hebrew University, was educated at Oxford University, where he received the B.A. in 1923 and the M.A. and Ph.D. in 1924. From 1939 until his retirement in 1964 he also taught at Oxford as reader in post-Biblical Jewish studies. Subsequently he served as visiting professor at Bar Ilan University in Israel and at Queens College and Stern College in New York. His earlier American connections consisted of a visiting professorship at the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York in 1925–26 and at Columbia University in 1958.

Roth's very first book, *The Last Florentine Republic* (1925), immediately established his reputation as a historian and led to his appointment as fellow of the Royal Historical Society; as a result of the Italian translation published in 1929, he became a corresponding member of the Accademia Colombaria of Florence. During his archival researches in Italy, he became intrigued by a collection of manuscripts pertaining to the distinguished Rabbi Menahem Navarra (1717–77), which served as a basis for his pertinent biographical sketch published in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, n.s. 15 (1925): 427–66. All along he developed a deep interest in, and a fine detective talent for unpublished documents, of which he soon became a distinguished collector in his own right. A "Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Roth Collection," published by him in 1950 in the *Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume*, listed no less than 850 items in his possession. He also was a fine collector of artistic objects; his house in Oxford and later his apartment in Jerusalem, both presided over by Mrs. Roth (the former Irene Rosalind Davis, whom he married in 1928), resembled small museums rather than private residences. I understand that his manuscripts and books are now to be transferred to the University of Leeds, while the art collection is to be placed in Toronto.

Roth's main areas of research were the history of the Italian and English Jews during the Middle Ages and early modern times and the history of the Marranos both on the Iberian Peninsula and in their dispersion through many lands. His major works in these fields were his *History of the Jews in Venice* (1930); *A History of the Jews in Italy* (1946); *The Jews in the Renaissance* (1959); *A History of the Jews in England* (1941); *The Jews of Medieval Oxford* (1951); *Essays and Portraits in Anglo-Jewish History* (1962); a major bibliographical compilation, *Magna Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica* (1937); *History of the Marranos* (1932); and *Life of Menasseh Ben Israel* (1934). It is noteworthy that even in his comprehensive works, he rather steered clear of the modern period. His *History of the Jews in England* stops in 1858, and that of Italy devotes only eighty out of six hundred pages to the century from 1848 to 1946; that of Venice is satisfied with a brief ten-page epilogue to cover the period from 1797 to 1930. Yet, when the Nazi onslaught on Jews and Judaism impelled him in 1938 to write a comprehensive apologia for the *Jewish Contribution to Civilization*, he assiduously collected materials of considerable significance pertaining to the nineteenth century as well. His manifold interests also led him in 1958 to take a stand on the much-debated *Historical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls* in which he advanced a con-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

troversial theory of his own. He also published a *History of Jewish Art* in 1961 and edited a number of beautifully illuminated Passover Haggadahs. In the last years of his life he became ever more convinced of the need of encyclopedic handbooks for Jewish learning. After contributing over the years a large number of articles to various encyclopedias, in 1959 he first edited the *Standard Jewish Encyclopedia,* which appeared in several editions and translations. More recently he served as editor-in-chief of a multivolume *Encyclopaedia Judaica,* which is now nearing completion.

Endowed with great industry, encyclopedic knowledge, and an elegant English style, Roth also wrote a multitude of essays, both scholarly and popular. A bibliography of his writings, prepared in 1966 by Oskar K. Rabinowicz, listed no less than 572 items, although "the enumeration of many articles in various encyclopaedias, reviews in periodicals, prefaces, and journalistic contributions has been omitted deliberately." This bibliography is included in the jubilee volume edited in Roth's honor by John M. Shaftesley and presented to him by the Jewish Historical Society of England, of which he had served as president for eight years, including the critical period of the Second World War. Many of his books and articles also appeared in Hebrew and other translations. With his passing, Jewish as well as general historical scholarship has lost a gifted, tireless, and eloquent co-worker.

SALO W. BARON
Columbia University

GEORGE BORN MANHART died in Greencastle, Indiana, on October 31, 1970. Dr. Manhart taught modern European history at DePauw University for forty-eight years; he was also head of the history department and coordinator of experimental curriculum and general studies. He was a member of numerous historical societies, including both the American Historical Association and the Indiana Historical Society, to which he belonged for over fifty years. His publications, along with many periodical articles and book reviews, include: *English Search for a Northwest Passage in the Time of Queen Elizabeth* (1925), *Alliance and Entente* (1932), and *DePauw Through the Years* (1962).

VERNON J. PURYEAR, professor emeritus of political science at the University of California, Davis, died in Norman, Oklahoma, after a brief illness, on November 10, 1970. At the time of his death he was serving as visiting professor of history at the University of Oklahoma.

Professor Puryear was born in Sulphur Springs, Oklahoma, in 1901. He received his A.B. degree from Baylor University, an M.A. from the University of Missouri, and the Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley. His initial academic appointment was at Albany College in Oregon. Later he taught at Humboldt State College. In 1937 Professor Puryear was appointed to the faculty of the University of California, Davis, and from that date until 1952—except for the war years, when he taught on the Berkeley campus—Professor Puryear was chairman of the department of history and political science on the Davis campus. As the senior social scientist at Davis, he played an important role in planning the creation of a College of Letters and Science, which came to fruition in 1951.

Beginning in 1952 Professor Puryear taught courses in political science, and for many years he had sole responsibility for offerings in the fields of international relations and comparative government. His teaching will be remembered by many, perhaps especially by students aspiring to careers in the Foreign Service. An interdepartmental major in international relations, the work of Professor Puryear, was elected by many students, some of whom embarked upon successful careers in government service and teaching.

Professor Puryear's publications, in addition to articles and reviews, include four important books on the diplomacy of major European powers in the Near East. His book, *England, Russia, and the Straits Question,* 1844–1856, was awarded the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize of the American Historical Association in 1931. All of his major scholarly works were widely reviewed and were characterized by probing analyses of neglected archival records.

CLYDE E. JACOBS
University of California, Davis

CLARENCE W. RIFE, for thirty years chairman of the department of history at Hamline Univer-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sity, died recently. Dr. Rife was founder and adviser to Hamline's International Relations Club and co-founder of the school's World Affairs Institute. After retirement in 1956, Dr. Rife was active in the Ramsey County (Minnesota) Historical Society and financial director of the Minnesota Student Project for Amity Among Nations.

Other members of the Association who have died recently include: A. K. Christian, professor emeritus of history at the University of Oklahoma; Harold M. Dudley, former professor of history at the American University; N. Ray Gilmore of Carmel Valley, California; K. A. MacKirdy of the University of Waterloo; W. H. Peifer of Springfield, Virginia; and R. Daniel Ricks of Mobile, Alabama.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The American Historical Association

Founded in 1884. Chartered by Congress in 1889
Office: 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D. C. 20003

MEMBERSHIP: Persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership. The present membership is about 18,000. Members elect the officers by ballot.

MEETINGS: The Association's annual meeting takes place on December 28–30. The meeting in 1971 will be held in New York City. Many professional historical groups meet within or jointly with the Association at this time. The Pacific Coast Branch holds separate meetings on the Pacific Coast and publishes the *Pacific Historical Review*.

PUBLICATIONS AND SERVICES: The *American Historical Review* is published five times a year and sent to all members. It is available by subscription to institutions. The Association also publishes its *Annual Report*, the *AHA Newsletter*, a variety of pamphlets on historical subjects, and bibliographical and other volumes. To promote history and assist historians, the Association offers many other services. It also maintains close relations with international, specialized, state, and local historical societies through conferences and correspondence.

PRIZES: The *Herbert B. Adams Prize* of $300 awarded in the even-numbered years for a work in the field of European history. The *George Louis Beer Prize* of $300 awarded annually for a work on any phase of European international history since 1895. The *Albert J. Beveridge Award* of $5,000 given annually for the best book on the history of the United States, Canada, or Latin America. The *Albert B. Corey Prize*, sponsored jointly by the AHA and the Canadian Historical Association, of $1,000 awarded biennially for the best book on the history of Canadian-American relations or the history of both countries. The *John H. Dunning Prize* of $300 awarded in the even-numbered years for a book on any subject relating to American history. The *John K. Fairbank Prize in East Asian History* of $500 awarded in the odd-numbered years beginning in 1969. The *Clarence H. Haring Prize* of $500 awarded every five years to that Latin American who has published the most outstanding book in Latin American history during the preceding five years (next award, 1971). The *Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize* of $100 awarded every five years for the best work in modern British and Commonwealth history (next award, 1971). The *Watumull Prize* of $500 awarded in the even-numbered years for a work on the history of India originally published in the United States.

DUES: There is no initiation fee. Annual regular dues are $15.00, student $7.50 (faculty signature required), emeritus $7.50, spouse $7.50, and life $300. All members receive the *American Historical Review*, the *AHA Newsletter*, and the program of the annual meeting.

CORRESPONDENCE: Inquiries should be addressed to the Executive Secretary at 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D. C. 20003.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The American Historical Review

Founded in 1895

The *AHR* is sent to all members of the American Historical Association; information concerning membership will be found on the preceding page. The *AHR* is also available to institutions by subscription. There are two categories of subscription:

CLASS I: *American Historical Review* only, $20.00 per year.

CLASS II: *American Historical Review,* the *AHA Newsletter,* and the program of the annual meeting of the Association, $25.00 per year.

Single copies of the current issue and back issues in and subsequent to volume 75 (1969–70) can be ordered from the Business Manager of the Association at $5.00 per copy. Issues prior to volume 75 should be ordered from Kraus Reprint Corporation, 16 East 46th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017.

Correspondence regarding contributions to the *American Historical Review* and books for review should be sent to the Managing Editor, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Unsolicited book reviews or review articles are not accepted; a statement concerning reviewing policy will be found in the issue for December 1970, vol. 75, pp. 1889–91. Preliminary inquiries concerning articles are not necessary, though authors may find them useful. Attention is urged, however, to a statement concerning the kinds of articles the *AHR* ordinarily will and will not publish; it appears in the issue for October 1970, vol. 75, pp. 1577–80. The entire text, including footnotes, of manuscripts submitted for publication must be prepared in double-spaced typescript, with generous margins to allow for copyediting. Footnotes should be numbered consecutively throughout and should appear in a separate section at the end of the text. The editors of the *AHR* are the final arbiters of length, grammar, usage, and the laws of libel; articles will be edited to conform to *AHR* style in matters of punctuation, capitalization, and the like. The editors may suggest other changes in the interests of clarity and economy of expression, but such changes are never made without consultation with authors. There is no official style sheet for the *American Historical Review,* but a convenient general guide is *A Manual of Style,* published by the University of Chicago Press.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

READ ADDISON THE WAY STEELE DID.

One obstacle keeping many students and scholars from a full understanding of 18th and 19th century English literature is the fact that they're 20th century Americans.

We can help correct this situation.

Our new *Focus on English Literature* program helps people read Addison, Steele, Dickens and many others through the perspective of their contemporaries—by presenting them in the periodicals in which they originally appeared.

In all, the program offers microfilmed selections from *The Spectator, The Tatler, The Guardian,* and thirty-six other English periodicals published between 1708 and 1907. The bibliography was compiled by Dr. Daniel Fader, professor of English at the University of Michigan.

The program is designed to serve three main purposes:

First, it lets students experience two centuries of the best English periodical literature in its original context. The writers cease being mere names in anthologies or depersonalized monuments—and emerge instead as highly readable and entertaining human beings, as fully relevant to their times as the best contemporary writers are to theirs.

Second, it gives scholars easy access to rare primary source material.

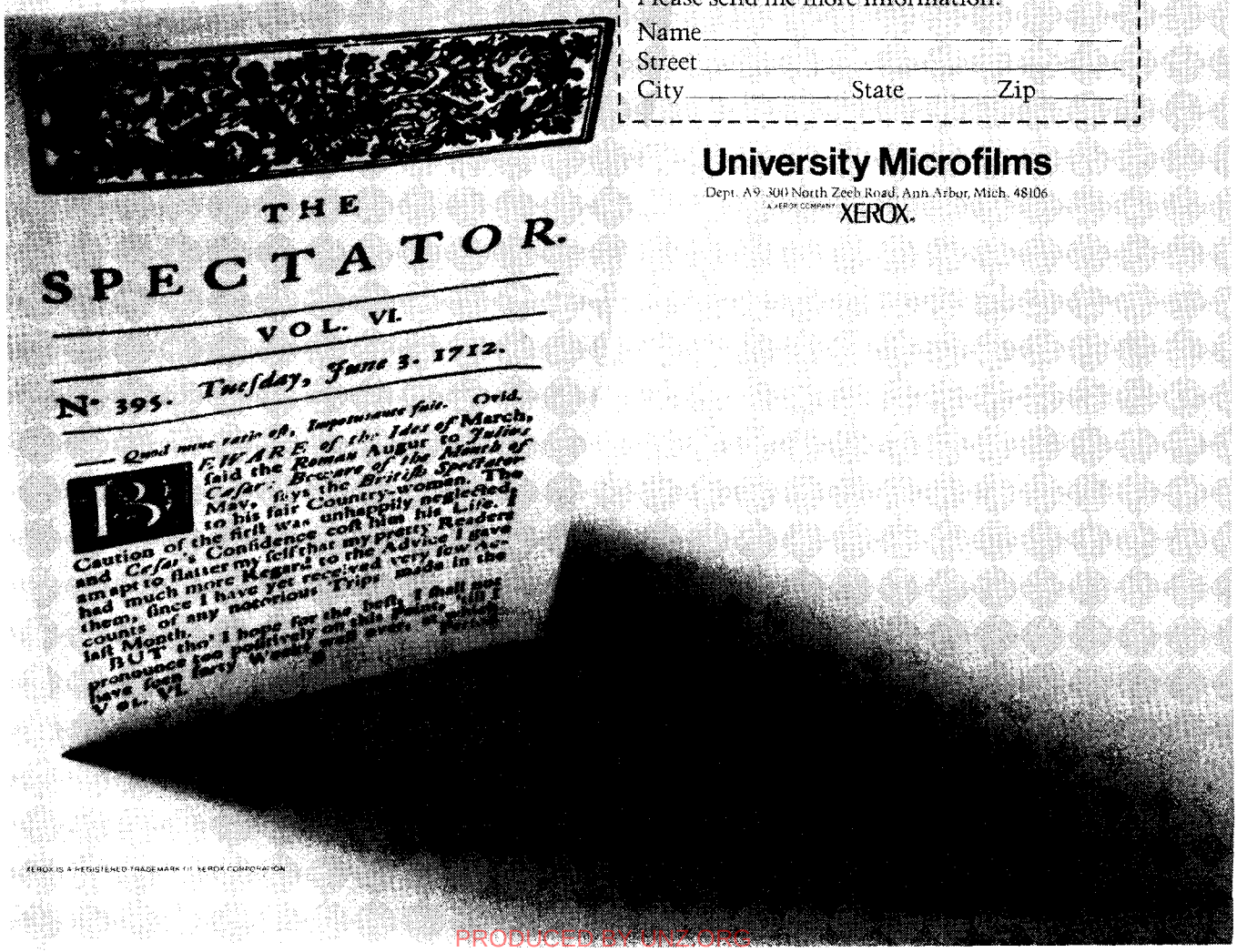
Third, it serves both of the above purposes without your having to worry about these rare old periodicals getting destroyed in the process. Since they're on microfilm, they're not only a lot stronger but less rare than the originals. So you can replace them easily if anything does happen to them.

Write us for complete details.

University Microfilms
Dept. A9
300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106
Please send me more information.

Name_____
Street_____
City_____ State_____ Zip_____

University Microfilms
Dept. A9, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106
A XEROX COMPANY
XEROX.



XEROX IS A REGISTERED TRADEMARK OF XEROX CORPORATION

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CHOSEN BY THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
AS JOINT WINNER OF

The Albert J. Beveridge Award

"Gentlemen of Property and Standing"

ANTI-ABOLITION MOBS IN JACKSONIAN AMERICA

By LEONARD L. RICHARDS

"A valuable and pertinent study. His conclusions regarding the social standing of the abolitionists and anti-abolition groups do not agree with previous investigations. But his statistical data present facts that cannot be ignored." — *The Journal of American History*

"A fascinating document as much for what it represents as for what it says. . . . a most valuable and original discussion of an important topic."
— *The Journal of Southern History*

"A model of the best tendencies in modern historical scholarship." — DAVID BRION DAVIS, Yale University

Cloth, $6.50 • *A Galaxy Book*, GB 347, *paper*, $1.95

At your bookstore

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
200 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Oxford University Press

The Mathers

THREE GENERATIONS OF PURITAN INTELLECTUALS, 1596-1728

By ROBERT MIDDLEKAUFF, *University of California, Berkeley*. This is the first book to discuss the lives and achievements of the three generations of Mathers in depth. In so doing, the author reconstructs the intellectual history of Puritanism in New England—revising current beliefs about Puritan mission, covenant theory, and religious psychology, science, and eschatology. $12.50

Grand Old Party

POLITICAL STRUCTURE IN THE GILDED AGE, 1880-1896

By ROBERT D. MARCUS, *State University of New York at Stony Brook*. "A substantial contribution to the distressingly slim literature on our political institutional history in the late nineteenth century. His arguments and documentation are impressive." —HAROLD M. HYMAN, *Rice University*. "A valuable addition to our understanding of the Gilded Age."—GEORGE H. MAYER, author of THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, 1854-1966 $7.95

Poverty in New York, 1783-1825

By RAYMOND A. MOHL, *Florida Atlantic University*. Most immigrants to America, from Colonial times on, arrived poor and stayed poor. From a variety of original sources, Professor Mohl brings into view the underside of existence in pre-industrial New York, showing that urban welfare problems are not new, and how the city dealt with them at that time. $8.50

The Napoleonists

A STUDY IN POLITICAL DISAFFECTION, 1760-1960

By E. TANGYE LEAN. Why did the Napoleonists—Fox and Whitbread, Queen Caroline, Byron, etc.—commit themselves to a foreign ruler? Tangye Lean probes their backgrounds and applies his original findings to the political behavior of such neo-Napoleonists as Lloyd George, Kim Philby, and others. "A strikingly original and impressive work of imagination and scholarship."—ARTHUR KOESTLER. *5 color plates, 34 halftones, 4 text illustrations, endpaper maps.* $12.75

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

200 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Oxford University Press

The Growth of the American Republic

SIXTH EDITION

By SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, *and* WILLIAM E. LEUCHTENBURG. "It is always a matter for rejoicing when a classic work of great value is brought up to date. Fresh interpretations reflect newly discovered sources and the changing viewpoints of the historians. Too often a 'new edition' simply means the addition of a chapter bringing the material closer to the present time. Here, instead, there is substantial rewriting. . . . The book is a fine source work and a pleasure to read."—*Current History*

1969 Vol. I, 1,002 pp. Vol. II, 993 pp. text edition, each $9.50
trade edition, boxed set $35.00

American Vistas

Edited by LEONARD DINNERSTEIN, *University of Arizona, and* KENNETH T. JACKSON, *Columbia University*. This two-volume set of twenty-nine articles explores diversified highlights of American history while it avoids historiographical concerns. Volume I ranges from 1607 to 1877, while Volume II concerns itself with the century spanning 1877 to the present. The selections are by such noted authorities as Richard Hofstadter, Edmund S. Morgan, David B. Davis, Daniel J. Boorstin, Eric McKitrick, William E. Leuchtenburg, and Richard C. Wade.

1971 Vol. I, 224 pp. Vol. II, 304 pp. paper, each $2.25

A World History

SECOND EDITION

By WILLIAM H. McNEILL, University of Chicago. Revised and expanded, the Second Edition provides an original, up-to-date, and scholarly synthesis of man's history. In vigorous style, Professor McNeill discusses the intellectual, social, and cultural forces which have shaped civilization in both the East and West. An important feature of the new edition is the expanded treatment of developments since 1789.

1971 approx. 550 pp. illus. cloth $15.00 paper $5.95

The Rise of Modern China

By IMMANUEL C. Y. HSÜ, *University of California, Santa Barbara.* "A masterful work of scholarship tracing political, intellectual, social and economic changes that have affected every phase of Chinese life from 1600 to now, and how they were precipitated, to a large degree, by influence from abroad."—*Foreign Affairs*

A companion to this volume, *Readings in Modern Chinese History* (1971, 720 pp., paper) edited by Professor Hsü is separately available at $7.50.

1970 848 pp. 44 pp. illus. 14 maps text edition $9.95 trade editions $14.50

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
200 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Oxford University Press

The Growth and Culture of Latin America

SECOND EDITION

Vol. I: From Conquest to Independence

Vol. II: The Continuing Struggle for Independence

By DONALD E. WORCESTER *and* WENDELL G. SCHAEFFER, *both of Texas Christian University.* A one-volume clothbound edition (1971) is available at $20.00.

Vol. I	1970	528 pp.	paper $4.50
Vol. II	1971	640 pp.	paper $5.50

Revolutionary Leaders of Modern China

Edited by CHÜN-TU HSÜEH, *University of Maryland.*

1971 608 pp. paper $4.95

The Crisis of Parliaments:

ENGLISH HISTORY 1509-1660

By CONRAD RUSSELL, *University of London.*

Spring 1971 500 pp. cloth $9.00 paper $2.95

Mirambo of Tanzania, ca. 1840?-1884

By NORMAN ROBERT BENNETT, *Boston University.*

1971 208 pp. cloth $6.50 paper $1.95

From Slavery to Public Service:

ROBERT SMALLS, 1839–1915

By OKON E. UYA, *University of Wisconsin.*

1971 192 pp. cloth $6.00 paper $1.95

A History of Russia

SECOND EDITION

By NICHOLAS V. RIASANOVSKY, *University of California, Berkeley.*

1969 766 pp. 32 pp. illus. 30 maps
text edition $9.95
trade edition $15.00

The Russian Revolution of 1917:

CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS

Edited by DIMITRI VON MOHRENSCHILDT, *The Hoover Institution.*

1971 336 pp. cloth $8.95 paper $3.50

Italy Chooses Europe

By F. ROY WILLIS, *University of California, Davis.*

1971 384 pp. cloth $8.50 paper $2.95

The Ancient Greeks

By CHESTER G. STARR, *University of Michigan.*

1971 240 pp. plates (some in color) photographs; maps cloth $7.95 paper $3.50

Again Available:

Spain, 1808-1939

By RAYMOND CARR, *St. Antony's College, Oxford.*

1966 795 pp. $12.50

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

200 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Oxford University Press



Herodotus

AN INTERPRETATIVE ESSAY

By C. W. FORNARA, *Brown University*. Herodotus' work presents unique problems of interpretation because it is the first work of its kind. In this book Herodotus is set into the context of his own time, special attention being paid to his attitude to Athens and Pericles. The author follows his maturing in intellect and technique, from the traveller telling tales to an artist using techniques of drama to convey important truths to the men of his generation. $5.75

Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers

PRESERVED IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY, VOLUME V 1660-1726 WITH AN INDEX TO VOLUMES IV AND V

Edited by F. J. ROUTLEGE. This final volume of the Clarendon State Papers covers the years 1660-1713, with miscellaneous papers beyond this period included in the appendix. These years begin with the Restoration and end with the accession of the House of Hanover. $38.50

Land and Politics in the England of Henry VIII

THE WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE: 1530-46

By R. B. SMITH, *University of London*. Focusing on the relationship of power to ownership of land, this study provides an overall picture of the economy, social structure, institutions, and politics of a single county during the later years of the reign of Henry VIII. An important feature of this survey is a regional-statistical analysis of landownership and social structure, the pattern of lordship, and other earlier institutions. *Maps, tables.* $11.25

The Peterborough Chronicle 1070-1154

SECOND EDITION

Edited by CECILY CLARK. The Peterborough section of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is a rich source of information about early Middle English. Although the primary interest of this book is philological, other aspects of the text are not ignored. In particular, the author shows how intimately these English annals are linked with contemporary Latin histories. Extensive changes and additions have been incorporated in this second edition, and the commentary has been completely rewritten. *Map.* $9.75

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

200 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Oxford University Press PAPERBACKS

GB 105

The United Nations as a Political Institution

Fourth Edition

By H. G. NICHOLAS. Revised to 1970, this new edition takes fresh stock of the U.N.'s development and functioning through its first twenty-five years. $1.95

GB 342

Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men

The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War

By ERIC FONER. "Useful and fair-minded . . . ought to kill some of the hoary myths about the early Republicans."—DAVID DONALD, *N.Y. Times Book Review* $2.75

GB 344

A Little Commonwealth

Family Life in Plymouth Colony

By JOHN DEMOS. "One of the finest pieces of local history that I have read in years."—J. H. PLUMB, *Saturday Review* $1.95

GB 345

Cities in the Wilderness

The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625-1742

By CARL BRIDENBAUGH. "No one interested in either the American past or in the background of our city development can ignore this important work."—LEWIS MUMFORD $3.95

GB 346

Cities in Revolt

Urban Life in America, 1743-1776

By CARL BRIDENBAUGH. An authentic portrait, from original sources. With *Cities in the Wilderness*, "one of the finest historical achievements of our time."—ALLAN NEVINS $3.95

GB 347

"Gentlemen of Property and Standing"

Anti-Abolition Mobs in Jacksonian America

By LEONARD L. RICHARDS. A study in depth of the structure of prejudice in the ante-bellum North. "A work of major importance."
—DAVID BRION DAVIS $1.95

GB 350

Rebellion in Black Africa

Edited and with an Introduction by ROBERT I. ROTBERG. Six authoritative essays explore representative protest movements during and after the era of colonialism. $2.95

GB 355

The Struggle for Mastery in Europe, 1848-1918

By A.J.P. TAYLOR. A vigorous account of political ideas and economic forces behind the relations among European powers in the period before the First World War. (O.H.M.E.) $3.95

At all bookstores

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

200 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

YANKEE CAVALRYMEN

Through the Civil War with the Ninth Pennsylvania Cavalry

By JOHN W. ROWELL

Campaigning with the Western armies through seven Southern states, the volunteers of the Ninth were never beaten in an equal fight. The author evokes a feeling for mid-nineteenth-century America "with charm and precision" says Stephen E. Ambrose. Historians will cite it and "learn from it." / 288 pages, $7.50

THE REMOVAL OF THE CHOCTAW INDIANS

By ARTHUR H. DeROSIER, JR.
foreword by Arrell M. Gibson

The Choctaws were the first victims of the U.S. policy of removing Indians to the West—a policy involving Jefferson, Jackson, and Calhoun—and therefore, says Ashley Montagu, "DeRosier's excellent and most readable volume takes on added importance. It is well written, well researched." / 224 pages, $7.50

THE SAGA OF COE RIDGE

A Study in Oral History

By W. LYNWOOD MONTELL

"An excellent and definitive example of the uses of oral history, here applied to a small community of Negroes. . . . Montell's book is a moving work" —*Publishers' Weekly.* "Fascinating chronicle . . . One hopes to see further studies of black history . . . as excellent as Montell's—Jean Stafford, in *Book World.*

236 pages, $8.95

THE PAPERS OF ANDREW JOHNSON, Volume 2, 1852-1857

Edited by
LeROY P. GRAF
and RALPH W. HASKINS

This volume covers Johnson's gubernatorial years and his return to Washington as a senator. About the first volume: "Meets the highest canons of scholarship. . . . tool"—*American Historical Review.* / 592 pages, $15.00

A HISTORY OF THE EXPEDITION TO JERUSALEM, 1095-1127

By FULCHER OF CHARTRES
translated by Frances Rita Ryan
edited with an introduction by
HAROLD S. FINK

Complete in English for the first time, this is the only contemporary Latin account of the First Crusade. / 364 pages, $13.50

THE UNITED STATES AND THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE, 1921-1922

By THOMAS H. BUCKLEY

Using newly opened American, British, and Japanese archives, the author delineates the issues and events of the only successful disarmament conference in modern history and assesses its meaning for world diplomacy. / 234 pages, $8.50

THE POLISH QUESTION IN THE RUSSIAN STATE DUMA

By EDWARD CHMIELEWSKI

This is the first monographic treatment in any language of Russia's failure, in 1905-14, to resolve its most critical problem involving national minorities.

174 pages, $7.50

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE PRESS
Knoxville, Tennessee 37916

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Walther Rathenau and the Weimar Republic

The Politics of Reparations

DAVID FELIX Among the factors which led from the first to the second World War, the financial reparations Germany was forced to pay may have been the most crucial. Focusing on Walther Rathenau, German spokesman for fulfillment, this political-economic study demonstrates how fulfillment was to have worked and how its failure led to World War II. $9.00

German-Polish Relations, 1918-1933

HARALD VON RIEKHOFF Little study has been devoted to German-Polish relations of the interwar period, despite their importance to diplomatic relations among the other European states. Based on previously inaccessible source materials, this detailed examination of German-Polish diplomatic, economic, and military relations in the Weimar period is one of the most balanced and comprehensive ever published. $13.00

The House of Saulx-Tavanes

Versailles and Burgundy, 1700-1830

ROBERT FORSTER Among the great families of French nobility, the Saulx-Tavanes were elevated in the eighteenth century from Burgundy to the court at Versailles. The consequences of the move, both for the family and for the tenants remaining on the family properties, indicate the social and economic effects of French court life in the eighteenth century. $15.00

Alliances and American Foreign Policy

ROBERT E. OSGOOD **Now in paperback.** "A brief but provocative look at the basic nature, philosophic background and practical realities of America's alliance systems." — *The Key Reporter* "An incisive look into the recent background and future prospects of America's alliance policy . . . the compelling power of his observations . . . should be made available to every student of international relations."— *Library Journal*

$6.50, $1.95 paper

Force, Order, and Justice

ROBERT E. OSGOOD and ROBERT W. TUCKER **Now in paperback.** "This is an important work. The authors, in an ambitious effort to assess the role of force in world politics before and after the advent of the nuclear age, display great learning in history, philosophy and law . . . It is a challenging and frequently profound exploration in political thought." — *Foreign Affairs* $10.00, $2.95 paper



THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS Baltimore, Maryland 21218

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BARNES & NOBLE

THE RISE OF THE PELHAMS John B. Owen
A study in 18th century parliamentary management. Beginning with the crisis which brought about the fall of Walpole in 1742, it discusses the composition, problems, and achievement of the new administration, and the implications of the continued influence of Granville after his forced resignation in 1744. Not until the failure in 1746 of George II's abortive attempt to form a second Granville ministry does Henry Pelham emerge as Walpole's undisputed successor; and only then does stability return to the body politic. Based on individual biographies of the 686 men who sat in the House of Commons during these years, The Rise of the Pelhams attempts to re-assess the nature of politics in the age of George II Repr. 357pp. $12.50

THE PRICE REVOLUTION IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND
Edited by Peter H. Ramsey
The great rise in prices that afflicted Europe in the 16th century has long been recognized as of fundamental importance, although its extent, causes and effects have been extremely controversial. The research of the last thirty years has done a great deal to deepen our understanding of this "price revolution" and the articles in this volume illustrate the continuing debate and highlight the points at issue. This controversial debate cannot fail to arouse the interest of all students of Tudor history. Select Bibliography. 180pp. (Debates in Economic History Series) Clo. $6.50; (University Paperback) Pap. $3.25

CHINESE CENTRAL ASIA C. P. Skrine
Mr. Skrine was consul-general in Chinese Turkestan from 1922 to 1924 with his headquarters at Kashgar. Accompanied by his wife he wandered through the highlands and lowlands of innermost Asia and this work is an account of their experiences and impressions, with chapters on the archaeology, customs, arts, music, poetry and folklore of the region. Contains excellent photographs and panoramic views. Illus. Maps. $12.50

ASPECTS OF CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN 1750-1850: A Preliminary Survey Edited by J.P. Higgins and Sidney Pollard
These papers were originally delivered at a Conference on the Study of Capital Formation 1750-1850 at Sheffield University in 1969. They examine the problems encountered in collating, editing and estimating the quantities of capital involved in the process of early industrialization. Each paper is accompanied by an edited account of the discussion which followed it. Students interested in this critical period in British economic history will find this concise survey both fascinating and useful, and it will also be of tremendous value to other scholars engaged in studies in fields related to the work of Professor Pollard's team. 180pp. Illus. (Methuen) $9.50

SOVIET ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT Raymond Hutchings
Examines the origins, circumstances, and sequence of events of Soviet economic development, and the main levers by which that development was achieved. Attention is directed not only to the type of economic system and its functioning but to the historical and geographical backgrounds, and to Russia's relations with the outside world. 326pp. $10.50

SOUTH ASIA B. L. C. Johnson
This geography of South Asia is written to provide a thought-provoking work for the high school senior, university student and the general reader anxious to understand better the major problems facing this region - - the home of one-sixth of mankind. Deals with crucial aspects of India, Pakistan, and Ceylon in their total geographical context - - physical, social, economic and political. Liberally illustrated with maps and photographs, many of them evidence of the author's intimate personal acquaintance with South Asia. Provides the reader with a vivid appreciation of the region's environment, both physical and human. 164pp. Illus. Maps. $6.75

(Send for 1971 B&N History & Political Science Catalog)

BARNES & NOBLE, 105 Fifth Ave., N.Y. 10003

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



NOW IN PAPERBACK

Man's Past: Man's Future

A Humanistic History for Tomorrow

Stephen Raushenbush

"Wisdom obtained through the painful trial-and-error process of the past may not mean happiness to man or civilization, but it can help men avoid some grief and frustration . . . and may even allow men to see the possibility of bypassing their old habit of first creating ruins and then trying to build upon their base." Upon this thesis the author builds a sweeping reexamination of the causes for the great human failures of the past and traces human history from early times to the present. With skill, precision and imagination, he moves from history to political science, economics and sociology, then back again. The result is a lucid, rational and objective exposition of history firmly grounded in the humanistic tradition.

"One of the most important books, not merely of our year, but of our time." —Ernest Gruening, former Governor and Senator, Alaska

A DELTA BOOK • $2.45

Also available in Delta paperback editions

STRANGERS & NATIVES by Judd L. Teller
An accurate, nostalgic history of Jews in America since 1921. $2.45

SAL SI PUEDES by Peter Matthiessen
A sensitive, authoritative study of Cesar Chavez, the grape strike, and the new American revolution. $2.95

THE TRAGEDY OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY by William A. Williams
A thoughtful analysis of American diplomacy with emphasis on an economic interpretation of motives and influences. $1.95

THE UNITED STATES IN VIETNAM New Revised Edition
George McTurnan Kahin and John W. Lewis
An objective, in depth analysis of America's involvement in Vietnam, fully documented by two of our foremost scholars in Asian affairs. $2.95

DELTA BOOKS
Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 750 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Addison Wesley

Quantification in History
by WILLIAM O. AYDELOTTE, University of Iowa

Appropriate for undergraduate and graduate courses, this book is concerned with the basic problem of what the historian must deal with—technically, conceptually, and in practice—in trying to use quantitative methods. The author demonstrates both the great possibilities of these techniques and their limitations. A special feature is a chapter of correspondence between the author and Professor J. H. Hexter of Yale University, debating the research methods and intellectual approaches recommended in this book.

April 1971

The United States and Latin America
edited by EARL T. GLAUERT, Central Washington State College, and LESTER D. LANGLEY, University of Georgia

A collection of readings and interpretive essays on the often puzzling history of United States and Latin American relations. Contents include the formation of Latin American policy to about 1900, the years of intervention and the Good Neighbor policy, and the United States and Latin America in the Cold War.

204 pp, paperbound (1971) $2.95

The Second British Empire, 1783 to 1965
by MARK NAIDIS, Los Angeles Valley College

The resurgence of the British Empire after the loss of the American colonies, and its decline and disintegration in the 20th century. 273 pp (1970) $7.95

American Social Thought: Sources and Interpretations
edited by MICHAEL McGIFFERT, University of Denver, and ROBERT ALLEN SKOTHEIM, University of Colorado
Volume I: To the Civil War
Volume II: Since the Civil War

Each volume combines primary source materials with accompanying interpretive essays by scholars who command authority in their respective fields. The articles reflect both the consensus on the importance of the history of social thought and the varying approaches to it.

Late fall 1971

Addison-Wesley
PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
Reading, Massachusetts 01867

THE SIGN OF EXCELLENCE

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AMERICAN FOLKLORE AND THE HISTORIAN

Richard M. Dorson, Director of the Folklore Institute, Indiana University

This volume presents the collected theoretical and methodological writings of America's foremost folklorist. The essays, written over a period of three decades are unique in their comprehensiveness, originality, and vigorous good sense. To put the study of folklore in American terms, Mr. Dorson elaborates a theory of folklore and relates it to various historical disciplines —popular culture, literature and literary history, ethnic and black studies, and cultural history. This collection will surely become the major starting point for American historians as they turn to the study of folklore to enrich and vitalize their work.

Mr. Dorson is also author of *Peasant Customs and Savage Myths: Selections from the British Folklorists, Buying the Wind: Regional Folklore in the U.S., The British Folklorists: A History,* and *American Folklore.* Details are available from the University of Chicago Press.

1971 *5½ × 8½* *216 pages* *$7.95*

New Books in History from CHICAGO

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF EDMUND BURKE

Volume IX, May 1796–July 1797

Edited by R. B. McDowell, Trinity College, Dublin and John A. Woods, University of Leeds

This is the final volume of correspondence in the comprehensive and definitive collection of the letters of one of the great masters of English prose and one of the greatest English political thinkers of the 18th century whose writings are of special significance for contemporary thinking. *The Correspondence* traces the issues central to Burke's time and his involvement in the American and French revolutions, affairs in India and Ireland, British government and party matters, finance, society, and law, shedding new light on the entire era.

1971 *5⅞ × 8⅞* *512 pages* *$21.50*

THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION: A HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF DOCTRINE

Volume One: The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100-600)

Jaroslav Pelikan, Yale University

The Christian Tradition is addressed to a number of different kinds of readers: to students of intellectual history concerned with the history of Christian doctrine because it contains important and influential ideas; to students of cultural history for whom the political thought, art, or literature of the past two millennia would be incomprehensible without an awareness of the issues dealt with here; and to students of theology who are concerned with the history of Christian doctrine because it is Christian.

"This first volume promises a large work which will show how scrupulous scholarship can be embellished by grandeur of conception and literary elegance. Mr. Pelikan's work cheers us to believe that the age of historical classics is not past."—*Daniel J. Boorstin*

Each of the five volumes of *The Christian Tradition* will have a single, overall concept guiding its organization and composition. At the same time, each volume will be a self-contained unit, independent in presentation. Subsequent volumes will deal with: *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (600-1700), The Growth of Medieval Theology (600-1300), Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300-1700),* and *Christian Doctrine and Modern Culture (since 1700).*

1971 *6⅛ × 9* *470 pages* *$15.00*

The University of Chicago Press,
5801 South Ellis Ave., Chicago 60637

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New

The Other Californians

Prejudice and Discrimination under Spain, Mexico, and the United States to 1920

Robert F. Heizer *and* **Alan J. Almquist**

The Other Californians is a social history of four minority groups—Indians, Mexicans, Chinese and Japanese—from 1769 to 1924. The importance of this book lies in its documentation of official and public attitudes towards these minority groups from the 18th to the early 20th century. Unfamiliar contemporary materials reflect a persistent aspect of California social history.

1971 LC: 76-121186 296 pages $7.95

New, Expanded Edition

The California Indians

A Source Book

Compiled and edited by **R. F. Heizer** *and* **M. A. Whipple**

A new, expanded edition combining the selections, eighteen of which are new, into a general survey of California Indian native cultures. A new, extensive classified bibliography lists hundreds of published works arranged by culture areas and subjects. A chapter written especially for this volume discusses the present-day Indians of California.

1971 LC: 72-122951 624 pages tables charts illustrations $9.50

William Robert Garner's Letters from California 1846-1847

Edited, with notes and a short biography of their author, by **Donald Munro Craig**

Just before the Gold Rush, two Eastern newspapers received a series of letters from W.G. in Monterey, California. In a refreshing straightforward style the letters reported on political events, detailed natural resources and potential for agriculture, commerce, lumbering and mining, and described the daily activities, sports, and customs of the *Californios*.

1970 LC: 71-124736 illustrations 250 pages $8.95

Joseph Banks in Newfoundland and Labrador, 1766

His Diary, Manuscripts and Collections

Edited by **M. A. Lysaght**

Although Joseph Banks is usually known as the young naturalist who sailed with Captain Cook on his first voyage around the world, it was Banks' earlier voyage to Newfoundland and Labrador in the *Niger* in 1766 that gave him the experience that enabled him to go on the *Endeavour* trip.

1971 LC: 70-81800 416 pages 12 color plates 96 pages of halftones maps $40.00

The Autobiography of an Unknown South African

Naboth Mokgatle

"To read this book is to know, not only intellectually, but in one's very bones, what it was to be a young Black man in South Africa in the early years of this century. The life of Mokgatle is a fascination in itself. . . . Mokgatle has a natural flair for storytelling. His language is simple and dignified, and yet enlivened by a curious influence from his native idiom that renders it at once oddly naive and yet penetrating, perceptive, and vivid."—*Donald Heiney*

Volume 1 in the series, *Perspectives on Southern Africa.*

1971 LC: 79-138285 333 pages $7.95

Now available in paperback

Custom and Politics in Urban Africa

A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns

Abner Cohen

"Conflict between ethnic groups is one of the major factors causing political and social unrest in Africa today. . . . Professor Cohen brings new insights to the understanding of this problem. . . . Anyone concerned with the problems of ethnicity, urbanism, or culture change should seriously examine this study."—*The Annals*

1969 LC: 68-55743 264 pages paper, $2.45; cloth, $6.75

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Introduction to Ancient History

Hermann Bengtson

Translated by **Richard I. Frank** *and* **Frank D. Gilliard**

"This is the best brief introduction to Ancient History that is now available; in fact, I know nothing like it. It embraces not only ancient Greece, Rome and the Mediterranean, but also all the lands that were connected historically and culturally with the Mediterranean (including Egypt and the east as far as India). . . . It is a great work of compression by a first-rate scholar."

—Arthur E. Gordon

1971 LC: 78-118685 224 pages $7.50

The Parliament of 1621

A Study in Constitutional Conflict

Robert Zaller

Twenty years before the Stuart political system collapsed, the Parliament of 1621 raised the ultimate issues of power, sovereignty, and law in one of the most dramatic confrontations in Parliamentary history. Mr. Zaller examines this grave constitutional crisis and the complex infighting of such men as: Edward Coke, Lionel Cranfield, and Edwin Sandys.

1971 LC: 77-104106 256 pages $9.00

Edward the Confessor

Frank Barlow

An authoritative study of the reign of Edward the Confessor (d. 1066) which establishes Edward as a living person and not a saintly abstraction. Few kings have attracted more legends than Edward, and no king—even Alfred—is associated with so much that is bogus. Mr. Barlow has gone back to the earliest sources to create a new picture of the man and his reign free from the shadows cast by later events.

1970 LC: 70-104107 440 pages illustrations $10.95

Hanoverian London, 1714-1808

George Rudé

During the reign of the Hanoverians, London became the largest city in Europe, and perhaps the world. It was the center of government and a great emporium. Its culture, fine arts, intellectual life, taste and fashion reverberated throughout Europe and the New World. This is a distinguished historian's synoptic overview and original contribution to the history of London over a century of expansion.

1971 LC: 69-10590 illustrations 288 pages $7.95

Nepal—Strategy for Survival

Leo E. Rose

Nepal's most formidable problem in foreign policy has been how to preserve national independence in the face of outside threats. Professor Rose deals with this question by tracing Nepalese foreign policy during the past two centuries. Particular reference is made to the pressures exerted on this policy by China, Great Britain, Russia, and India.

1971 LC: 75-100022 375 pages map $9.00

British Politics and European Unity

Parties, Elites and Pressure Groups

Robert J. Lieber

Beginning with the negotiations for the Free Trade Area and European Free Trade Association (1956-60) and continuing on through the Macmillan and Wilson governments' efforts to enter the Common Market (1961-67), this study analyzes the role of British parties and pressure groups in the formulation of British policy toward European unity. In addition it suggests a theoretical framework for analyzing the influence of organized economic interests on governmental policy.

1970 LC: 70-104104 320 pages $9.00



University of California Press • Berkeley 94720

from California

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Books from Syracuse....

THE AYUB KHAN ERA

Politics in Pakistan, 1958-1969

Lawrence Ziring, Western Michigan University

This is the study of a decade that completed a cycle, from late 1958 when the Army under General Mohammed Ayub Khan took control of Pakistan in a period of turmoil to early 1969 when Ayub was finally pressured into passing his authority to General Yahya Khan, having failed in his long efforts at political reform.

A detailed examination of the decade of Ayub Khan's rule, the book is divided into two parts. Part I provides a survey of the events, personalities, and relationships of the Ayub Khan era. Part II links the events with major aspects of the traditional political environment in Pakistan—the bureaucratic legacy, the rural power structure, the urban intelligentsia—historically resistant to change.

Like Ayub, Yahya Khan took control with plans and promises for reform. Ziring believes that Pakistan may not survive another failure.

Map, glossary. SBN 8156-0075-5 $10.00

WILLIAM VANS MURRAY, FEDERALIST DIPLOMAT

The Shaping of Peace with France, 1797-1801

Peter P. Hill, George Washington University

This is the first extended study of the dynamics of the peace-making efforts that kept us out of full-scale war with France and led to the signing of the Franco-American Convention of 1800, and of William Vans Murray's role in the achievement. As American envoy to The Hague, Murray was a logical choice—and a fortunate one—for membership on the three-man diplomatic mission to work out the compromise agreement. His knowledge of the ways of French diplomacy was to prove invaluable.

The author has used Murray's letters and diaries, and especially his correspondence with John Quincy Adams, analytically with French and American archival sources to illuminate how peace was achieved.

SBN 8156-0078-X $8.50

THE SEARCH for an AMERICAN INDIAN IDENTITY

Modern Pan-Indian Movements

Hazel W. Hertzberg, Teachers College, Columbia

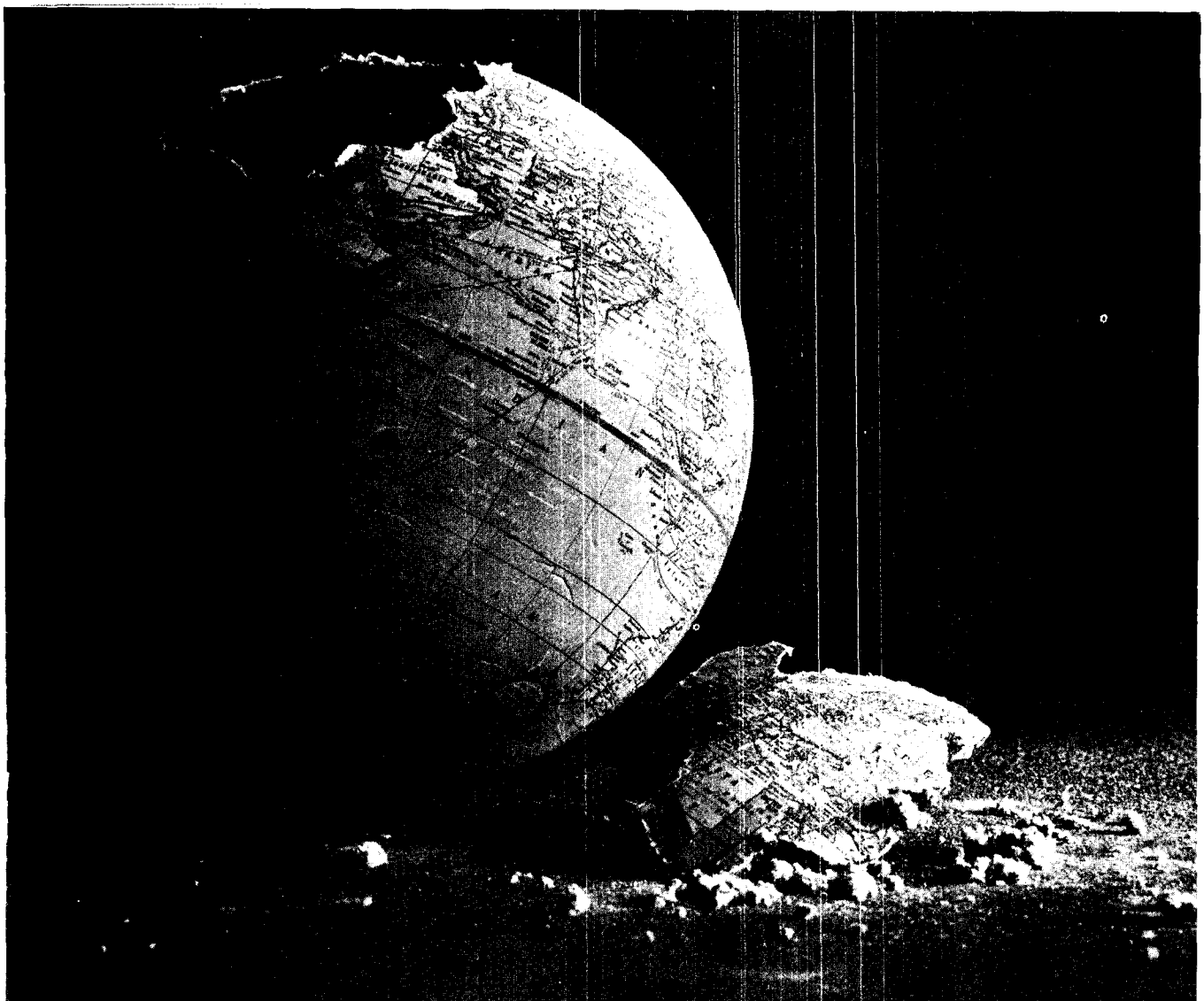
Focused chiefly on the years from 1900 to 1934, this study traces in detail the history of Indian national movements in America—their goals, their organizations, their successes and frustrations, and their leadership.

Illustrated. SBN 8156-0076-3 $12.00

Copies for 60-day examination for course use available on request

Syracuse University Press/ Syracuse, New York 13210

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



A Prophetic Chronicle of a World in Tumult: 1888-1933

ARCHIV FÜR SOZIALWISSENSCHAFT UND SOZIALPOLITIK

It was a time of radical change—a traditional world buckling under the pressure of social, political, and economic upheaval. Revolutions in science and technology were demolishing the old formalistic order.

With extraordinary scholarship, *Archiv fur Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitic* brings these events into sharp historical perspective. With brilliant theoretical and methodological innovation, *Archiv* establishes itself as a paradigm for later studies of law, politics, religion, economics and sociology.

Reprinted in the original German, *Archiv* conveys the excitement and intellectual ferment of the times as only an original document can.

Under the editorship of eminent social and political philosophers, notably Max Weber, *Archiv* chronicles the academic institutionalization of the social sciences from 1888 to 1933. Claims to a universal science were abandoned and definitions of its specific tasks were made during this, perhaps the most significant span in the history of social science.

Archiv is a monumental work of the highest quality. As an invaluable documentary aid we heartily commend it to modern scholars and to their libraries.

Vols. 1–69 (all published). Berlin; Tubingen; Leipzig 1888–1933. (With a general index to vols. 1–50)

Price until April 30, 1971		Price after May 1, 1971	
Cloth bound set	$2,250.00	Cloth bound set	$2,475.00
Paper bound set	1,985.00	Paper bound set	2,180.00
Per volume, paper bound	30.00	Per volume, paper bound	33.00
Paper bound index to vols. 1–50	15.00	Paper bound index to vols. 1–50	16.50

Now Available From

Johnson Reprint CORPORATION
111 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10003
Johnson Reprint Company Ltd.
Berkeley Square House, London W.1, England

PROVIDED BY IHS
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ANNOUNCING: EXPANSION OF *HISTORICAL ABSTRACTS*

NEW *Twentieth Century Abstracts* 1914-1970

The Editor of *Historical Abstracts* announces three major changes beginning in 1971:

1. *CHRONOLOGY:* Previously limited to 1775-1945. Now expanded to include the period up to 1970.
2. *SCOPE:* To encompass all fields of research relevant to current world problems: e.g. wars, international relations, and area studies.
3. *PERIODICALS ABSTRACTED:* An increase from 1,700 to nearly 2,000 periodicals, to include greater coverage of journals in all the social sciences and humanities.

This expansion will result in doubling the number of abstracts published in future volumes.

Beginning with Volume 17, *Historical Abstracts* will appear in two parts:

Part A: MODERN HISTORY ABSTRACTS
World History 1775-1914

Part B: TWENTIETH CENTURY ABSTRACTS
World History 1914-1970

Initial response from historians and librarians has been very encouraging:

"The extended chronological scope of HISTORICAL ABSTRACTS, to include articles after World War II up to 1970, meets an acute need for bibliographical coverage of the events of recent decades. Your high standards in abstracting, editing, and indexing will make this vital new service of inestimable value to the historical profession."

Donald W. Treadgold
University of Washington

"... a good idea. Our courses are geared to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries only... This will make HISTORICAL ABSTRACTS more relevant..."

Gerald Parres, Librarian
Cardinal Glennon College

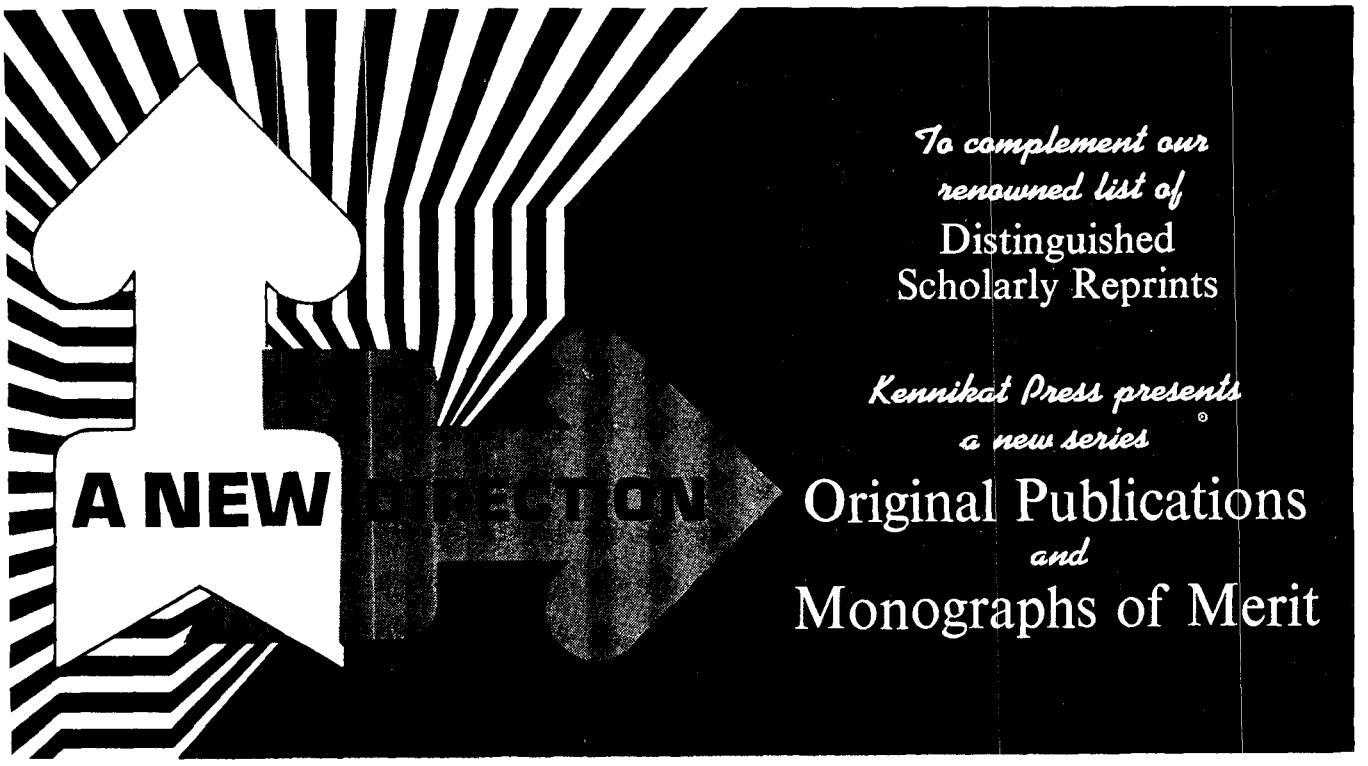
"The addition of contemporary material will be extremely useful in courses in recent history. I also welcome the simultaneous publication of detailed, easy to use indexes with the abstract numbers."

J. Spielman
Haverford College

We welcome the opportunity to send you a free examination copy. The first issue is scheduled for publication, Spring 1971.

American Bibliographical Center — Clio Press
Riviera Campus, 2040 Alameda Padre Serra, Santa Barbara, California 93103

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



INTRODUCING

National University Publications

We begin this new open-ended series with eight original works in AMERICAN STUDIES, under the general editorial supervision of Dr. James P. Shenton, Columbia University. New titles will be added on a continuing basis, depending on your interest in this new venture. Your comments on NATIONAL UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS are most cordially invited.

AVAILABLE SPRING 1971

Haldeen Braddy
MEXICO AND THE OLD SOUTHWEST: *People, Palaver, and Places*
-9001-4 $12.50

Robert B. Carson
MAIN LINE TO OBLIVION: *The Disintegration of the New York Railroads in the Twentieth Century.*
-9003-0 $12.95

Ann J. Lane
THE BROWNSVILLE AFFAIR: *National Crisis and Black Reaction*
-9008-1 $10.95

Charles A. Leonard
A SEARCH FOR A JUDICIAL PHILOSOPHY: *Mr. Justice Roberts and the Constitutional Revolution of 1937*
-9009-X $12.50

Ernest McKay
HENRY WILSON, PRACTICAL RADICAL: *Portrait of a Politician*
-9010-3 $11.00

Dennis P. Sobin
THE FUTURE OF THE AMERICAN SUBURBS: *Survival or Extinction?*
-9014-6 $8.95

Harry M. Ward
"UNITE OR DIE": *Intercolony Relations 1690-1763*
-9013-8 $13.95

Hace Sorel Tishler
SELF-RELIANCE AND SOCIAL SECURITY 1870-1917
-9012-X $10.95

For a descriptive brochure on National University Publications please write to

KENNIKAT PRESS
P. O. Box 270- R Port Washington, N. Y. 11050

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Europe, South America, The Middle East

John Calvin
The Organizer of Reformed Protestantism
WILLISTON WALKER
Bibliographical essay by John T. McNeill
"Walker's is perhaps the best English biography of Calvin." — *Choice*

"To say the book is the best biography written in English is not enough. No other equally brief life has so well assimilated the vast amount of material or summed up Calvin's character or career with so much insight; and no other life of Calvin preserves throughout so judicial a tone. It is a book whose scholarship will appeal to both the church historian and the general historical reader."
— *American Historical Review*

"The long bibliographical essay by John T. McNeill . . . [is] itself worth the price of the book." — *The Christian Century*
paper $2.95/cloth $8.50

Puritanism and Revolution
The English Revolution of the Seventeenth Century
CHRISTOPHER HILL

"This wide-ranging and impressively learned work is . . . a most important contribution to the argument, begun by Weber and Tawney, concerning the relationship between puritanism and capitalism. . . . The result is a fresh and challenging view of both the nature of puritanism and of English society." — *Choice*
paper $2.45

The Origins of Bolshevism
THEODORE DAN
Edited and translated by Joel Carmichael
Preface by Leonard Schapiro

"A well-reasoned, intelligent, and penetrating study of Russian revolutionary thought and activity from 1825 to 1917—a scarce item in English. Moreover, it is a political judgment of why Bolshevism won out over Menshevism." — *Library Journal*
paper $3.95

Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England
CHRISTOPHER HILL

"This major new work by a scholar of great distinction writing on the subject nearest his heart, should be a source of enjoyment as well as interest to anyone who cares for history whether as an academic discipline or as a branch of literature. . . . As a study in the sociology of religion this book will be of lasting interest and it will be indispensable for understanding the century from the Reformation to the Civil War."
— Gerald Aylmer, *The Guardian*
paper $2.95/cloth $9.50

The History of the Incas
ALFRED MÉTRAUX
79 illustrations

"His *History of the Incas* is an ambitious attempt to connect the Inca past with the Inca present, to show from static archeological and anthropological facts and images the continuities of a dynamic and 'relevant' history of a non-literate civilization. . . . Métraux is refreshingly precise about the Incas . . . and the book's photographs are always pertinent."
— *The New York Times*
paper $2.45

Jews and Arabs
Their Contacts Through the Ages
S. D. GOITEIN

"As fascinating as it is scholarly, and sensitive and dispassionate at the same time."
— *Middle Eastern Affairs*

"Professor Goitein writes not only from extensive original knowledge of the vast Arabic and Jewish literature, a great deal of which is still in manuscript, but also from personal acquaintance with the Arab countries and their now disappearing Jewish communities. If he cannot predict the future, which is so much bound up with political and military matters, he is a most competent guide to the past."
— *The Jerusalem Post*
paper $1.95/cloth $6.00

for complete catalogs write to



Schocken Books
67 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Studies in the Libertarian and Utopian Tradition

Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist
ALEXANDER BERKMAN
Introduction by Hutchins Hapgood
New Introduction by Paul Goodman
paper $2.95/cloth $9.50

The Anarchist Prince
A Biographical Study of Peter Kropotkin
GEORGE WOODCOCK and IVAN AVAKUMOVIĆ
paper $3.95

The Communistic Societies of the United States
Detailed Accounts of the Economists, Zoarites, Shakers, the Amana, Oneida, Bethel, Aurora, Icarian, and Other Existing Societies, Their Religious Creeds, Social Practices, Numbers, Industries, and Present Condition
CHARLES NORDHOFF
Introduction by Franklin H. Littell
paper $2.45/cloth $7.50

Kibbutz—Venture in Utopia
MELFORD E. SPIRO
New, augmented edition 1970
paper $2.45/cloth $7.00

Design for Utopia
Selected Writings of Charles Fourier
Edited and with an Introduction by Charles Gide
New Introduction by Frank E. Manuel
paper $2.75/cloth $7.50

for complete catalogs write to



Schocken Books
67 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

YEARBOOK ON INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST AFFAIRS: 1969

Edited by Richard F. Staar

The yearbook is extremely valuable as a single authoritative source of an enormous number of facts which are otherwise scattered in all sorts of publications of varying reliability and accessibility, and its annual appearance will make it increasingly valuable in the future. *The Times Literary Supplement*

This is an excellent, well-organized, voluminously documented reference work on world Communist affairs. The Hoover Institution deserves high credit for this pioneering work which provides chronology, major Communist documents, and extremely well-done analyses. The book is highly recommended and worth the price. *Library Journal*

This monumental publication represents a major milestone in the rapidly proliferating literature of world Communism. Both the editor and publisher should be warmly congratulated for carrying to successful completion a project of this scope, depth and magnitude. . . . *Slavic Studies*

$19.50

THE COMMUNIST REGIMES IN EASTERN EUROPE: REVISED EDITION

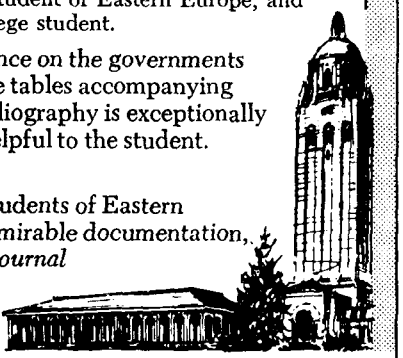
By Richard F. Staar

Based on primary sources in the native language—radio broadcasts and periodicals of each bloc country—and on documentation from Russian and Western publications, this work provides a unique guide for the professional or casual student of Eastern Europe, and is especially directed toward the college student.

This is a most useful work of reference on the governments and politics of Eastern Europe. The tables accompanying the text . . . are invaluable. The Bibliography is exceptionally extensive and should prove most helpful to the student. *International Affairs*

The book should be helpful to all students of Eastern Europe, mainly by reason of the admirable documentation, and to libraries generally. *Library Journal*

Paper, $3.95



HOOVER INSTITUTION PRESS

STANFORD UNIVERSITY, STANFORD, CALIF. 94305

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HEINRICH HIMMLER: A NAZI IN THE MAKING, 1900–1926

By Bradley F. Smith

The most comprehensive and suggestive study of Himmler's formative years available in *any language*. A happy combination of exhaustive research, provocative interpretation, and lucid writing, *Heinrich Himmler* is not merely engrossing biography but also a fine example of the application of psychosocial insights to the problems of personality formation and human motivation.

GEORGE H. STEIN, *Professor of History, State University of New York at Binghamton*

The reader has the eerie sensation of growing up with this sickly child [Heinrich Himmler] of over-protective parents, and of seeing the inner torments of the shy, confused young man suddenly turn outward into virulent anti-Semitism and right-wing radicalism. Bradley Smith has achieved a chilling masterpiece of politico-psychological biography.

PETER MERKL, *Professor of Political Science, University of California, Santa Barbara*

$6.95

GUERRILLAS IN HISTORY

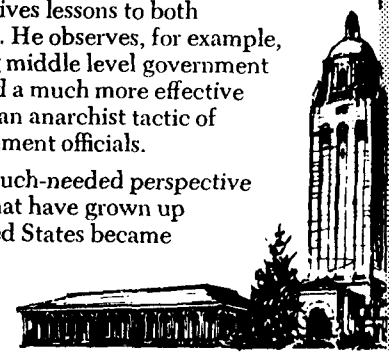
By Lewis Gann

Guerrilla warfare is not modern, nor does it necessarily represent a progressive cause. So argues Dr. Lewis Gann, senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, in *Guerrillas in History*.

At times, the author sounds almost like a Machiavelli of guerrilla warfare, except that he gives lessons to both guerrillas and conventional forces. He observes, for example, that the Viet Cong tactic of killing middle level government officials on a large scale has proved a much more effective tactic than the 19th century Russian anarchist tactic of assassinating selected high government officials.

Guerrillas in History provides a much-needed perspective on the myths and countermyths that have grown up around the subject since the United States became involved in Vietnam.

$3.95



HOOVER INSTITUTION PRESS

STANFORD UNIVERSITY, STANFORD, CALIF. 94305

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cornell University Press

The Habsburgs and Europe 1516-1660

By H. G. KOENIGSBERGER. In three closely related essays, the author traces the history and aims of the House of Habsburg during the 150 years it dominated European politics. This is the first work to treat the period 1516-1660 with the Habsburg realms as the focal point. 312 pages. $8.50

Viet-Nam Crisis

A Documentary History, Volume I: 1940-1956

Edited by ALLAN W. CAMERON. The most exhaustive work of its kind, this collection of 190 documents on the developing Viet-Nam crisis contains many selections not previously available in English. General introductions place each document in its historical context. 424 pages. $15.00

Federal Service and the Constitution

The Development of the Public Employment Relationship

By DAVID H. ROSENBLOOM. Analyzing the historical evolution of the special constitutional position of American civil servants, the author delineates the complex administrative, economic, political, and social factors that have given rise to changes in the public employment relationship. 272 pages. $8.00

NOW IN PAPERBACK

Viet-Nam and the West

By RALPH SMITH. This interpretation of Vietnamese cultural attitudes throughout history contends that a major reason for American difficulties in Viet-Nam has been the failure to appreciate how wide the gulf is between Viet-Nam and the West. 224 pages. $1.95*

Roman Imperialism in the Late Republic

By E. BADIAN. In this compact and well-organized survey, the author traces the course of Roman imperialism in the second and first centuries B.C.—from the Gracchi to Caesar. 129 pages. $1.50*

*Also available in cloth.

Cornell University Press ITHACA and LONDON

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Volume I

I Will Be Heard!

1822-1835

Edited by Walter M. Merrill

William Lloyd Garrison's letters offer an insight into the mind and life of an outstanding figure in American history, a reformer-revolutionary who sought radical changes in the institutions of his day – in the relationship of the races, the rights of women, the nature and role of religion and religious institutions, and the relations between the state and its citizens; and who, perhaps more than any other single individual, was ultimately responsible for the emancipation of the slaves.

Walter M. Merrill includes in this well illustrated first volume Garrison's letters from the earliest known – one to his mother during his apprenticeship – through his early journalistic ventures; the founding in 1831 of his famous newspaper, *The Liberator;* the founding in 1832 and 1833 of the New England and the American Anti-Slavery societies; his first trip to England to meet with British abolitionists; his courtship and marriage; and his being dragged through the streets of Boston by a mob out to tar and feather the British abolitionist George Thompson.

$20

Volume II

A House Dividing Against Itself,

1836-1840

Edited by Louis Ruchames

Included in this second volume, which is also supplemented with contemporary illustrations, are Garrison's letters from the five years during which he entered the political arena full force.

$20

BELKNAP PRESS

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Czechoslovak Political Trials, 1950-1954

THE SUPPRESSED REPORT OF THE DUBCEK GOVERNMENT'S COMMISSION OF INQUIRY, 1968. *Edited by Jiri Pelikan.* Suppressed after the Soviet invasion and subsequently smuggled out of the country, this report is a frank account of the staging and conduct of the political show trials of the early 1950's. $10.95

Origins of the Chinese Revolution, 1915-1949

Lucien Bianco. Translated from the French by Muriel Bell. The original French edition of this book (1967), was acclaimed as the best introduction to Chinese Communism ever published. It focuses on the dynamic social forces underlying the Chinese Communists' rapid rise from obscurity to power. May. About $8.95

The French Democratic Left, 1963-1969

TOWARD A MODERN PARTY SYSTEM. *Frank L. Wilson.* During the 1960's, three major efforts were made to transform the French non-Communist Left into a more modern, cohesive type of political organization. This study describes the efforts and explains the reasons for their failure. $8.95

Interest Conflict and Political Change in Brazil

Philippe C. Schmitter. The author traces the emergence of Brazilian interest groups through the era of industrialization and modernization. He relates the groups to existing political structures and examines their interaction with each other, the state, and the military. $15.00

Stanford University Press

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From Harper & Row

Europe Since 1500*

J. H. HEXTER, Yale University, and RICHARD PIPES, Harvard University, with ANTHONY MOLHO, Brown University

This text derives from the collaboration of two esteemed historians, J. H. Hexter and Richard Pipes. Anthony Molho has contributed two introductory chapters. Together, the authors present an integrated narrative of intellectual, cultural, social, economic, and political developments from the perspective of the most recent interpretations of modern European history. Professor Molho's first chapter sets the stage for the discussion to follow, describing the physical, economic, and social characteristics of Europe in 1500. This is followed by a detailed treatment of the Renaissance. Professor Hexter carries the narrative to approximately 1800, when Napoleon assumed the legacy of the French Revolution. Professor Pipes covers the 19th and 20th centuries, stressing the search for a European balance of power in the 19th century and for a worldwide balance of power in the 20th. The affairs of Eastern Europe, particularly of Russia, are of special interest to Professor Pipes and receive due emphasis. He concludes with a synthesis of the trends and problems of the contemporary world. 8 full-color portfolios and many other illustrations. Introduction by William L. Langer. *April, 1971. Tentative: 1070 pp.; $10.95.*

Europe Since 1815*

RICHARD PIPES

Emphasizes the economic, social, cultural, and intellectual elements of the past that have particular relevance for mid-20th century. Comparative presentation develops common patterns throughout Europe, without ignoring local differences. In domestic politics, treats emergence of the liberal state, crisis of liberalism and the advent of totalitarianism, and the emergence of the modern neo-liberal state. Emphasizes major international conflicts: the search for a European balance of power in the 19th century and for a worldwide balance in the 20th. 4 full-color portfolios. Introduction by William L. Langer. *1970. 609 pp.; $9.95.*

European Economic History

Tenth Century to the Present

ELIAS H. TUMA, University of California, Davis

Spanning the period from the emergence of modern Europe to the age of technology, this is a well-documented analysis covering all of Europe, including Russia, Eastern Europe, and the Scandinavian countries. *April, 1971. 384 pp.; $12.95.*

*A joint publication of Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc. and American Heritage Publishing Co., Inc.

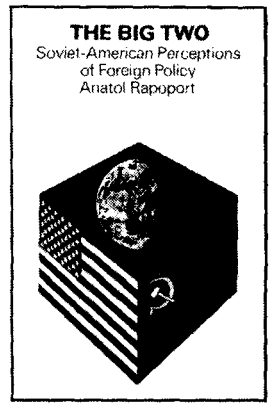
Send for our 1971 catalog (#CT 41).

Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc.
49 East 33d Street,
New York 10016



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

just published:



THE BIG TWO

Soviet-American Perceptions of Foreign Policy

by Anatol Rapoport

256 pages clothbound, $6.95

A Pegasus title

In this vigorous and original study, Professor Rapoport examines the perceptions and accustomed frameworks of thought that have shaped recent U.S.-Soviet foreign policy relations. He maintains that the designers and executors of foreign policy operate within certain habitual mental frameworks and that these frameworks determine their perception and evaluation of the "objective" factors that arise in international relations. With particular emphasis on American policy toward Russia, he evaluates the perceptions of the policy makers themselves, of their intellectual coteries, of military strategists, and of sectors of the general public. Dr. Rapoport finds convincing evidence that both the United States and Soviet Russia are moving away from an ideological toward a revived "Clausewitzian" conception of foreign relations, and concludes that this revival could well prove critical to the immediate future of mankind.

Any reseller is free to charge whatever price it wishes for our books.

Odyssey Press
A Division of The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc.
College Division / Indianapolis, Indiana 46268

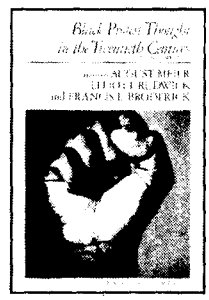
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from the American Heritage Series

Black Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century

Second Edition

edited by
August Meier, Elliott Rudwick, and Francis L. Broderick

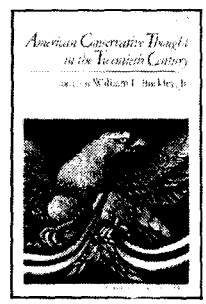


712 pages, AHS-56
$3.95 paper, $8.50 cloth

Since 1965, when the first edition of this widely-accepted anthology was published, the developments in the black movement have been rapid and far-reaching. This second edition now includes the current focus on the ideologies of black power, people's power, and revolutionary nationalism. In all, 23 new documents have been added—among them, writings by Julius Lester, Huey Newton, James Farmer, James Forman, Robert S. Browne, and Charles V. Hamilton. It is a unique collection of writings and speeches by black Americans themselves, spanning 70 years of protest and struggle.

American Conservative Thought in the Twentieth Century

edited by William F. Buckley, Jr.



412 pages, AHS-82
$3.75 paper, $8.50 cloth

This new addition to the American Heritage Series offers the best of American conservative thought in the twentieth century, under the editorship of the foremost expositor of rational, humanistic, conservative thought in America today. Mr. Buckley's introduction to this book is written with his characteristic charm, wit, ego, trenchancy, and, of course, strong bias. To ignore, be unmoved, or be unprovoked by Mr. Buckley and his fellow conservatives within these covers is to risk the charge of being dead to ideas.

The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc.

College Division / Indianapolis, Indiana 46268

Any reseller is free to charge whatever price it wishes for our books.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Titles in History

THE AMERICAN PAST
Conflicting Interpretations of the Great Issues
Third Edition

Edited by SIDNEY FINE and GERALD S. BROWN, both, The University of Michigan

"A fine piece of work—good additions."
—Frank Freidel, Harvard University

"Best of its kind in the field."
—J. Weinberg, Cleveland State University

Volume I: 1970, 652 pages, paper, $4.95
Volume II: 1970, 594 pages, paper, $4.95

THE WORLD SINCE 1919
Eighth Edition

By WALTER CONSUELO LANGSAM and OTIS C. MITCHELL, both, University of Cincinnati

Now in its eighth edition, *The World Since 1919* offers unusually extensive and up-to-date coverage of the more significant facts of and trends in world history since the end of World War I.

1971, approx. 800 pages, prob. $9.95

REVOLUTION
A Reader

Edited by BRUCE MAZLISH, ARTHUR D. KALEDIN, and DAVID B. RALSTON, all, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Focusing on the comparative aspects of revolution in the twentieth century, four sections of this book are devoted to the Russian, Chinese, Cuban, and National Socialist Revolutions.

1971, approx. 544 pages, paper, prob. $5.95

MODERN CHINA
An Interpretive Anthology

By the late JOSEPH R. LEVENSON, University of California, Berkeley

The selections in this anthology are structured around the themes of Chinese identity, culturalism and nationalism, response to Western impact, and development of revolutionary Chinese ideology.

1970, 236 pages, paper, $3.95

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from the Macmillan Company

MODERN INDIA
An Interpretive Anthology

By THOMAS R. METCALF, University of California, Berkeley

These lively and provocative essays by Indian and Western writers are organized into four sections: "Sense of Identity," "Sense of the Past," "Sense of Urgency," and "Sense of the Future."

1970, 291 pages, paper, $3.95

INTERPRETING AMERICAN HISTORY
Conversations with Historians

Edited by JOHN A. GARRATY, Columbia University

"An absolutely splendid idea! Combines the informality of conversation with the shrewd focusing of a good lecture."
—William H. Goetzmann, University of Texas

"The structure is unique. The remarks are vigorously analytical, doubly so because the historians are less restrained than they might otherwise be."
—Timothy G. McDonald, Idaho State University

"Certainly one of the most fascinating works on history in some time."
—Ward S. Albro, Texas A & I University

Volume I: 1970, 367 pages, paper, $4.95
Volume II: 1970, 334 pages, paper, $4.95

PERSPECTIVES ON THE EUROPEAN PAST
Conversations with Historians

Edited by NORMAN F. CANTOR, State University of New York at Binghamton

This unique history of Western civilization consists of a series of 32 informal interviews with distinguished contemporary authorities on European history.

Volume I: 1971, approx. 368 pages, paper, prob. $4.95
Volume II: 1971, approx. 368 pages, paper, prob. $4.95

NEITHER BLACK NOR WHITE
Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States

By CARL N. DEGLER, Stanford University

In order to evaluate contemporary American race relations, *Neither Black Nor White* utilizes a comparative study of race relations in America and Brazil, the only New World country rivaling the United States in size and the importance of slavery in its history.

1971, approx. 288 pages, cloth, prob. $6.95, paper, prob. $2.95

Write to the Faculty Service Desk for examination copies.

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
Department CNY
Riverside, New Jersey 08075

In Canada, write to Collier-Macmillan Canada, Ltd.,
1125B Leslie Street, Don Mills, Ontario

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cornell University Press

A Series of Evaluative Guides to Source Material for Students of History

THE SOURCES OF HISTORY

GENERAL EDITOR
G. R. Elton



In this unusual, far-reaching series, eminent scholars examine the extant primary source material related to particular historical periods or themes. Each book offers a descriptive guide to the sources—documentary, archaeological, literary—and evaluates the historical evidence supporting them, the uses to which they can be put, and the biases they contain or impose. Bibliographies and indexes direct the reader to material in print or otherwise available.

Previously published volumes in the Series

Historical Demography

By T. H. HOLLINGSWORTH. "The value of research in historical demography is discussed in relation to demography and history in three excellent chapters in the appendix: demographic analysis and stable populations; the demography of plague; and replacement rates in medieval England."—*Choice*

488 pages, tables, graphs. $10.50

England, 1200-1640

By G. R. ELTON. "Elton's work is useful not only for the excellent bibliographic survey of the period, but for the instructive analysis of the problems of historical writing he furnishes. . . . An excellent book both for the undergraduate and for the advanced student in the social sciences and humanities."—*Choice*

256 pages. $7.50

Cornell University Press ITHACA AND LONDON

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cornell University Press

Two New Titles in the Series—Published in Paperback Editions

The Western European Powers, 1500-1700

By CHARLES H. CARTER. The author describes in a clear and lively style various types of diplomatic sources, collections, and repositories for the period, and discusses their nature and use. But he goes beyond "the sanctified sources, problems, issues, questions (and answers), and *dramatis personae*," writing from the belief that the long-established canon of sources for diplomatic history must "be radically expanded if historical knowledge is ever to emerge from its superannuated embryo." He focuses mainly on four states, Spain, France, England, and the Spanish Netherlands, and by selectively rotating the emphasis —French published documents, Belgian serials, English and Spanish archives, etc.—achieves an over-all balance.
288 pages. $8.75 cloth; $4.50 paper

Great Britain after 1914

By C. L. MOWAT. Writing with lucidity and grace, Professor Mowat points the way to critical use of the accumulating mass of materials available to writers of more recent British history. He treats not only conventional sources, but such genres as memoirs, biographies, and diaries, citing numerous examples to illustrate their limitations and virtues. He assesses contemporaneous writing—current-affairs books, newspapers, tracts, social surveys—and his approach to nondocumentary sources like films, sound records, and interviews is keen and realistic. The last chapter, *"The Zinoviev Letter: A Case History,"* reads much like a detective story.
224 pages. $6.75 cloth; $3.45 paper

A Series of Evaluative Guides to Source Material for Students of History

THE SOURCES OF HISTORY

GENERAL EDITOR
G. R. Elton

Cornell University Press ITHACA AND LONDON

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

36 (a)

Rand McNally & Company College Department, Box 7600, Chicago, Ill. 6068



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

$7.95
paperbound

Available for Immediate Adoption

Single Volume/768 pages/$7.95 P/B
Volume 1/*To 1877*/376 pages/$5.50 P/B
Volume 2/*From 1865*/400 pages/$5.50 P/B

Complete Instructor's Manual and Test Questions Available.

Challenging in concept, sophisticated in design, and in its social emphasis, this dramatic new history of the American people combines the distinct advantages of contemporary paperbound format, arresting visual approach, and distinguished multiple authorship —at a price far lower than that of competitive texts.





Richard B. Morris
Columbia University

William Greenleaf
University of New Hampshire

Robert H. Ferrell
Indiana University

AMERICA
A History of the People

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AMERICAN HISTORY

NEW 1971

The Dimensions of History

Edited by Thomas N. Guinsburg, University of Western Ontario

Contemporary and succinct introduction to historical study answers the question: "What is history?"

157 pages, $2.95 P/B

SECOND EDITION

A Synopsis of American History

By Charles Sellers and Henry May, University of California, Berkeley

New edition of a widely adopted U.S. history survey.

470 pages, $5.75 P/B

SECOND EDITION

Twentieth Century America:

The United States Since the 1890's

By David A. Shannon, University of Virginia

Three paperbound volumes:

The Progressive Era, 227 pages, $3.25.

The Twenties and Thirties, 239 pages, $3.50.

World War II and Since, 223 pages, $3.50.

SECOND EDITION

The Shaping of American Diplomacy

Readings and Documents in American Foreign Relations

Edited, with commentary, by William Appleman Williams, Oregon State University

Two paperbound volumes:

1750-1914, 512 pages, $6.25.

1914-1968, 513 pages, $6.25.

America's Ten Greatest Presidents

Edited by Morton Borden, University of California, Santa Barbara

269 pages, $3.95 P/B.

Rand McNally History of American Thought and Culture Series

Series Editor: David D. Van Tassel, Case Western Reserve University

NEW 1971

The Great Awakening and The American Revolution

Colonial Thought in the 18th Century

By Cedric Cowing, University of Hawaii

260 pages, $2.95 P/B. *Five additional titles available in this series.

everything **paperbound** in history

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WESTERN CIVILIZATION
NEW 1971

Europe: A Brief History

By George A. Rothrock,
University of Alberta

The fundamentals of European history in 26 short but comprehensive chapters. Low price and abbreviated format allow maximum flexibility and choice of emphasis. Social, cultural, and political perspectives develop the character of important eras in broad strokes.

434 pages, $5.25 P/B.

A History of The Western World

By Bryce Lyon, Brown University

Herbert H. Rowen, Rutgers University

Theodore S. Hamerow, University of Wisconsin

Magnificently balanced text for western civilization survey courses. Illustrated with full color maps and 25 pages of color drawings and illustrations. Also available in cloth, $11.95.

Two-volume paperbound edition, $5.25 each volume.

Three-volume paperbound edition, $3.95 - $4.50 each volume.

Complete Instructor's Manual.

The Traditions of The Western World

General Editor: J. H. Hexter,
Yale University

Sourcebook of superbly edited readings from western civilization. Also available in cloth, $9.95.

Two-volume paperbound edition, $5.95 each volume.

Three-volume paperbound edition, $3.95 each volume.

The Rand McNally European History Series

Series Advisory Editor: George L. Mosse, University of Wisconsin

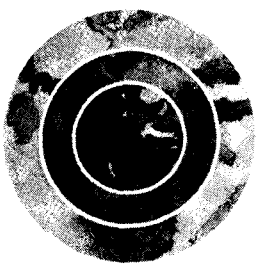
Concisely-written paperback histories presenting original research in broad and significant areas of western civilization. High readability, brevity, and low cost give the instructor utmost flexibility in structuring his course.

6 titles available. $2.25 - $2.75 each.

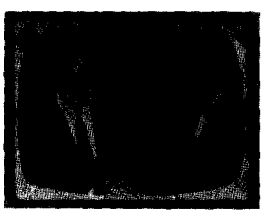
For information about paperbound titles in history write:

Rand McNally & Company
College Department
Box 7600/Chicago, Illinois 60680





from Rand McNally



THE DIMENSIONS OF HISTORY

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Little, Brown history texts... all in paperback

THE EMERGENCE OF THE EUROPEAN WORLD
The European World Since 1815: Triumph and Transition
Second Edition

Jerome Blum
Princeton University
Rondo Cameron
Emory University
Thomas G. Barnes
University of California at Berkeley

New in paperback, the revised two-volume edition of Blum, Cameron, Barnes text: *The Emergence of the European World,* and its companion volume, *The European World Since 1815: Triumph and Transition.* The second edition retains the strengths of the first edition: its balanced coverage of the material; its accurate coverage of political, military, social, historical perspective on events, people, and trends; its balanced economic, and intellectual history of western Europe, as well as of eastern Europe, Russia, and borderlands of Europe. Add these strengths to the extensive revisions: new design; new interpretations of events; the latest historical research; revised chapters which include discussions of the Sino-Soviet border dispute, the abdication of President de Gaulle, the European reaction to the United States lunar landing; newly redrawn maps and charts, one third of the maps in full color; and an expanded list of illustrations in full color and black and white, scattered throughout the book, and the result is a basic European history text you and your students won't want to be without.

The Blum, Cameron, Barnes text is still available in one-volume and two-volume editions and is still suitable for both quarter and semester sessions.

Sterling Fishman and Kaaren Plant, both of the University of Wisconsin, have prepared a *Student Guide* closely keyed to this second edition. Available at $3.95, paperbound. Instructor's Manual accompanies the text.

Two-Volume Edition: paperback
The Emergence of the European World 602 pages tentatively $5.95 (clothbound $7.95)
The European World Since 1815: Triumph and Transition 666 pages tentatively $5.95 (clothbound $7.95)

One volume edition: cloth
The European World: A History 1244 pages $11.95

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

make 20th Century history immediate and ...

THE SHAPING OF TWENTIETH-CENTURY AMERICA
Interpretive Essays
Second Edition

edited by Richard M. Abrams and Lawrence W. Levine

both of the University of California, Berkeley

With twenty-one of the thirty-two selections new to this edition, this is a thorough revision and updating of a major anthology. The editors have again provided an essay introduction to each selection, placing it in historical and historiographical perspective, *analyzing the problems it raises, and* suggesting relevant outside literature — a highly praised feature of the first edition.

paperbound / approx. 704 pages / Coming summer 1971

PART I: CONTINUING THEMES IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY AMERICA
1. *Old Ideals Versus New Ideas in Farm Life,* Paul H. Johnstone
2. *City and Country: Marriage Proposals,* Scott Donaldson
3. *Assimilation in America: Theory and Reality,* Milton Gordon
4. *The Large Industrial Corporation and the Making of the Modern American Economy,* Alfred D. Chandler, Jr.
5. *Revolution Without Ideology: The Changing Place of Women in America,* Carl Degler
6. *The Concept of the New Negro and the Realities of Black Culture,* Lawrence W. Levine

PART II: THE OPENING DECADES
7. *American Protestantism Since the Civil War. II. From Americanism to Christianity,* Sidney E. Mead
8. *The House of Morgan and the Executive, 1905-1913,* Robert H. Wiebe
9. *The Failure of Progressivism,* Richard M. Abrams
10. *Neutrality and Economic Pressures, 1914-1917,* Paul Birdsall
11. *The Industrial-Military Complex in Historical Perspective: World War I,* Paul A. C. Koistinen
12. *What Happened to the Progressive Movement in the 1920's?,* Arthur S. Link

PART III: FROM THE NEW ERA TO THE NEW DEAL
13. *A Study in Nativism: The American Red Scare of 1919-1920,* Stanley Coben
14. *Prohibition: The Impact of Political Utopianism,* Joseph R. Gusfield
15. *The Meaning of Lindbergh's Flight,* John William Ward
16. *The Ordeal of Herbert Hoover,* Carl Degler
17. *The New Deal and the Problem of Monopoly,* Ellis Hawley
18. *Norman Thomas, Arkansas Sharecroppers, and the Roosevelt Agricultural Policies, 1933-1937,* M. S. Venkataramani
19. *The General Motors Sit-Down Strike: A Re-Examination,* Sidney Fine
20. *The Nazi-Soviet Pact and the End of a Dream,* Norman Holmes Pearson

PART IV: THE AGE OF PERPETUAL CRISIS: WORLD WAR II AND ITS AFTERMATH
21. *The Japanese American Cases — A Disaster,* Eugene V. Rostow
22. *The Trial of War,* Robert Lekachman
23. *The 'Forgotten Years' of the Negro Revolution,* Richard M. Dalfiume
24. *The Ambiguous Legacy: The Truman Administration and Civil Rights,* Barton J. Bernstein
25. *Revisionism and Interpretation of the Origins of the Cold War,* Charles Maier

PART V: CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN HISTORY
26. *Our Invisible Poor,* Dwight Macdonald
27. *The Revolt of the Urban Ghettos, 1964-1967,* Joseph Boskin
28. *Change, Affluence, and Violence,* Kenneth Keniston
29. *How Could Vietnam Happen? An Autopsy,* James C. Thompson, Jr.

PART VI: THE HISTORIAN AND THE TWENTIETH CENTURY
30. *The Cult of the 'American Consensus': Homogenizing Our History,* John Higham
31. *The 'New Left' and American History: Some Recent Trends in United States Historiography,* Irwin Unger

College Division
Little, Brown and Company
34 Beacon Street
Boston, Mass.
02106

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bring the critical issues of history

CRITICAL ISSUES IN AMERICAN HISTORY SERIES

Series Editor,
Barton J. Bernstein
Stanford University

This series focuses upon important events, movements, and areas of concern in American History and presents thoughtful and relevant selections from professional literature. The selected topics present problems that merit exploration and analysis by today's students and use materials which will guide them in this process.

Now available in this series:

The American Revolution: The Critical Issues
Edited by Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr.
University of Wisconsin, Madison
Includes analyses by Cecelia M. Kenyon, Thomas C. Barrow, Robert E. Brown, Staughton Lynd, Jackson Turner Main, Bernard Bailyn, Gordon S. Wood, and Robert Paul Thomas.
paperbound / 208 pages / $2.95 / 1971

Progressivism The Critical Issues
Edited by David M. Kennedy
Stanford University
Includes analyses by Gabriel Kolko, George E. Mowry, Samuel P. Hays, Arthur S. Link, and Otis L. Graham, Jr.
paperbound / 208 pages / $2.95 / 1971

The following volumes are scheduled for publication in 1971:

American Expansionism: The Critical Issues
Edited by Marilyn Blatt Young
University of Michigan
Includes analyses by Julius Pratt, Walter LaFeber, William A. Williams, Ernest May, David Healy, Marilyn Young, Thomas McCormick

The New Deal: The Critical Issues
Edited by Otis L. Graham, Jr.
University of California, Santa Barbara
Includes analyses by William Leuchtenburg, Paul Conkin, Barton J. Bernstein, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Carl Degler, and Ellis Hawley

The Twenties: The Critical Issues
Edited by Joan Hoff Wilson
Sacramento State College
Includes analyses by Arthur Link, Otis L. Graham, Jr., Frederick Hoffman, Herbert Feis, Paul A. C. Koistinen, and David Brody.

Populism: The Critical Issues
Edited by Sheldon Hackney
Princeton University
Includes analyses by Richard Hofstadter, C. Vann Woodward, Norman Pollack, Sheldon Hackney, Irwin Unger, Michael Rogin, and Walter T. K. Nugent.

Due for publication in 1972:
Gordon S. Wood, *The Constitution and the Confederation*
Michael Lebowitz, *Jacksonian Democracy*
Barton J. Bernstein, *The Origins of the Cold War*

POWER IN POSTWAR AMERICA

Interdisciplinary Perspectives on a Historical Problem

Richard A. Gillam
Stanford University

Reflecting the perspectives of sociology, political science, economics, and psychology, as well as history, this collection of essays and documents provides a framework within which the problem of power in American society can be considered. Among the contributors from disciplines other than history are Robert A. Dahl, David Riesman, C. Wright Mills, and Talcott Parsons.
paperbound / 192 pages / $2.95 / 1971

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to an intellectual focus on man and his past

College Division
Little, Brown and Company
34 Beacon Street
Boston, Mass.
02106

SOCIAL THOUGHT IN AMERICA AND EUROPE
Readings in Comparative Intellectual History
edited by David M. Kennedy and Paul A. Robinson
both of Stanford University
This is the first book of readings in American intellectual history that makes explicit comparisons with European thought. It places American thought since the Enlightenment in its general Western context, while at the same time it encourages comparative exploration of the truly distinctive elements in the European and American intellectual traditions. To do this the book focuses on one kind of thinking: general social thought. Among the comparisons are Voltaire and Jefferson; Freud and James; Weber and Veblen; Sartre, Mills, and Marcuse.
paperbound / 448 pages / $5.95 / 1970

THE LIBRARY OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY
Oscar Handlin, General Editor

The Puritan Dilemma
The Story of John Winthrop
Edmund S. Morgan
Yale University
The most popular of all American history supplements with over 300,000 copies in print and in use at over 350 colleges and universities across the U.S. and Canada.
paperbound / 224 pages / $2.75 / 1962

Henry Clay and the Art of American Politics
by Clement Eaton, University of Kentucky
paperbound / 209 pages / $2.75 / 1962

William Lloyd Garrison and the Humanitarian Reformers
by Russell B. Nye
paperbound / 215 pages / $2.75 / 1969

Theodore Roosevelt and the Politics of Power
by G. Wallace Chessman, Denison University
paperbound / 214 pages / $2.75 / 1969

Woodrow Wilson and the Politics of Morality
by John Morton Blum, Yale University
paperbound / 215 pages / $2.75 / 1962

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

When it seems as if history has repeated itself once too often, take a good look at your textbook.

If it's not as exciting as history itself, you deserve something better.

Random House and Alfred A. Knopf have it!

CURRENT • WILLIAMS • FREIDEL

AMERICAN HISTORY

A Survey Third Edition

Richard N. Current, University of North Carolina at Greensboro; T. Harry Williams, Louisiana State University; and Frank Freidel, Harvard University

What's new?

The Third Edition!

- a noted survey of American history now updated to 1970
- the material has been reorganized into 30 chapters
- each chapter now begins with an overview
- thirteen historiographical essays entitled "Where Historians Disagree"
- four pictorial essays tracing the history of American art and architecture
- expanded map, chart, and graph program now in two colors

An Instructor's Manual and a Study Guide accompany the text.

Knopf, 1971 944 pages; $11.95

The new Third Edition of AMERICAN HISTORY: A SURVEY is also available in a two-volume paperbound format:

Volume I: To 1877 Volume II: Since 1865

Knopf, 1971 each 450 pages; each $5.95



RANDOM HOUSE-ALFRED A. KNOPF

The College Department

201 East 50th Street, New York 10022

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Palmer and Colton's

A HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD

Fourth Edition

R. R. Palmer, Yale University, and Joel Colton, Duke University

This new edition retains the brilliant analysis and clarity of style that have made it one of the most highly praised and widely used history texts in the world. The revisions include a thorough reworking of the sections on the Italian Renaissance, 17th century England, the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, and an updating of the 19th and 20th centuries. In light of the changing times the material on the contemporary age has been rewritten with considerable attention to the non-Western world, the Cold War, the recovery of Europe, the ferment in the Communist nations, and the tensions and changes in the Western world. Included are six extensive photo-essays with commentary.

Instructor's Manual
Knopf, 1970 1168 pages; $11.95

A HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD Fourth Edition is also available in a paperbound format:

Volume I: To 1815; 544 pages Volume II: Since 1815; 640 pages
Knopf, 1971 each $6.50 paperbound

GREAT ISSUES IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION

Edited by Brian Tierney, Cornell University; Donald Kagan, Yale University; and L. Pearce Williams, Cornell University

Volume I: From Periclean Athens through Louis XIV
Random House 744 pages; $4.75 paperbound
Volume II: From the Scientific Revolution through the Cold War
Random House 772 pages; $4.75 paperbound
Instructor's Manual

A single-volume adaptation is available:

GREAT ISSUES IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION Since 1500
Random House 960 pages; $5.95 paperbound

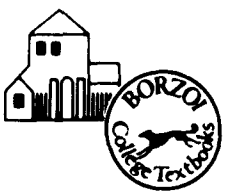
GREAT ISSUES is also published in pamphlet form:

THE RANDOM HOUSE HISTORICAL ISSUES SERIES
Twenty-four Individual Pamphlets
1968 each 64-96 pages; each $1.25 paperbound

THE HISTORIAN'S WORKSHOP

Edited by L. P. Curtis, Jr., University of California at Berkeley

Sixteen introspective essays in which the authors examine the methods they use in researching and writing.
Knopf, 1970 360 pages; $3.95 paperbound



RANDOM HOUSE-ALFRED A. KNOPF
The College Department
201 East 50th Street, New York 10022

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Harrison and Sullivan's

A SHORT HISTORY OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION

Third Edition

John B. Harrison and Richard E. Sullivan, both of Michigan State University

The new third edition of this text remains a model of brevity, organization, and clarity. The authors have retained their overview approach, aiming at an authoritative account of the most significant points rather than exhaustive detail. The text has been greatly strengthened by factual, interpretive, and stylistic revisions. The book now includes six brief historiographical essays and short retrospective essays at the end of each part. The illustration program has been revised and expanded to nearly double its previous coverage. An *Instructor's Manual and Student Guide accompany the text.*

Knopf, 1971 — 992 pages; $10.50

WESTERN EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES 300-1475

Brian Tierney and the late Sidney Painter

A brilliant text, revised and reorganized by one of America's leading medievalists. In addition to its unusually lively narrative and sophisticated analysis, the text presents a thorough account of comparative institutional development without slighting literary, artistic, and intellectual achievements.

Knopf, 1970 — 576 pages; $10.50

To accompany the text:

THE MIDDLE AGES

Edited by Brian Tierney

Volume I: Sources of Medieval History
Volume II: Readings in Medieval History

Knopf, 1969 — each 360 pages; each $3.95 paperbound

MEDIEVAL EUROPEAN SOCIETY, 1000-1450

Margaret Hastings, Douglass College

A vivid account of life in the Middle Ages designed to supplement narrative histories. Quotations and illustrations throughout the book offer further insights into the general experience of the epoch — the way man lived and applied himself to the daily problems of existence in the context of medieval institutions.

Random House, 1970 — 192 pages; $2.50 paperbound



RANDOM HOUSE-ALFRED A. KNOPF
The College Department
201 East 50th Street, New York 10022

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Vintage Books

GREAT ISSUES IN AMERICAN HISTORY

Volume I: From Settlement to Revolution, 1585-1776

Edited by Clarence Ver Steeg, Northwestern University, and the late Richard Hofstadter

Volume II: From the Revolution to the Civil War, 1765-1865

Edited by Richard Hofstadter

Volume III: From Reconstruction to the Present Day, 1864-1969

Edited by Richard Hofstadter

1969 each $2.45 paperbound

THE ORIGINS OF AMERICAN POLITICS

Bernard Bailyn

$1.95 paperbound

THE ICON AND THE AXE

An Interpretive History of Russian Culture

James H. Billington

$3.45 paperbound

THE AMERICANS

The Colonial Experience

Daniel J. Boorstin

$2.65 paperbound

THE AMERICANS

The National Experience

Daniel J. Boorstin

$2.95 paperbound

FROM SLAVERY TO FREEDOM

A History of Negro Americans

John Hope Franklin

$3.45 paperbound

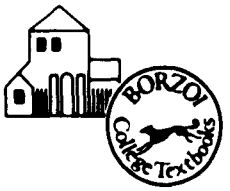
THE WORLD THE SLAVEHOLDERS MADE

Two Essays in Interpretation

Eugene D. Genovese

$1.95 paperbound

RANDOM HOUSE-ALFRED A. KNOPF
The College Department
201 East 50th Street, New York 10022



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Recent and forthcoming

The Press and the French Revolution

W. T. Gilchrist and W. J. Murray

In the early years of the French Revolution, the press played an important and active role. Despite its importance, however, English-speaking historians have not studied the revolutionary press in great detail. The authors of this new volume believe that there are two major reasons for considering the press of revolutionary France. First, because France allowed an unprecedented freedom to the press between 1789 and 1792, it was able to provide a varied and rich source of contemporary comment, exposition of ideas, and illustration of events. Second, the press was one of the prime movers of the Revolution and one of the most important organs of both revolutionary and counter-revolutionary propaganda. This work examines the profound influence of the press and illustrates events of the day with extensive excerpts from contemporary newspapers.

June 324 pages cloth, $10.00

Government and Society in France 1814-1848

Irene Collins, editor

A source book depicting social conditions and political life in France under a succession of Restoration governments, using pages of the more popular newspapers of the time and supplementing them with documents from official sources and extracts from the more inspired oratory. The editor illustrates the power of the press in highlighting political issues and injustices, revealing finally how the press contributed to the fall of the July Monarchy in 1848.

February 192 pages cloth, $6.00

The Great Powers and the Near East

M. S. Anderson, editor

For a century and a half, the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire was the most lasting and intractable of all sources of rivalry among the powers of Europe. This collection of source materials examines some of the main forces that underlay these rivalries from the years of the Russo-Turkish War to the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. The volume includes the text of several treaties and alliances, as well as official governmental proclamations and private correspondence between statesmen.

February 192 pages cloth, $6.00

The Republic and the Civil War in Spain

Raymond Carr, editor

A collection of essays explaining the collapse of the Second Republic and the origins of the military uprising of July, 1936, that set off the Civil War. Examined as well are the political and military difficulties of the Republic at war. Contributors are: Edward Malefakis, Richard Robinson, Stanley Payne, Burnett Bolloten, Ramón Sales Larrazábal, Ricardo de la Cierva y de Hoces, Robert H. Whealey, and Hugh Thomas.

March 280 pages cloth, $7.95

ST. MARTIN'S PRESS

College Department 175 Fifth Avenue New York, New York 10010

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Perspectives in American History

Edited by Donald Fleming and Bernard Bailyn

VOLUME V • 1971

LAW IN AMERICAN HISTORY

LEGAL ELEMENTS IN UNITED STATES HISTORY
By James Willard Hurst

LEGAL AND BEHAVIORAL PERSPECTIVES ON AMERICAN VIGILANTISM
By Richard M. Brown

CONSTITUTIONAL LAW AND THE RHETORIC OF RACE
By Charles A. Miller

LAW AND ENFORCEMENT OF MORALS IN EARLY AMERICA
By David H. Flaherty

THE POLITICS OF LAW IN COLONIAL AMERICA: CONTROVERSIES OVER CHANCERY COURTS AND EQUITY LAW IN THE 18TH CENTURY
By Stanley N. Katz

THE EMERGENCE OF AN INSTRUMENTAL CONCEPTION OF AMERICAN LAW, 1780-1820
By Morton J. Horwitz

THE ROAD TO *MUNN*
By Harry N. Scheiber

TWO CHEERS FOR 1870: THE AMERICAN LAW SCHOOL
By Robert S. Stevens

ENMITY AND AMITY: LAW TEACHERS AND PRACTITIONERS
By Jerold S. Auerbach

ASPECTS OF FEDERAL CIVIL RIGHTS ENFORCEMENT: THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT AND THE F.B.I., 1939-1964
By John T. Elliff

PERSPECTIVES is **sold only in advance of publication.** Single copies, $6.50. 5-yr subscriptions, $30.00. Checks, payable to Harvard University, must accompany subscriptions. Not responsible for copies lost because of failure to report a change of address in time for the mailing. Mail to:

CHARLES WARREN CENTER
FOR STUDIES IN AMERICAN HISTORY

Harvard University
53 Church Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Columbia University Press

The Czechoslovak Experiment: 1968-1969

IVAN SVITÁK. An anthology of personal political documents, written by a Marxist philosopher in the midst of national crisis, this book testifies to the possibilities of political action undertaken by the new coalition of intellectuals and workers in a potentially revolutionary period. $10.95

The Czechs Under Nazi Rule:

The Failure of National Resistance, 1939-1942

VOJTECH MASTNY. This study, which makes use of previously unknown captured German documents, will be of lasting interest to students of World War II and postwar history, not only because of the factual material here uncovered for the first time, but also because of Mr. Mastny's observations on the possibilities and limits of definance towards a powerful occupation force.

". . . a most interesting and well researched study of an area and a period that have been largely overlooked in histories of the Second World War . . . will be of particular value to those interested in Nazi wartime policies in the occupied territories and in the problem of collaboration and resistance."—Henry L. Roberts

Winner of the Clarke F. Anseley Award. $10.00

Address for orders: 136 So. Broadway, Irvington, N. Y. 10533

In Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press, 3458 Redpath St., Montreal 109

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

East/Central European

HISTORY

Peter F. Sugar • **COMING IN MAY**

NATIVE FASCISM IN THE SUCCESSOR STATES, 1918-1945

A collaborative effort between East European and North American scholars focusing on the development of fascism in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia. The contributions of the East European scholars were made prior to 1968, at a time when the conditions for frank and open discussion were favorable.

184 pages. May 1971. Cloth $9.50 Paper $4.50.

Martin Broszat

GERMAN NATIONAL SOCIALISM, 1919-1945

The first English-language translation of this work, which is a a standard source of background information on National Socialism. Selected by CHOICE MAGAZINE as one of the Outstanding Academic Books of 1968.

viii, 154 pages. 1966. Cloth $8.25. Paper $4.50.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Eric H. Boehm and Fritz Fellner

AUSTRIAN HISTORICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY, Annual Series

An annual series, beginning in 1965, provides complete bibliographical coverage of Austrian historical studies and recent affairs. Bibliographical materials published in Austria on the history of other countries are also included. Books, periodicals, essays, and dissertations are cited. German text with English headings and captions.

Annual Series beginning in 1965. Cloth $23.00 per vol. Paper $13.00 per vol.

Michael Parrish • **COMING IN MAY**

THE 1968 CZECHOSLOVAK CRISIS: A Bibliography, 1968-1970

A bibliography of books, pamphlets, monographs, special studies, documents, and journal articles covering Soviet military intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

200 pages. May 1971. Paper $6.00.

SPECIAL RATES FOR CLASSROOM ADOPTION.

Write to Dept. AH

Prices subject to change.

A B C - CLIO INC.

American Bibliographical Center • Clio Press

Riviera Campus, 2010 Alameda Padre Serra, Santa Barbara, California 93103

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

England

New from Yale

The House of Commons, 1604-1610

by Wallace Notestein

Based upon a wealth of primary sources and a life of research in the field, this history provides a fascinating discussion of the development of the House of Commons during the early years of Stuart rule. Mr. Notestein was completing work on the manuscript at his death in 1969. The basic issues characterizing the confrontations between James I and the Commons are examined, including the matters of royal prerogatives that were increasingly questioned by the Commons in the period 1604-1610. Mr. Notestein's work is a superb narrative constantly enriched by in-depth research and enlivened by an impressive mixture of analytical commentary and personalized speculation. $18.50

Canada

The Blacks in Canada *A History*

by Robin W. Winks

In examining the entire range of the history of black experience in Canada, Mr. Winks has used an impressive array of primary and secondary materials. He investigates the French and English periods of slavery, the Canadian abolitionist movement, and the role played by Canadians in the broader continental antislavery crusade. In addition, he reviews Canadian adaptations to nineteenth- and twentieth-century racial mores, and the continuous efforts by black people to establish and maintain life styles in a Canadian setting.

$15.00

Judaism

Judaism and the Early Christian Mind *A Study of Cyril of Alexandria's Exegesis and Theology*

by Robert L. Wilken

Unlike most studies of the thought of the early Church, which have concentrated on the Christian encounter with Hellenism, this investigation of the writings of Cyril of Alexandria reveals the crucial influence of the polemical conflicts with Judaism voiced by the early fathers. After tracing the relationships between Christians and Jews during the first four centuries A.D., Mr. Wilken concentrates on the difficulties raised by the Christian's inability to understand Judaism as anything other than an inferior foreshadowing of Christianity. $8.75

Spain

Agrarian Reform and Peasant Revolution in Spain *Origins of the Civil War*

by Edward E. Malefakis

This is the first serious study of Spain's agrarian problem, often considered the single most important cause of the Spanish Civil War. Mr. Malefakis' analysis of land tenure and the rural social structure of early twentieth-century Spain is an outstanding example of quantitative history. His description of the failure of the Republic's land reform efforts from 1931 to 1936 and of the consequent radicalization of the peasantry effectively blends political with social history. "A major breakthrough in Spanish political studies."—Juan J. Linz. "If this is not the best and most thoroughly researched single monograph in the field of modern Spanish history, it certainly has few peers."—Stanley G. Payne.

$15.00

Yale University Press *New Haven and London*

in Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FREEDOM FROM HISTORY

Frank E. Manuel

In the tradition of his American predecessors Carl Becker and Crane Brinton, Professor Manuel concerns himself with several awesome subjects of historical inquiry: the philosophy of history, the utopian imagination, the role of science and myth, and the shape of society.

290 pages **$8.95**

SOVIET AND AMERICAN POLICIES IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Alvin Z. Rubinstein and George Ginsburgs, editors

The superpower rivalry between the US and the Soviet Union within the UN has influenced all spheres of its activity. This volume deals with the main issues that have faced the UN throughout its 25 year history, including arms control, decolonization, economic development, peacekeeping, the role of law in promoting international peace, diplomatic behavior, and strategic rivalry.

224 pages **$8.95**

DUBLIN CASTLE AND THE 1916 RISING

Leon Ó Broin

This is the story of the Rising as seen from inside Dublin Castle, the center and symbol of English domination over Ireland for seven centuries. "It is probably no exaggeration to state that this book is the most original contribution which has appeared to date on the 1916 rising." — *Irish Historical Studies*

216 pages **$6.95**

THE LIMITS OF AMERICAN ISOLATION

THE UNITED STATES AND THE CRIMEAN WAR

Alan Dowty

A new way of looking at "isolation" as a tradition in American diplomacy, underlining the necessity of a better differentiation between various levels of "neutrality" and "isolation". Some doubt is cast on the sharp lines between Old World and New World that are usually respected in the histories of this period.

256 pages **$9.50**

FASCISM IN WESTERN EUROPE 1900-1945

H. R. Kedward

The fervour of its propaganda and the prophetic role of the leader made fascism one of the most powerful movements in history. H. R. Kedward tries to analyze this wide and dynamic appeal, describing the nature of fascism and its history, and attempting to move towards its definition.

272 pages **$6.95**

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY PRESS

WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 10003

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Checklist of Books in History

Current Gaspar G. Bacon Lectures on the Constitution

The Constitutional Polity
Glendon Schubert, 216 pp. 1970 $6.50

The Impact of American Constitutionalism Abroad
Carl J. Friedrich, 122 pp. 1968 $4.75

John Jay, the Nation and the Court
Richard B. Morris, 128 pp. 1967 $4.75

African Studies

Yankee Traders, Old Coasters and African Middlemen
George E. Brooks, Jr., maps, illustrations, tables, index. 376 pp.
African Research Studies, No. 11 1970 $12.50

Stanley's Despatches to the NEW YORK HERALD
1871-1872, 1874-1877, Norman R. Bennett, editor
Biographical introduction, extensive bibliography, maps, illustrations, appendices, index. 548 pp. A.R.S. No. 10 1970 $15.95

Leadership in Eastern Africa: Six Political Biographies
Norman R. Bennett, editor, maps, illustrations. 288 pp. A.R.S. No. 9 1968 $7.75

Reconstructing African Culture History
Creighton Gabel, editor, maps, tables. 256 pp. A.R.S. No. 8 1967 $7.00

New England Merchants in Africa
A History through Documents, 1802 to 1865, Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks, Jr., editors, maps, illustrations, tables, index. 612 pp. A.R.S. No. 7 1966 $11.50

Boston University Papers in African History
Volume I, Jeffrey Butler, editor, maps, tables. 278 pp. 1964 $6.00

Boston University Papers on Africa
Volume II, African History, Jeffrey Butler, editor, maps, tables. 346 pp. 1966 $7.25

Boston University Press
138 Mountfort Street, Brookline, Massachusetts 02146

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SHAPING OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION

by Ludwig F. Schaefer, Daniel P. Resnick, both of Carnegie-Mellon University, *and George Netterville, III,* Southern University, Shreveport

In these two volumes the editors examine the varieties and tensions of the Western experience through the eyes and minds of laymen and scholars, contemporary participants and historians. The result is a set of considered arguments about our myths, traditions, ideals, and achievements that emerge through narrative, primary sources, and interpretive articles. These materials can be used as a basic text, or as part of a larger course in Western Civilization (when accompanied by the *Guide to Study).* The books are divided into chapters and topics, with each topic designed for a day's work. Prefaced by a short introduction, each topic contains a number of readings—the first of which, for basic continuity, is almost always a narrative selected from an established college history text. Historical documents are among the other readings. Most of the topics also contain interpretive writings by well-known scholars. Maps, illustrations, and a series of art folios are integral parts of both volumes. 1970 / Volume I: 505 pages / $8.25 paper; Volume II: 521 pages / $7.25 paper.

The *Guide to Study* serves both volumes I and II and contains a book index, a variety of objective questions, study questions, and chronology and map exercises. 1971 / 189 pages / $2.95 paper.

A *Faculty Guide* will be available in April, 1971.

HISTORIANS GUIDE TO STATISTICS:
Quantitative Analysis and Historical Research

by Charles Dollar, Oklahoma State University, *and Richard Jensen,* University of Illinois, Chicago Circle

Here is a practical guide to the use of quantitative methods and computers in historical research. The authors' major concern is the application of techniques of handling quantitative data and documentary remains of the past. Topics covered include the purpose and methods of quantitative research, statistical techniques, and the principles of electronic data processing and their application in historical research. The book concludes with a comprehensive annotated listing of the most useful sources of quantitative historical data and the theories and methods most relevant to the social sciences. February 1971 / 352 pages / $7.50



Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.
383 Madison Avenue, New York 10017

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

History of Virginia

By Edmund Randolph

Edited by ARTHUR H. SHAFFER, *University of Missouri at St. Louis. Introduction by* ARTHUR H. SHAFFER *and* JOHN MELVILLE JENNINGS, *Director, Virginia Historical Society. xliv, 347 pp., index. (Virginia Historical Society)* $10.00

"Randolph's efforts to analyze the 'Virginia character' . . . and to explain the unique combination of time and circumstance that created the Virginia Revolutionary leadership are of great interest." —*Journal of Southern History*

"There is much . . . importance in Randolph's treatment of the Revolution. His sketches of the leaders in the protest movement are superb and his characterization of Patrick Henry is the best, and fairest, I have ever read. The description of the writing of the Constitution of 1776 and other matters relating to the government of Virginia during the Revolution is also excellent. . . . It [Randolph's *History*] is a remarkable document written by an exceptional man who, it should be added, not only tells us a great deal about Virginia but also about himself."

—Emory G. Evans, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*

The Great Richmond Terminal

A Study in Businessmen and Business Strategy

By MAURY KLEIN, *University of Rhode Island. xiii, 323 pp., maps, tables, appendixes, bibliog., index. (Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation)* $9.50

This case history of the Richmond Terminal, one of America's first pure holding companies, documents the process of economic development in the South during the post-Civil War era. The railroad was the first large southern industry to arise after the war and the first to confront the major decision-making problems of organization, administration, and mobilization of capital. The Richmond Terminal is of particular significance because its history corresponds to the basic pattern of the railroad's development and it offers insight into the evolution of corporate and financial institutions.

"Professor Maury Klein has produced a quite detailed account of southeastern railroads in the period after the Civil War, a subject hitherto but little explored by scholars." —*Journal of Southern History*

British Investment in American Railways, 1834-1898

By DOROTHY R. ADLER. *Edited by* MURIEL E. HIDY. *ix, 253 pp., tables, appendixes, bibliog., index. (Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation)* $11.50

This is the first attempt to describe in detail, from the British point of view, the character, size, and techniques of British investment in the railroads of the United States during the nineteenth century. A wealth of available capital and a desire by the English to invest in the international market came just as American transportation companies were first expanding and in need of funds. The railroad insured the economic growth of America by opening up vast new expanses of territory. Settlers were attracted from abroad, and new arable land made life possible for them. But the American economy was not yet strong enough to finance the railroads, nor did the nation possess mills capable of manufacturing railway rails. The United States, therefore, depended on England to supply both short-term credit and rails.

University Press of Virginia Charlottesville

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

You Mean I Can Get $50,000 of TIAA Life Insurance for LESS THAN $100?

That's what an Assistant Professor asked us when he heard about TIAA's low life insurance costs.

It's true. At his age 30 the annual premium for a 20-Year Home Protection policy providing $50,000 initial amount of insurance is $159.00. The first-year dividend, based on our current dividend scale, is $61.00, making a net payment of $98.00. Dividends, of course, are not guaranteed.

The Home Protection plan is level premium Term insurance providing its largest amount of protection initially, reducing by schedule each year to recognize decreasing insurance needs. This is just one example of the many low-cost TIAA plans available. If you need more protection for your family, ask us to mail you a personal illustration with figures for a policy issued at your age. We'll also send the Life Insurance Guide describing other TIAA policies.



ELIGIBILITY

Eligibility to apply for this or other TIAA life insurance is limited to persons employed at the time of application by a college, university, private school, or other nonprofit educational or scientific institution that qualifies for TIAA eligibility.

TEACHERS INSURANCE AND ANNUITY ASSOCIATION
730 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10017

TIAA

Please mail the new Life Insurance Guide and a personal illustration.

Name_____

Address_____ Street

City_____ State_____

Your Date of Birth_____ ZIP_____

Dependents' Ages_____

Nonprofit Employer_____
college, university, or other educational or scientific institution

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GREAT LIVES OBSERVED

—exciting portraits of three great leaders

The GREAT LIVES OBSERVED series combines the intimacy of autobiography, the immediacy of eyewitness observation, and the objectivity of modern scholarship. Each volume includes:

1. the man's own words
2. observations by his contemporaries
3. evaluations by historians

General series editor: Gerald Emanuel Stearn

Debs

edited by Ronald Radosh, Queensborough Community College

—Shows how Eugene V. Debs's work as a politician, labor leader and socialist contributed to the American labor movement.
Partial Contents: How I Became a Socialist. Working Class Politics. Industrial Unionism. A Local Union Leader Defends Debs's Record. Debs: The Popular Socialist. Debs: The Apostle of Failure.
Ready Cloth $5.95 *Paper* $2.45

Frederick the Great

edited by Louis L. Snyder, City College of the City University of New York

—Provides insight into Frederick's military strategies, his personal conflicts, and his influence on the shaping of Germany.
Partial Contents: Frederick on the Art of War. Frederick as Administrator. Personality and Character as Observed by his Contemporaries. Frederick as a Benevolent Despot. Macauley's Unfavorable Estimate.
Ready Cloth $5.95 Paper $2.45

Gompers

edited by Gerald Emanuel Stearn

—Examines Samuel Gompers's role in establishing labor as an active force in the American political process.
Partial Contents: Early Radicalism. Against Socialism. On Fascism. Gompers is a Democrat. Karl Marx and Samuel Gompers. Class Collaborator. The Irony of Racism.
Ready Cloth $5.95 Paper $2.45

Spectrum Books
at your bookstore
Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J.
Teachers: examination copies available from your Prentice-Hall field representative

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

State Historical Journals

Now Available in Reprint

Arkansas Historical Quarterly.
Vols. 1-15. Fayetteville, 1942-1956. Cloth $219.50

Delaware History.
Vols. 1-7. Wilmington, Del. 1946-1956/57. Cloth $101.00

Historical New Hampshire.
Vols. 1-7. Concord, 1944-1951. Cloth $ 32.00

Indiana Magazine of History.
Vols. 1-62 and Gen. Ind. 1-50. Bloomington, 1905-1966. Partly in the original edition. Cloth $905.50

Lancaster County Historical Society, Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Journal.
Vols. 1-15. Lancaster, 1896/97-1911. Cloth $176.00

Michigan History.
Vols. 1-10. Lansing, Mich., 1917-1926. Cloth $256.00

Minnesota History.
Vols. 1-5. St. Paul, 1915/16-1923/24. Cloth $107.00

New Jersey Historical Society. Proceedings.
Series 1: Vols. 1-6. Newark, 1845/46-1851/53. Cloth $ 72.00

New York State Historical Association. Proceedings.
From 1919 also as: New York History.
Vols. 1-8. New York, 1901-1909. Cloth $ 65.00

Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine.
Vols. 1-33. Richmond, Va., 1919-1952. Partly in the original edition. Cloth $561.00

Virginia Magazine of History and Biography.
Vols. 1-38. Richmond, 1893/94-1930. Partly in the original edition. Cloth $760.00

West Virginia History.
Vols. 1-10. Charleston, 1939/40-1948/49. Cloth $180.00

William and Mary Quarterly.
Series 1: Vols. 1-27 (all publ.). Williamsburg, 1892/93-1918/19. Cloth $403.00
Series 2: Vols. 1-23 (all publ.). Williamsburg, 1921-1943. Cloth $505.00
Series 3: Vols. 1-20. Williamsburg, 1944-1963. Partly in the original edition. Cloth $548.00

Wisconsin Magazine of History.
Vols. 1-20. Madison, Wis., 1918-1936/37. Cloth $480.00

Please ask for detailed brochure "Regional History of the U.S."

KRAUS REPRINT CO. A U.S. DIVISION OF KRAUS-THOMSON ORGANIZATION LTD.
16 East 46th St., New York, N. Y. 10017

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Howard M. Sachar

The Emergence of the Middle East

1914-1924

"It is so well planned and proportioned, and so well written. On such controversial matters as the Armenian deportations and above all the Palestine issue he has been amazingly level-headed and objective. In a word, he has done a first-rate job." — William L. Langer, Professor of History, Emeritus, Harvard University

"Mr. Sachar has many gifts as an historian, above all a vivid capacity for historical narrative which is all too rare nowadays. . . . He is also well aware of the impact of personality and the impact of chance. Most important of all, he has a strong strategic sense and can see the inter-relation of different parts of the same wide canvas . . . no one else has brought out so well the extent to which the successes of Maude and Allenby were made possible by the Russian pressure on Turkey's Caucasian frontier. No one else has shown so well how and why Greece came to play the role it did in Britain's calculations about the future of the Eastern Mediterranean . . . he really does try to establish the truth about the conflicting promises given in respect of Palestine for instance, and although occasionally sharp with individuals does not play favorites among peoples."
— Max Beloff, Gladstone Professor of Modern History, Oxford University

"It is a model of artistic history writing: the presentation of dramatic events is dovetailed with the discussion of great issues, and both with pointed and intimate sketches of the leading actors. I, who lived through that period, feel as if a part of my life has been given back to me."—S. D. Goitein, Professor of Arabic, University of Pennsylvania

$12.50 • Alfred • A • Knopf



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a new Conference on Latin American History Publication



LATIN AMERICA
A Guide to the Historical Literature

Charles C. Griffin, Editor
J. Benedict Warren, Assistant Editor

This volume provides a selective scholarly bibliography, accompanied by critical annotations, covering the whole field of Latin American history. The basic organization of the guide is chronological, with main divisions devoted to the colonial, independence, and postindependence periods. Within these major parts, separate sections deal with the various geographical areas.
ca. 832 pp. 6⅞ x 10 in. available in August $25.00

and other new history titles from Texas

Maury Maverick: A Political Biography. By Richard B. Henderson. Foreword by Joe B. Frantz. 24 pp. of photos $8.50

The Confederate State of Richmond: A Biography of the Capital. By Emory M. Thomas. 16 pp. of photos, 2 maps $6.75

Son of the Alhambra: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 1504–1575. By Erika Spivakovsky. 8 pp. of photos, 3 maps $10.00

Political Groups in Chile: The Dialogue between Order and Change. By Ben G. Burnett. Latin American Monographs, No. 21. $8.50

The Ways of the Desert. By General E. Daumas with Commentaries by the Emir Abd-el-Kader. Translated by Sheila Ohlendorf. Foreword by Robert A. Fernea. 16 pp. of photos $6.75

Western Window in the Arab World. By Leon B. Blair. 8 pp. of photos, 2 maps $8.50

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS PRESS
AUSTIN AND LONDON
Box 7819, Austin, Texas 78712

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



William L. O'Neill

THE WOMAN MOVEMENT

Feminism in the United States and England. Beginning with Mary Wollstonecraft's attack on Victorian institutions, Mr. O'Neill relates in narrative—and illustrates with twenty-two documents—the struggle for women's rights to date. Cross-cultural comparisons are especially revealing. *paper $2.65*

David Green

THE CONTAINMENT OF LATIN AMERICA

A History of the Myths and Realities of the Good Neighbor Policy. Mr. Green's uncommon argument, superbly documented, is that FDR's policy was a failure in terms of bringing long-range peace to the Americas and resolving the crucial conflict between Latin American nationalism and U.S. power. *$10.00*

Dwight W. Hoover

A TEACHER'S GUIDE TO AMERICAN URBAN HISTORY

A complete program for including urban history materials in the regular U.S. survey, or for constructing a special course in urban history. The book includes chapters on theory and method, a basic teacher reference library, and fifteen self-contained units of study in American urban history. *cloth $7.50*
paper $2.95

June Sochen, editor

THE BLACK MAN AND THE AMERICAN DREAM

Negro Aspirations in America, 1900–1930. Drawing from contemporary periodical literature, Miss Sochen illustrates the black American's earnest wish to share in the American dream of progress, achievement, and opportunity during a time of great transition. *cloth $12.50*
paper $2.95

Michael B. Kane

MINORITIES IN TEXTBOOKS

A disturbing, documented report on how publishers and authors of high school textbooks continue to neglect or distort the nature and problems of minority groups. *cloth $5.95*
paper $1.95

QUADRANGLE BOOKS, Inc.

A Subsidiary of The New York Times

12 East Delaware Place, Chicago 60611

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Athan Theoharis

SEEDS OF REPRESSION

Harry S. Truman and the Origins of McCarthyism. In this provocative reassessment, Mr. Theoharis shows that President Truman's rhetoric and policy decisions helped create the political climate that made possible the Senator's sudden rise in the early fifties. *$6.95*

Thomas G. Paterson

COLD WAR CRITICS

Alternatives to American Foreign Policy in the Truman Years. These nine original essays explore in detail the beliefs and ideas of those who challenged American foreign policy during the crucial early years of the Cold War—Lippmann, Warburg, Wallace, Pepper, Taylor, Taft, I. F. Stone, and others.

cloth $10.00
paper $2.95

Alton Hornsby, Jr.

IN THE CAGE

Eyewitness Accounts of the Freed Negro in Southern Society, 1877–1929. This excellent collection of outsiders' views offers fascinating, often highly literate insights into the Southern Negro's education, work, religion, life and leisure, manners and morals, crime, and politics. *$7.95*

Edward Dicey

SPECTATOR OF AMERICA

Edited with an Introduction by Herbert Mitgang. Dicey's keen report on the life of the American people and on President Lincoln during the Civil War, never before published in this country, has been edited into a superb one-volume edition by Mr. Mitgang. It can at last become a standard work in American history. *$7.95*

NEW QUADRANGLE PAPERBACKS

Neill Macaulay, *The Sandino Affair* (QP82) *$2.95*
Herbert S. Klein, *Slavery in the Americas* (QP84) *$2.95*
William Loren Katz, *Teachers' Guide to American Negro History* (REVISED EDITION, QP210) *$2.65*

QUADRANGLE BOOKS, Inc.

A Subsidiary of The New York Times
12 East Delaware Place, Chicago 60611

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HARPER TORCHBOOKS

by WILLIAM L. LANGER **The Revolutions of 1848**

Chapters from Political and Social Upheaval

Writing of the original publication, of which this volume is a part, critics stated: "This volume stands out as one of the best studies in the entire [Rise of Modern Europe series] collection."—SHEPARD CLOUGH. "A masterful work of synthesis, immensely valuable." —DAVID H. PINKNEY. "He has . . . provided the most satisfactory summary available of what historians have learned about mid-nineteenth-century Europe." —PETER H. AMANN TB/1582 $2.25

by ARNO J. MAYER **Dynamics of Counterrevolution in Europe, 1870-1956**

An Analytic Framework

"The writer . . . is a confirmed leftist critic of those Allied and American policies, both foreign and domestic, that condoned or advanced, intentionally or unintentionally, the counterrevolutionary side in the era of the communist revolution. As such, he believes that the harm of continuing ignorance, contrived silence, or specious neutrality about counterrevolution by far exceeds the danger of squarely facing up to its problematique."—ARNO J. MAYER, in the Preface TB/1579 $1.95

Torchbook Library Edition. TLE/39 *Cloth* $7.00

by ORON J. HALE **The Great Illusion, 1900-1919**

"This is a solid, critical interpretation and survey of European history during the fourteen years before the first World War. Professor Hale has read deeply in the primary sources and exhaustively covered the secondary works on important events and ideas, political, economic, social, cultural."—BOYD C. SHAFER. "A very good volume—one that lives up to the standards of the distinguished series in which it takes its place."—JOHN L. SNELL. (A volume in The Rise of Modern Europe series, edited by William L. Langer.) TB/1578 $3.25

At your bookseller

Harper & Row

1817 Paperback Dept. 24
49 E. 33d St.
New York, N. Y. 10016

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Children as pawns



CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN AMERICA
A Documentary History
Volume I, 1600-1865
Robert H. Bremner, editor

Anyone interested in the rights and problems of children will be fascinated by this handsomely illustrated book, the first in a three-volume series tracing the history of public policy toward children in America. Spanning the period from the 17th century to mid-19th, this study documents the activities of government and voluntary agencies on local, state, and national levels. It also provides comprehensive coverage of health, education, and welfare services, and considers the special problems of minorities. $10.00

Coming in May: Volume 2, 1866-1932. Vol. 2 in a two-volume set, $20.00.

VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN
Physical Child Abuse in the United States
by David G. Gil

Most incidents of child abuse are found in the lower socio-economic and the poorly educated strata of society, in broken homes and families of four or more siblings. This is the conclusion Professor Gil draws from his just completed study of 13,000 cases in the United States. He goes on to point out that much of this violence can be prevented if we recognize the fact that American culture encourages the use of physical force in rearing our children. *A Commonwealth Fund Book.* $6.50

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



from Cambridge

HISTORICAL STUDIES OF THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT
Volume 1: Origins to 1399
Volume 2: 1399–1603

Edited by E. B. FRYDE and EDWARD MILLER

A collection of articles, many otherwise available only in specialist libraries, which serve as a guide to recent thinking on the subject. An introduction places the essays in the general context of literature on English parliamentary and political history. Each volume: Cloth $11.00 Paper $3.25

THE LAW OF TREASON IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

J. G. BELLAMY

Concentrating on the mid-thirteenth century to the end of the fifteenth century, Professor Bellamy places the theory of treason in its political setting and analyzes the part it played in the development of legal and political thought. He discusses in particular the Statute of Treason of 1352, an act with notable effect on later constitutional history. $14.50

THE ARCHAIC COMMUNITY OF THE ROMANS

ROBERT E. A. PALMER

Professor Palmer's study of the culturally complex political institutions which developed during the Roman archaic period concludes that the hitherto obscure curias once represented the different ethnic groups incorporated into Rome through conquest, treaty or migration. He reconstructs the organization of the archaic state and traces the deterioration of the curias. $12.50

SOCIOLOGY IN ITS PLACE AND OTHER ESSAYS

W. G. RUNCIMAN

In the title essay, Mr Runciman argues that sociology cannot usefully be distinguished in content from either anthropology or history; that it is not only an historical but an applied science in the sense that its explanations are dependent on the laws of others. The collection as a whole lends support to the main points of the opening essay. $7.50

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

32 East 57th Street
New York, N. Y. 10022

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



from Cambridge

THE COMMISSARIAT OF ENLIGHTENMENT
Soviet Organization of Education and the Arts under Lunacharsky

SHEILA FITZPATRICK

This first book in a new series, *Soviet and East European Studies*, examines the formation and development of the Commissariat for education and the arts from October 1917 to 1921. The author describes the formidable tasks faced by the department and its commissar in attempting to carry out its objectives.
$13.50

RUSSIAN PEASANT ORGANIZATION BEFORE COLLECTIVIZATION

D. J. MALE

The second *Soviet and East European Studies* book discusses the return of the peasants after the Revolution to the *mir*, or old Russian land-holding commune, and the government's attempt to supplant the commune by instituting the rural soviets. The author then traces the social and political developments from 1925 to the onset of mass collectivization in 1930. $12.50

REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISM IN FRANCE

F. F. RIDLEY

In this study of the French Labor Movement between 1900 and 1914 Professor Ridley examines the ideological development of syndicalism and its historical context. He discusses links with other movements of revolt, especially Italian Fascism and the French Right, together with the whole philosophy of direct action in politics. $13.00

UTOPIA AND REFORM IN THE ENLIGHTENMENT

FRANCO VENTURI

In this detailed study of the republican tradition in the development of the Enlightenment, the central problem of utopia and reform is crystallized in a discussion of the right to punish. The author uses a wide range of sources, examples being drawn from Germany, France, Poland, Italy and Russia. $8.50

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

32 East 57th Street
New York, N. Y. 10022

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



from Cambridge

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF LORD ACTON AND RICHARD SIMPSON

Edited by JOSEF L. ALTHOLZ and DAMIAN McELRATH

This is Volume 1 of a three-volume work containing the correspondence of the principal figures in the Liberal Catholic movement of nineteenth-century England. It covers the letters from February 1858 to August 1859, a period when Lord Acton and Richard Simpson collaborated in editing the *Rambler* and the *Home and Foreign Review*. Full introduction and explanatory notes. $16.00

THE ENTRY OF THE SLAVS INTO CHRISTENDOM

A. P. VLASTO

Dr Vlasto reviews the early history of the various Slav peoples, from about 500 A.D. onwards, and traces their gradual emergence as Christian states within the framework of either West or East European culture. He discusses the political and cultural rivalry between East and West for the allegiance of the Slav peoples, and cultural exchange within the Slav world. $19.50

ALIENATION OF CHURCH WEALTH IN MEXICO

JAN BAZANT

A study of the social and economic aspects of the Liberal Revolution, 1856–1875, in Mexico. Professor Bazant traces the precise effects of the redistribution of Church property and capital following legislation issued to dispossess the Church of its wealth, involving complex transactions which continued into the years of the Maximilian empire. $17.50

PARTIES AND POLITICAL CHANGE IN BOLIVIA 1880–1952

HERBERT S. KLEIN

"The richness of the research, the sophistication of the analysis, and the excitement of the narrative will make this a standard work for all students of modern Bolivia."—*The American Historical Review*
"Without doubt Klein's study should become a classic interpretation of political, social, and military events in Bolivian history."—*World Affairs* $14.50

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

32 East 57th Street
New York, N. Y. 10022

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



from Cambridge

THE OLD WORLD AND THE NEW 1492–1650

J. H. ELLIOTT

Evaluates the impact of the newly discovered Americas on sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Europe.
"Mr Elliott possesses a creative mind which ranges over all the questions historians have recently posed, and many more... certainly one of the most stimulating books that I have read for some years, as elegant in expression as it is in conception."—J. H. Plumb in *The New York Times Book Review*

Cloth $5.95 Paper $1.95

THE JOURNALS AND LETTERS OF SIR ALEXANDER MACKENZIE

Edited by W. KAYE LAMB

Letters and journals describing two remarkable journeys of exploration across the American continent in the late eighteenth century. The letters continue to 1819 and provide additional information about Mackenzie's character and career in the fur trade. Full introduction and notes. Published by Cambridge for the Hakluyt Society. $25.00

COLONIALISM IN AFRICA 1870–1960

General Editors: PETER DUIGNAN and L. H. GANN

Volume 3: PROFILES OF CHANGE
African Society and Colonial Rule

Edited by VICTOR TURNER

The third volume of this collaborative history examines the impact of complex alien economic, social, political and religious forces on the indigenous societies of Africa. $17.50

Already Published

Volume 1: THE HISTORY AND POLITICS OF COLONIALISM 1870–1914
Volume 2: THE HISTORY AND POLITICS OF COLONIALISM 1914–1960

Both volumes edited by L. H. GANN and PETER DUIGNAN Each volume $17.50

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

32 East 57th Street
New York, N. Y. 10022

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WESTERN HERITAGE,
Third Edition
by Stewart C. Easton
In its new edition, *The Western Heritage* has been both textually and graphically enhanced. An 8x10 format allows for rich display of the new two-color maps and the four-color folios. All sections dealing with the Humanities have been expanded and incisively rewritten. Coverage of the sciences has been related to trends and developments in general culture. 1970/1008 pages/$12.50.
A *Study Guide,* by James D. Hardy, and an *Instructor's Manual,* by Michael Baker, are available.

THE HERITAGE OF THE PAST:
From the Earliest Times to 1500, Third Edition
by Stewart C. Easton
1970 / 808 pages / $13.50
A *Study Guide,* by Jay P. Anglin, and a *Test Manual* are available.



Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.
383 Madison Avenue, New York 10017

THE HERITAGE OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION TO 1715
Second Edition
by Stewart C. Easton
1970 / 861 pages / $12.95
A *Study Guide,* by Jay P. Anglin, and a *Test Manual* are available.

THE NAPOLEONIC ERA IN EUROPE
by Jacques Godechot, University of Toulouse, *David L. Dowd, and Beatrice F. Hyslop*
A modified translation of the original French version written in 1964, this book focuses upon France and its interaction with Europe from the Revolution through the Napoleonic period. Making use of the latest research, the authors expound their thesis that the Napoleonic era, not 1500, marks the beginning of the modern age.
February 1971 / 352 pages / $5.95 paper.

THE QUEST FOR UNITY:
Modern Germany, 1848-1970
by John E. Rodes, Occidental College
A political history of Germany which stresses trends rather than minute details, this book includes socio-economic developments, and places the country within the context of European history.
February 1971 / 448 pages / $5.95

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A New Paperback Series That Focuses On

MAJOR ISSUES IN AMERICAN HISTORY

General Editor, A. S. Eisenstadt

Brooklyn College

gives the student a chance to consider the alternatives

Contemporary newspapers, magazines, and speeches provide lively materials on crucial issues—as they were debated at the time.

CONDUCTING THE DIPLOMACY OF THE NEW NATION, 1793-1815: edited by Patrick C. T. White, University of Toronto, $2.95, 224 pp.

THE NEGRO QUESTION: FROM SLAVERY TO CASTE, 1863-1910: edited by Otto H. Olsen, Northern Illinois University, $3.75, 320 pp.

CREATING AN AMERICAN EMPIRE, 1865-1914: edited by Milton Plesur, State University of New York at Buffalo, $3.50, 280 pp.

THE NEW IMMIGRATION: edited by John J. Appel, Michigan State University, $3.25, 248 pp.

REFORMING AMERICAN LIFE IN THE PROGRESSIVE ERA: edited by H. Landon Warner, Kenyon College, $2.95, 216 pp.

THE UNCERTAIN WORLD OF NORMALCY: THE 1920's: edited by Paul A. Carter, Northern Illinois University, $3.25, 240 pp.

Each volume features an extensive introductory essay by the editor, notes to each article, a selective chronology, and a critical bibliographical essay. (Also available in hard cover.) **Write for examination copies.**



JEROME S. OZER BOOKS PUBLISHED BY

PITMAN PUBLISHING CORPORATION

6 EAST 43 STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

G. K. HALL & CO. Announces
A New Historical Bibliography

MERENESS CALENDAR

University Library
University of Illinois
at Urbana-Champaign

The Mereness Calendar provides unique access to documentary sources on the Upper Mississippi Valley, including the Old Northwest Territory, for the years 1750-1920, with emphasis on the period 1780-1880.

Maintained by the Illinois Historical Survey, it is an annotated guide to manuscripts, surveys, unpublished and published reports and correspondence to and from government agencies, as well as relevant House and Senate reports. Arranged chronologically by agency and within by type of document, the Calendar is vital for research on the American Indian, pioneering, railroads, government affairs and many other aspects of the expansion of America. Extensive annotations give the substance of each document. In addition, a substantial index is provided. The Calendar will be a particularly valuable research tool supporting bicentennial study.

Estimated 249,000 cards reproduced in 12 volumes

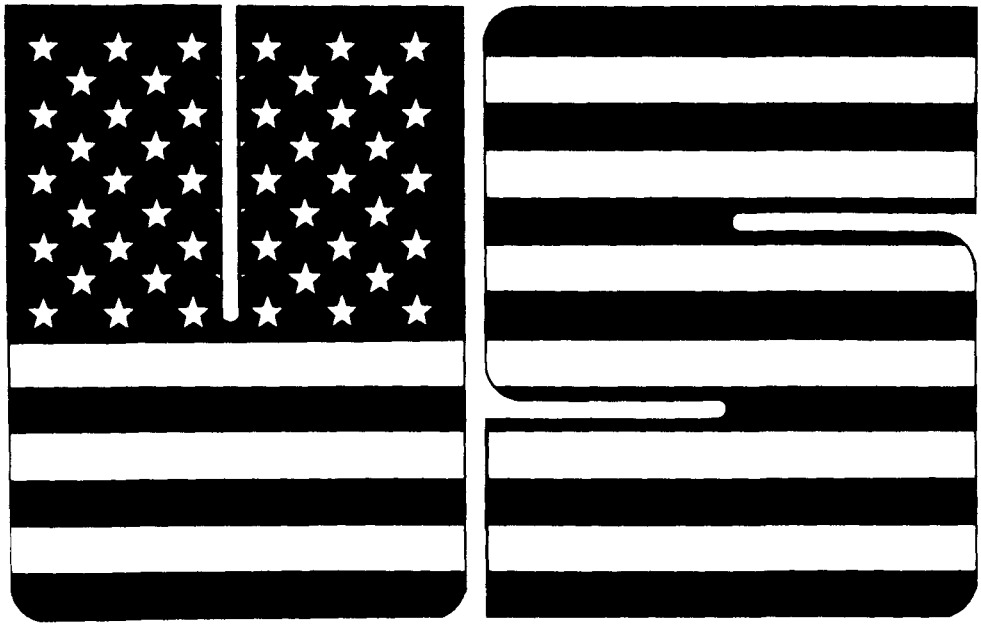
Prepublication Price: $970.00; after October 31, 1971: $1210.00

We will be pleased to send you further information on this publication and our extensive catalog of bibliographical reference works. You may wish to add your name to our mailing list. Please write to us at our address below.

G. K. HALL & CO. 70 Lincoln Street, Boston, Mass. 02111

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GETTING TO KNOW



ARNO PRESS' collections of outstanding reprinted source material, compiled by the foremost authorities in several fields, are created to help answer important questions about America's past and present. Particular issues and specific periods of U.S. history are illuminated by these primary source materials. Here are two such ARNO PRESS collections to help us get to know ourselves.

THE FIRST AMERICAN FRONTIER Advisory Editor: *Dale Van Every*
Encompassing the period from 1750 to 1815, these primary source materials are crucial to an understanding of the American character. They document the sudden surge of a people into a hostile wilderness — a phenomenon without parallel — and are representative of the people directly involved, and the effects their expansion of responsibilities and achievements had for the new-born United States. Complete collection of 61 books — $1,151.00 (10% off list price).

POVERTY, U.S.A.: The Historical Record Advisory Editor: *David J. Rothman*
Providing a total view of poverty, the collection reveals the crucial problems of poverty from colonial times through the Great Depression of the thirties. The variety of works included clearly indicates that the presence of poverty in America has sparked intensive analyses and differing solutions through three centuries. 44 books — $723.00

For more detailed information, write to:

ARNO PRESS

Box 152, 330 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017
A Publishing and Library Service of
The New York Times

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Spring '71...

- ***Material on the ancient world expanded and reorganized***
- ***New, two-color format***
- ***All new, easier-to-read maps***
- ***Expanded coverage of ancient military and political history***
- ***New illustrations***
- ***Up-to-date historiography***
- ***Additional material on the Renaissance and Reformation***
- ***Up-to-date coverage of the recent past***

2nd Edition!

CIVILIZATION IN THE WESTERN WORLD

J. RUSSELL MAJOR, G. P. CUTTINO, *Emory University;*
ROBERT L. SCRANTON, *University of Chicago*

paperbound

in two volumes:
Ancient Times to 1715
1715 to the Present

in three volumes:
Ancient Times to 1500
Renaissance to 1815
1815 to the Present

Substantially revised and attractively redesigned, this work traces the development of Western civilization from ancient times to the present. Chapters on the ancient world have been augmented and reorganized. The first edition's broad chronological survey of early civilization has been replaced by separate discussions, each covering the span of a major culture in its entirety.

2nd Edition!

THE WESTERN WORLD

Renaissance to the Present

J. RUSSELL MAJOR, *Emory University*

clothbound

This volume covers the full range of Western civilization from the decline of the medieval world to the problems of the nuclear age. For this edition the author has expanded his material on the Renaissance and Reformation, added material on the recent past, and incorporated recent findings of historiography throughout.

J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Also from Lippincott . . .

READINGS IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION

Fourth Edition

Edited by GEORGE H. KNOLES *and* RIXFORD K. SNYDER, *Stanford University*

The selections in this distinguished collection illuminate the more significant aspects of the development of Western civilization. Wherever possible, complete works or fairly long selections have been included to allow the student a fuller acquaintance with the materials chosen. The selections are arranged generally in chronological order, from ancient times to the present. The complete collection is available in both a single volume, clothbound, and a two-volume edition, paperbound, breaking at 1715. A shorter edition, paperbound, covers the period from 1500 to the present.

Clothbound/990 Pages/1968
Paperbound/Volume I: 493 Pages/Volume II: 581 Pages
1500 to the Present/*Paperbound*/667 Pages

PAGEANT OF WORLD CULTURES

Edited by PAUL THOMAS WELTY, *Northeastern Illinois State College*

This collection of readings is unique in both organization and content. Organized by world regions, a wide variety of selections covers art, architecture, religion, literature, philosophy, social and political institutions, economic factors, agriculture, education, exploration, scientific development, and ways of daily life. The collection is divided into seven major sections: Asia, The Middle East, Europe: Pre-Renaissance, Europe: Renaissance to the Present, The Communist World, The Americas, and Africa.

700 Pages/*Paperbound*/1971

AMERICAN ISSUES: The Social Record

Fourth Edition, *Revised*

Edited by MERLE CURTI, *University of Wisconsin;* WILLARD THORP, CARLOS BAKER, *Princeton University;* JOSEPH A. DOWLING, *Lehigh University*

Superbly suited to courses dealing with American social history, this outstanding collection of documents and readings has been expanded to include a new section, *Decade of Confrontation.* Included are important statements by John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Jr., Stokely Carmichael, George F. Kennan, J. W. Fulbright, Herbert Marcuse, Richard M. Nixon, and others. *American Issues* is available in two volumes, paperbound, dividing at the Civil War.

Volume I: 680 Pages/Volume II: 640 Pages
Paperbound/1971

College Department
East Washington Square, Philadelphia, Pa. 19105

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Versatile paperbacks . . .

WHY LENIN? WHY STALIN?

A Reappraisal of the Russian Revolution, 1900-1930

Second Edition

THEODORE H. VON LAUE, *Clark University*

This penetrating study of the emergence of Russian communism has been revised to reflect current perspectives. The Russian Revolution is viewed as an integral part of European and global history. **Critical Periods of History Series.** 250 Pages/1971

THE LONG FUSE: An Interpretation of the Origins of World War I

Second Edition

LAURENCE LAFORE, *University of Iowa*

Professor Lafore has revised this study of the events that led to World War I. An expanded introduction offers a lucidly expressed theory of historiography designed to help undergraduates evaluate the material. **Critical Periods of History Series.** 295 Pages/1971

THE END OF GLORY: An Interpretation of the Origins of World War II

LAURENCE LAFORE, *University of Iowa*

The author analyzes European diplomacy from 1919 to 1939, and asserts that World War II resulted largely from efforts of the European powers to run affairs with institutions and ideas made obsolete by World War I. **Critical Periods of History Series.** 280 Pages/1970

THE AGE OF THE RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION

A Short History

J. RUSSELL MAJOR, *Emory University*

Professor Major offers a brief interpretive synthesis of the period, balancing political and economic developments with intellectual and cultural aspects. Halftones, maps, and a bibliography are included. 385 Pages/1970

THE ASIANS: Their Heritage and Their Destiny

Third Edition

PAUL THOMAS WELTY, *Northeastern Illinois State College*

This brief introduction to contemporary Asia is widely adopted for a variety of courses. Coverage includes historical backgrounds, political and social institutions, religions, economic systems, and recent developments. 351 Pages/1970

J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

. . . from Lippincott

TVA AND THE POWER FIGHT: 1933-1939

THOMAS K. McCRAW, *University of Texas*

An illuminating account of the protracted struggle between the Tennessee Valley Authority and the private power industry. Much of the material is based on sources seldom before used by scholars. **Critical Periods of History Series.** 200 Pages/1971

PRIVILEGE AND CREATIVE DESTRUCTION

The Charles River Bridge Case

STANLEY I. KUTLER, *University of Wisconsin*

This dramatic account of the Charles River Bridge Case clarifies events leading up to the Taney Court's decision in favor of the people of Massachusetts and against the toll bridge owners. 175 Pages/1971

RACE AND POLITICS

"Bleeding Kansas" and the Coming of the Civil War

JAMES A. RAWLEY, *University of Nebraska*

The author throws fresh light on the controversies that followed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and demonstrates that the real issue was not slavery as such but *race.* **Critical Periods of History Series.** 304 Pages/1970

AMERICAN PURITANISM

Faith and Practice

DARRETT B. RUTMAN, *University of New Hampshire*

Embracing not only the rhetoric of the Puritan ministry but also the social setting in which that rhetoric had its impact, this brief book provides a fresh assessment of the influence of Puritanism on the course of early New England history. 140 Pages/1970

EMPIRE AND INTEREST

The American Colonies and the Politics of Mercantilism

MICHAEL KAMMEN, *Cornell University*

Professor Kammen probes the political activities of interest groups in the British Empire of the eighteenth century for a clearer understanding of the origins of the American Revolution. 186 Pages/1970

College Department
East Washington Square, Philadelphia, Pa. 19105

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EUROPE SINCE 1815, Third Edition

by Gordon Craig, Stanford Univ.

The third edition of this widely used text retains the book's original organization and balance while making extensive additions to the material in each chapter and presenting more thorough coverage of the most recent developments in European history, including the recent British election, student unrest, and the effects of affluence on European society. (The Second Editions of Craig's *Europe: 1815-1914* and *Europe Since 1914* are also available.) January 1971 / 888 pages / $12.95.

READINGS IN THE HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD, Second Edition

Edited by William C. McDermott, *University of Pennsylvania,* and Wallace E. Caldwell

Readings and source material have been collected and organized into chronological sequence by the editor to produce an able and useful companion to any one- or two-volume survey of the Ancient Near East, Greece, and Rome. With the exception of Fifth-Century Athens, all basic periods, trends, and developments are covered, with special stress on the closing era of the Roman Republic. 1970 / 464 pages / $5.25 paper.

WESTERN MAN: An Interdisciplinary Introduction to the History of Western Civilization

Each volume in this series analyzes the most significant aspects of Western culture, using primary source materials, evaluations by noted historians in the field, basic historical narrative, and conceptual articles by anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, and other social scientists.

Three volumes available:

The Contributions of Ancient Greece

Edited by Jacqueline Strain, Hutchins School of Liberal Arts. February 1971 / 320 pages $4.50 paper.

The Judeo-Christian Heritage

By William J. Courtenay, University of Wisconsin. 1970 / 251 pages / $4.15 paper.

The Imprint of Roman Institutions

Edited by David W. Savage, Clark University. January 1971 254 pages / $4.25



Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

383 Madison Avenue, New York 10017

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHAT!

you haven't sent
for your free examination copy
of

LINK/COBEN

yet?

Professors Arthur S. Link and Stanley Coben present a remarkably balanced and comprehensive history of the United States through 1970 in THE DEMOCRATIC HERITAGE: A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. Seven dramatic pictorial sections. Instructor's Manual and Student Workbook.

Hardcover • 780pp • 335 illus • 66 maps • $11.50

Xerox College Publishing

275 Wyman Street
Waltham, Mass. 02154

For adoption consideration, please send me:
Link/Coben: The Democratic Heritage 0-536-00335-1

Course Name _____ Course # _____

Enrollment _____ Present text _____

Name _____

Position _____ Department _____

College _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HARPER TORCHBOOKS

PAUL H. BEIK **The French Revolution**
Editor "[This book] is intended as a companion volume to other studies while standing on its own as a body of literature representing a variety of attitudes in the participants and onlookers."—PAUL H. BEIK, in the Introduction
†HR/1534 $3.95

HANS J. HILLERBRAND **Erasmus and His Age** *Selected Letters of Desiderius Erasmus*
Editor "An indispensable source both for Erasmus' life and for his time. Collectively [these letters] constitute one of the most important documents of the sixteenth century."—HANS J. HILLERBRAND, in the Introduction TB/1461 $2.95

JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES **The Economic Consequences of the Peace**
New Introduction by Robert Lekachman
"This is a very great book. . . . Mr. Keynes writes with a fullness of knowledge, an incisiveness of judgment, and a penetration into the ultimate causes of economic events."
—H. J. LASKI, *The Nation* TB/1554 $3.25

JOHN E. POMFRET with FLOYD M. SHUMWAY **Founding the American Colonies 1583-1660**
"Mr. Pomfret has brought an enormous literature under control, and handled the many controversial problems pertaining to the subject with wisdom and sound judgment."—CARL BRIDENBAUGH. *Illus.* #TB/1577 $2.95

LUIGI SALVATORELLI **The Risorgimento: Thought and Action**
Translated by Mario Domandi
Introduction by Charles F. Delzell
"[A] pioneering investigation of the political thought of a number of intellectuals in the period between 1700 and 1870. . . . A minor masterpiece of distillation."—CHARLES F. DELZELL, in the Introduction TB/1496 $2.75
Cloth *TLE/22 $6.00

R. W. SOUTHERN **Medieval Humanism** *And Other Studies*
"The contents of this book . . . bring together two sides of medieval history which should never be separated: the practical business-like and earthy, and the intellectual, spiritual and aspiring."—R. W. SOUTHERN TB/1551 $2.75
Cloth *TLE/20 $9.00

* *Torchbook Library Editions.*
† Documentary History of Western Civilization, edited by Eugene C. Black and Leonard W. Levy.
The New American Nation Series, edited by Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris.

At your bookseller *Harper & Row*
1817 Paperback Dept. 24, 49 E. 33d St., New York, N. Y. 10016

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The American Historical Association announces the following awards to Harvard University Press authors:

The Watumull Prize in the History of India for 1970 awarded in even-numbered years for the best work on the history of India originally published in the United States to

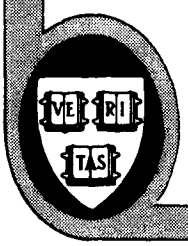
Stephen N. Hay

Asian Ideas of East and West: Tagore and His Critics In Japan, China and India.

The George Louis Beer Prize awarded annually for the best work by a young scholar (first or second book) in the field of European international history since 1895 to

Samuel R. Williamson, Jr.

The Politics of Grand Strategy: Britain and France Prepare for War, 1904-1914.



HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, Mass. 02138

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The American Profile

by MORTON BORDEN, OTIS L. GRAHAM, JR., RODERICK W. NASH, and RICHARD E. OGLESBY, all of the University of California, Santa Barbara

This is a brief, fast-paced, and highly selective survey of the major trends in American life, from its beginnings through the election of President Nixon. Its purpose is more to evoke questions than to answer them, more to excite an interest in the subject and to stimulate further reading than to cover topics in exhaustive detail. This well-illustrated book contains photographs, drawings, documents, cartoons, and maps. Designed as a basic text, *The American Profile* may profitably be used with supplementary material, particularly the *Problems in American Civilization* series, also published by D.C. Heath and Company. *Instructor's Manual* by Eugene R. Fingerhut.
1970 Paperbound 372 pages code 51706

Two new volumes in the *Problems in American Civilization* series, edited by Edwin C. Rozwenc:

The Urban Crisis in Modern America
Robert L. Branyan and Lawrence H. Larsen, both of the University of Missouri, Kansas City

This unique compilation of first-hand reports by people most involved in the urban crisis and the solution theory is divided into three sections: background material on the twentieth century city, the suburbanization of the post World War II era, and the current crisis of the central city.
1971 Paperbound 160 pages code 61507

The Cult of Youth in Middle-Class America
Richard L. Rapson, University of Hawaii

The essays in this collection place the youth "problem" of today in historical and sociological perspective by examining its form in the past and by comparing the points of view of various academic disciplines.
1971 Paperbound 160 pages code 73387

For examination copies write:
Faculty Correspondence Manager HR-A

D.C. Heath and Company

125 Spring Street
Lexington, Massachusetts 02173

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Studies in American Negro Life

IN HARDCOVER

General Editor: August Meier, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio
The hardcover series consists of works of original scholarship in all areas of black studies.

NOW AVAILABLE:

The *Guardian* of Boston: William Monroe Trotter
by STEPHEN R. FOX. "Fox relates Trotter's career to larger themes in Afro-American history. His book is deeply researched, skillfully organized and written with unusual grace."
—ALLAN H. SPEAR, Journal of American History

Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919
by WILLIAM M. TUTTLE, JR. Drawing upon sources closest to the heart of this violence, the author probes the tensions that erupted in bloodshed during the race riots of 1919. "An important contribution to the history of American violence."
—New York Times Book Review

IN PREPARATION:

The Movement for the Abolition of Slavery in Brazil, 1880-1888 by Robert Brent Toplin

Before the Ghetto: Black Detroit in the Nineteenth Century by David Katzman

A Biography of Booker T. Washington, in two volumes, by Louis Harlan

J. E. Spingarn and the Rise of the NAACP by Barbara J. Ross

Recent Hardcover Books in History

The Court and the Country: The Beginning of the English Revolution in the Mid-Seventeenth Century
by PEREZ ZAGORIN. "A most erudite work, sparkling with brand-new and telling quotations taken from an extremely wide range of sources. As a political narrative of the events leading up to the war, and particularly of the period 1640-1642, it is the best we have."
—N. Y. Review of Books

American Aid to France, 1938-1940
by JOHN McVICKAR HAIGHT, JR. "It is everything that diplomatic history ought to be . . . It develops dimensions both of the French and the American intricacies of the negotiations in a lucid fashion."
—FRANK FREIDEL

122 East 42 Street,
New York City 10017



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The University of California Press is pleased to announce the winners of

The Watumull Prize in the History of India

British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance

The Dynamics of Indian Modernization, 1773-1835

by David Kopf

"Dr. Kopf's monograph combines the most serious analysis yet propounded of the nature of the European contribution to the nineteenth-century Bengal Renaissance with a detailed account of a most important phase in British-Indian intellectual history."—*American Historical Review*

"Kopf has described vividly and accurately the Orientalist phase and the reaction against it, and his book can be strongly recommended to students of this subject."—*Asian Affairs* 1969 324 pages tables $8.50

Politics and Social Conflict in South India

The Non-Brahman Movement and Tamil Separatism, 1916-1929

by Eugene F. Irschick

"This solid and long awaited piece of scholarship is both pioneering and definitive. Dr. Irschick has produced a study based on detailed acquaintance with a wide array of sources in English and Tamil as well as interviews with leading protagonists. . . . All students of modern Indian politics and society must be indebted to Dr. Irschick for this book."—*Pacific Affairs*

1969 414 pages maps tables $9.75

The Pfizer Prize in the History of Science

The Triumph of the Darwinian Method

by Michael T. Ghiselin

Challenging the notion that Charles Darwin was no more than a patient collector of facts, Mr. Ghiselin demonstrates that Darwin was a vigorous, original thinker whose scientific studies were guided by a well-defined system of hypothesis and deduction.

"The book as a whole is already unquestionably one of the very best on Darwin and his work."—*Science* 1969 287 pages illustrations $7.50

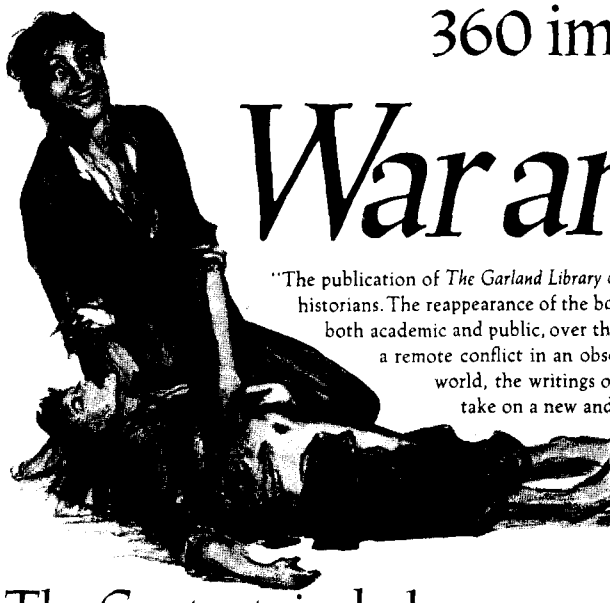
University of California Press Berkeley 94720

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A comprehensive collection of

360 important reprints on

War and Peace



"The publication of *The Garland Library of War and Peace* is an event of great interest to contemporary historians. The reappearance of the books and pamphlets in this series testifies to a growing concern, both academic and public, over the causes of war and the necessity for peace. For a time in which a remote conflict in an obscure country can and must engage the attention of the entire world, the writings of those who troubled themselves over man's past belligerence take on a new and greater significance. Clearly the search for an end to war cannot afford to ignore precedents. With the publication of this series a large body of essential reference material will now be readily available to students, scholars, and other men of good will."

From the Introduction to the series by Merle Curti
Professor of History
University of Wisconsin

The Contents include:-

Proposals for Peace: a History
Histories of the Organized Peace Movement
Problems of the Organized Peace Movement
Peace Leaders: Biographies and Memoirs
The Character and Causes of War
The Political Economy of War
Labor, Socialism and War
The Control and Limitation of Arms
Arbitration: Pro and Con
International Law
The Kellogg Pact and the Outlawry of War
Non-Resistance and Non-Violence
Conscription and Conscientious Objection
Religious and Ethical Positions on War
The Artist on War
Documentary Anthologies

This timely series of reprints (*360 titles in 328 volumes*) makes available hundreds of valuable books now out-of-print, and in addition provides for each book a new critical introduction written by one of more than twenty-five distinguished scholars who are cooperating on the project, under the General Editorship of *Blanche Cook*, Asst. Professor of History, John Jay College, *Charles Chatfield*, Assoc. Professor of History, Wittenberg University, and *Sandi E. Cooper*, Asst. Professor of History, Richmond College.

A detailed 140-page illustrated catalog of this extensive reprint series may be obtained, without charge, by all interested scholars and librarians by writing (on your letterhead, please) to the publishers.



Garland Publishing Inc. • 24 West 45th Street • New York • N.Y. • 10036

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RECENTLY PUBLISHED BY McGRAW-HILL

Graebner
Fite
and
White

NOW AVAILABLE IN A BRIEF TWO-VOLUME SOFTCOVER EDITION

A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
One Volume hardcover, 1406 pages, $12.95
Two Volumes softcover, Volume 1, 688 pages,
Volume 2, 784 pages, $6.50 each

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES
Volume 1, 933 pages, Volume 2, 1056 pages, $10.95 each

Authors: **Norman A. Graebner,** Edward R. Stettinius Professor of History, University of Virginia; **Gilbert C. Fite,** George Lynn Cross Research Professor of History, University of Oklahoma; **Philip L. White,** Associate Professor of History, University of Texas.

This exciting and definitive text presents an authoritative, vividly written account of American history from early exploration to the present. Three distinguished historians employ the latest scholarship to provide a superior balance between fact and interpretation. *The lively narrative works with numerous illustrations and maps to provide a* sound analysis and interpretation of the political, economic, social, and cultural trends in the national experience.

Among the topics treated in detail are: the historical and current roles of minority groups, especially blacks; the effects of increasing urbanization; the nation's economic growth; and foreign policy, especially recent foreign policy. Social and cultural developments are thoroughly covered as the narrative progresses as well as in separate chapters. While special effort is made to show American history in international perspective, the distinctive qualities of American life and experience are also emphasized throughout.

All volumes contain extensive and provocative illustration programs that reinforce, dramatize, and extend the depth of the textual material. *This unique illustration and map program makes this the most extensively and meaningfully illustrated text available.*

An instructor's Manual and Study Guide are available. Both were prepared by J. Milton Nance of Texas A & M University.

McGraw-Hill Book Company | 330 West 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10036

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ANNOUNCING

CIVILIZATION SINCE WATERLOO: A BOOK OF SOURCE READINGS

Edited by Rondo Cameron, Emory University

A careful selection of brief extracts from official documents, contemporary reports, memoirs, and other formal and informal accounts designed to illustrate and highlight the political, social, economic, intellectual and cultural development of Western and world civilization in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

January 560 pages $5.75 paper

WORKERS AND PROTEST: THE EUROPEAN LABOR MOVEMENT, THE WORKING CLASSES, AND THE ORIGINS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY 1890-1914

By Harvey Mitchell, University of British Columbia
Peter N. Stearns, Rutgers University

Introduced by Robert Wohl, this is the first study of a subject which presents two independently conceived treatments of a single theme. Readers are asked to consider the theses argued by each of the authors. In the debate which follows, the authors try to reassess their positions and refute one another's claims.

The book examines the points of contact between the organized labor movement and the left-wing political parties during the last three decades before the first World War in Britain, Germany and France. In the study of these three major industrial societies, attention is given to the strengths and weaknesses of the labor movement, its growth as a force, and to the different political traditions at work. The underlying theme of the study revolves around the conflicts between ideological purity and pragmatic necessity.

March 256 pages $3.95 paper



F. E. PEACOCK PUBLISHERS, INC.
401 West Irving Park Road, Itasca, Illinois 60143

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Paperbacks from Praeger

GREAT DOCUMENTS IN BLACK AMERICAN HISTORY

Edited by George Ducas, with Charles Van Doren • Introduction by C. Eric Lincoln. This book makes a major contribution to the study of the American past by assembling, for the first time, selections from twenty-two important figures whose writings are fundamental to an understanding of the complexities of the black American's experience in his native land. The documents span over two hundred years, and, though all have shaped the course of black American history, many are practically unknown to a wider audience. Most were written by blacks. Some are unavailable elsewhere; others have never before been reprinted in their entirety. "Ducas' book should be purchased by any library interested in adding a significant collection of black studies documents to its holdings."—*Library Journal*
1970 322 pp. $4.95 paper; $12.50 cloth

A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE MEXICAN AMERICANS

Edited by Wayne Moquin, with Charles Van Doren • Introduction by Feliciano Rivera, Consulting Editor. Until recently, this country's Mexican Americans have remained an invisible minority; yet they are the inheritors of a long and colorful heritage, which is fully explored in this new book. These documents span more than four hundred years of Mexican-American history, describing historical high points, important figures, and Mexican-American cultural and economic contributions to the Southwest. 1971 368 pp. $13.50 cloth

IMPERIALISM

George Lichtheim. "Imperialism" is here subjected to a disciplined analytic treatment by a foremost historian and social critic of our age. George Lichtheim traces the many forms in which the concept has historically manifested itself—from the *Imperium Romanum* through medieval Europe's empires, from British mercantilism through nineteenth-century colonialism and modern postwar developments. By separating out the historical, economic, and theoretical aspects of imperialism, Lichtheim isolates its conceptual essence and, in so doing, challenges revisionist historians who, confusing it with capitalism and nationalism, see only the U.S. variant and fail to grasp the Russian and Chinese realities. 1971 192 pp. $2.45 paper; $7.50 cloth

IN SEARCH OF SOUTHEAST ASIA: A Modern History

David Joel Steinberg, David K. Wyatt, John R. W. Smail, Alexander Woodside, William R. Roff, and David P. Chandler • Edited by David Joel Steinberg. The authors of this major new history of Southeast Asia explore the creative processes by which Southeast Asians have been adapting their cultures to a world in change. This book links large influences, such as climate and ecology or the worldwide thrust of science and technology, to the economic, social, and cultural dimensions of Southeast Asia's modern transformation. The authors examine the evolution of institutions and the process of change on a regional basis as well as in the individual countries, and they focus on the peoples of Southeast Asia by exploring their social relations and political structures, their changing economies and expectations, and their religions and cultures. 1971 544 pp. $5.95 paper; $12.95 cloth

The College Department
PRAEGER PUBLISHERS • 111 Fourth Ave., N.Y. 10003

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The most significant record of the black worker in America is now available for the first time on microfilm.



The complete record of the Fair Employment Practices Committee—until now available only at the National Archives—is offered to fill gaps in the study of black history.

Created to prevent discrimination in essential World War II defense industries, the FEPC interviewed approximately 14,000 minority group workers. *More than 80 per cent of them black.*

The result: dramatic, primary source material that opens new doors to the teaching and study of the black man's role in U.S. industry.

In over 500,000 pages, black men and women reveal their personal experiences with discrimination and prejudice—both on the job and in their daily lives. They talk about their wages and working conditions...their unions and labor leaders...their ideals and aspirations... their problems and frustrations.

Experience black history in the making.

The FEPC microfilm collection includes correspondence, internal studies and memoranda, case records, field reports, minutes of meetings and individual records of the black worker: his problems, institutions, attitudes, aspirations and working conditions.

For both scholars and students of black history, the collection fills critical gaps.

Write for further details—including a copy of the foreword to the collection—to Microfilming Corporation of America, 21 Harristown Road, Glen Rock, New Jersey 07452.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New from Wisconsin

GEORGE GROSZ

Art and Politics in the Weimar Republic

By Beth Irwin Lewis

The role of the artist in activist politics is explored here, in examining the art and career of George Grosz, noted German political artist of the 1920s. Grosz used his considerable artistic talent as a weapon to arouse the class awareness and the revolutionary fervor of the proletariat. Beth Lewis explores the often-turbulent interaction between the political artist and his society, and in so doing reveals much about politics in the Weimar Republic. Included are more than 80 of Grosz's often-vitriolic drawings.

280 pp., 80+ illus. $12.50

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION IN SWITZERLAND, 1914-1917

By Alfred Erich Senn

The cauldron of the Russian Revolution was in Switzerland during these crucial war years. Here, Alfred Senn presents the first integrated study of these important events, centering on the activities of Lenin and other Russian emigrés who united to establish a new social order. This will long be a source work in European revolutionary politics and organization.

344 pp. $12.50

RAILROADS AND THE GRANGER LAWS

By George H. Miller

Railroads, America's first big business, forced profound changes in the interactions among government, agriculture, and commerce. George Miller examines these relationships carefully, in studying the laws — particularly the Granger laws — which sought to regulate the railroads' extension in the upper Midwest during the decades 1850-1870.

308 pp. $12.50

PIONEER SETTLEMENT IN NORTHEAST ARGENTINA

By Robert C. Eidt

In view of the population explosion, the colonization of unused or under-used lands has assumed greater importance than ever before. In this comprehensive case study, Robert Eidt explores the factors which contribute to successful colonization. Centering on the Misiones Province of Argentina, he has provided us with a much-needed handbook of settlement methods.

272 pp., illus. $15.00

Wisconsin residents add 4% sales tax

University of Wisconsin Press
Box 1379, Madison, Wisconsin 53701

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Historian's Workshop

edited by L. Perry Curtis, Jr.

Sixteen historians describe their methods of writing and research. The contributors are Thomas G. Barnes, Rudolph Binion, Robert Brentano, Carlo M. Cipolla, Vivian H. Galbraith, Raymond K. Kent, Joseph R. Levenson, Lawrence W. Levine, Robert R. Palmer, J. G. A. Pocock, Donald Robertson, George F. E. Rude, Jan Vansina, John William Ward, Lynn T. White, Jr., and L. Perry Curtis, Jr.

$7.95 · Published by Alfred ·A· Knopf



Cameron Hazlehurst

Politicians at War

This is the first systematic attempt to penetrate the fog of more than half a century and reveal the internal power struggles that took Great Britain into war in 1914, transforming a continental conflict into the World War that both marked the end of one hundred years of world peace and destroyed the international thrust towards a liberal world order. Based on the close study of some sixty important collections of private papers and of voluminous public records, some only recently declassified and never before made available to scholars, Professor Hazlehurst's brilliant and illuminating study is perhaps the most subtle investigation yet to appear of English politics and the First World War.

$8.95 · Published by Alfred ·A· Knopf



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The books listed below offer students a unique opportunity to examine the social structure of American life. The source readings in *American History, 1600 to the Present* are more than just a collection of statements by political leaders. From the life of a slave in the pre-Civil War period to the conditions faced by the unemployed in the Depression, the readings give a *broad* image of events in American society. The other books treat various individual themes and aspects of the American experience, discussing attitudes and behavior patterns during our nation's formative years, the causes and consequences of the Revolution, the history of the Black American from the African Background to 1970, the impact of the Civil War on American life, the origins and development of white racial attitudes, and the effects of American participation in the two world wars and the Cold War.

AMERICAN HISTORY, 1600 to the Present:
Source Readings
Edited by Neil Harris, *University of Chicago,* David J. Rothman, *Columbia University,* and Stephen Thernstrom, *Brandeis University.* 1969 / 608 pages / $6.75 paper

SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY
Edited by John Henrik Clarke and Vincent Harding, both of *Spelman College,* Atlanta. 1970 / 128 pages / $2.25 paper. Illustrated. A Black Heritage Book.

FORGING THE AMERICAN CHARACTER
Edited by James W. Hall, *State University of New York, Albany.* January 1971 / 144 pages / $2.45 paper. An American Problem Study.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION:
How Revolutionary Was It?
Second Edition
Edited by George Athan Billias, *Clark University.* 1970 / 144 pages / $2.60 paper. An American Problem Study.

LIFE UNDER THE "PECULIAR INSTITUTION":
Selections from the Slave Narrative Collection
Edited by Norman R. Yetman, *University of Kansas.* 1970 / 382 pages / $4.15 paper. Illustrated.

THE CIVIL WAR:
A Second American Revolution?
by William E. Parrish, *Westminster College.* 1970 / 160 pages / $2.60 paper. An American Problem Study.

THE BLACK AMERICANS:
Interpretative Readings
Edited by Seth M. Scheiner and Tilden Edelstein, both of *Rutgers University.* Spring 1971 / 576 pages / $3.95 paper (tent.)

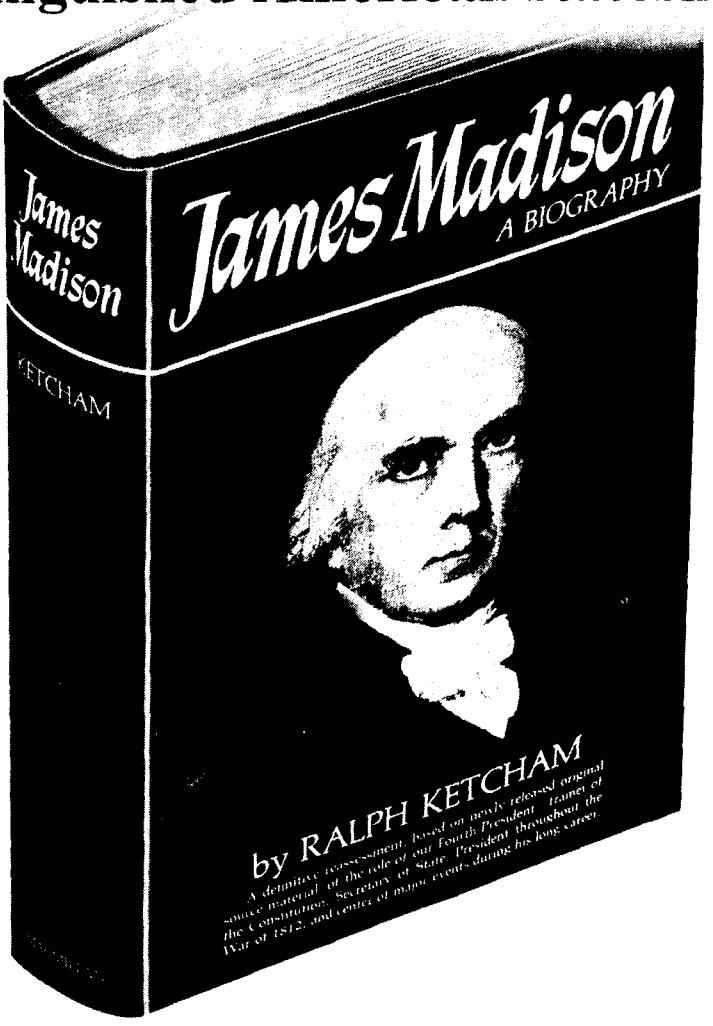
THE GREAT FEAR:
Race in the Mind of America
Edited by Gary B. Nash and Richard Weiss, both of *The University of California, Los Angeles.* 1970 / 244 pages / $3.10 paper.



Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.
383 Madison Avenue, New York 10017

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An incisive portrait of a distinguished American statesman



PROFESSOR KETCHAM'S comprehensive and impeccably researched work is both an illuminating insight into Madison the man and a cogent appraisal of his long and varied political career, from the Stamp Act of 1765 to the Constitutional Convention to the Presidency. Utilizing the wealth of primary source material that has recently become available, Professor Ketcham has created "an intelligently interpretive and lucid biography"* and a work of major importance. $17.50

Publishers' Weekly

THE Macmillan COMPANY 866 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AMERICAN HISTORY:
A Problems Approach
In Two Volumes

by Herman L. Crow and William L. Turnbull, both of *Tarrant County Junior College,* Texas
Based on a problems approach, this text-reader offers the student narrative background plus essays containing divergent viewpoints on controversial issues, so that he can weigh evidence and reach his own decisions. January 1971. Each volume: 480 pages / $4.95 paper. Vol. II: January 1972

THE AMERICAN COLONIAL EXPERIENCE:
An Essay in National Origins

by Paul Goodman, *University of California, Davis,* and Frank O. Gatell, *University of California, Los Angeles*
This book is a concise analytical and interpretive account that covers the entire sweep of America's colonial years to 1760. It deals specifically with the colonial institutions and values which culminated in the creation of the United States. 1970 / 160 pages / $3.10 paper

THE SLAVERY EXPERIENCE IN THE UNITED STATES

by Irwin Unger and David Reimers, both of *New York University*
A collection of articles that illustrate how slavery affected its victims, how the slaves lived, and how they felt about their bondage. 1970 / 256 pages / $3.10 paper

THE FEDERALISTS VS. THE JEFFERSONIAN REPUBLICANS

by Paul Goodman, *University of California, Davis*
Discusses and analyzes the historical problems and controversies surrounding the development of the first political parties in the early republic. *1967 / 128 pages / $2.60 paper*

A GIANT'S STRENGTH:
America in the 1960's

by David Burner and Robert D. Marcus, both of the *State University of New York, Stony Brook,* and Thomas R. West, *Catholic University*
An analysis of the sixties, designed to satisfy the needs of historians teaching "current" history on the survey level. August 1971 / 128 pages / $3.00 paper (tent.) 64 pp. of illustrations.



Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.
383 Madison Avenue, New York 10017

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We have discovered America, but we're just beginning to explore it.

What is the American experience? What went into it? When and why? With what result?

These are questions of increasing interest and centrality to scholars, students and thoughtful readers.

With that in mind, we at Johnson Reprint Corporation have been formulating a series in American Studies.

The concept of "American Studies" is broadly construed—as well it might, considering the kaleidoscopic nature of the subject. We include many of those works which have influenced, as well as those which have described, defined or simply expressed the American experience.

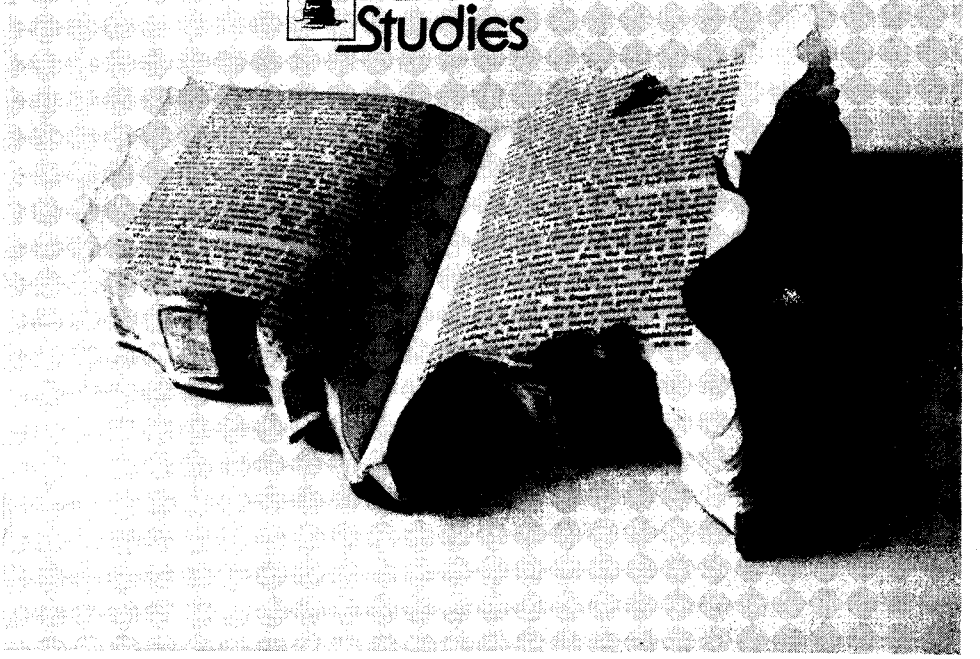
Our purpose being to provide an inter-disciplinary perspective, above and yet including both the humanities and the social sciences.

Now, in its 4th year—and as we add 50 new titles—the series is beginning to acquire an interesting depth and inclusiveness. We would be very happy to send you a catalogue.

Write to: "Series in American Studies."

Johnson reprint CORPORATION
111 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10003

Series in American Studies



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

General Index to
Volumes XLI-LX
1935-1955

General Index to
Volumes LXI-LXX
1955-1965

A limited number of copies available at $10.00 each.

The American Historical Association
400 A Street, S. E.
Washington, D. C. 20003

Please send me:

General Index to Volumes LXI-LX () copies.

General Index to Volumes LXI-LXX () copies.

Payment is enclosed.

Name: _____

Address: _____

_____ Zip: _____

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

INDEX OF ADVERTISERS

Advertiser	Pages
Addison Wesley	14
American Historical Association	1, 2
Arno Press	73
Athenum Press	83
Barnes & Noble	12
Bobbs-Merrill	30, 31
Boston Univ. Press	54
Cambridge Univ. Press	66, 67, 68, 69
Clio Press	20, 51
Columbia Univ. Press	50
Cornell Univ. Press	26, 34, 35
D. C. Heath	82
Dell Pub. Co.	13
Garland Pub. Co.	85
Ginn-Blaisdell (Xerox College)	79
G. K. Hall	72
Harper & Row College	29
Harper & Row Torchbooks	64, 80
Harvard Univ. Press	3rd Cover, 27, 65, 81
Holt, Rinehart & Winston	55, 70, 78, 92, 94
Hoover Institute	24, 25
Irish Univ. Press	4th Cover
Johns Hopkins Press	11
Johnson Reprint	19, 95
Kennikat Press	21
Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.	60, 91
Kraus Reprint Co.	59
J. B. Lippincott Co.	74, 75, 76, 77
Little, Brown & Co.	40, 41, 42, 43
McGraw-Hill Co.	86
Macmillan	32, 33, 93
New York Times	89
New York University Press	53
Oxford University Press	2nd Cover, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
F. E. Peacock	87
Perspectives in American History	49
Pitman	71
Praeger Publishers	88
Prentice-Hall (Spectrum)	58
Quadrangle Books	62, 63
Rand McNally & Co.	36, 37, 38, 39
Random House (College)	44, 45, 46, 47
St. Martin's Press	48
Schocken Books	22, 23
Stanford Univ. Press	28
Syracuse Univ. Press	18
Teachers Insurance	57
University of Calif. Press	16, 17, 84
University of Chicago Press	15
University of Tennessee Press	10
University of Texas Press	61
University of Wisconsin Press	90
University Press of Virginia	56
Xerox Corp. (University Microfilms)	3
Yale University Press	52
10-20 Year Index Ad	96
Index of Advertisers	97
Change of Address	98

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



If you are planning to move, please let us know six weeks before changing your address. Attach address label and fill in your name and new address below. This will ensure prompt service on your subscription.

Attach Label Here
(address label found on AHR wrapper) Send label with your name and new address to: American Historical Review, 400 A St., S.E., Washington, D. C. 20003. If a label is not available, be sure to attach your OLD address, including Zip Code number.

Name _____

New address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Maxim Gorky called him the "St. John the Baptist of all our Renaissances." And, indeed, from the instant he came before the public eye as the leading exponent of Social Democracy at the age of 24 (1894), Peter Struve remained in the very center of Russia's political and intellectual life.

He did not long remain an Orthodox Marxist. In the late 1890's he introduced into his country Marxist Revisionism and Neo Kantian idealism, and at the turn of the century he became the most eloquent spokesman of democratic liberalism. The political strategy adopted by Russian liberals in the early 1900's, which culminated in the Revolution of 1905, was in large measure formulated by him.

This, the first volume of a two-volume biography, covers Struve's life until October 1905, when he began his evolution from radical liberalism to a more conservative variant. Much attention is given to such movements as "Populism," Marxism, and liberalism, each being given a somewhat different interpretation from that prevailing in the historical literature.

STRUVE

Liberal on the Left, 1870-1905

RICHARD PIPES

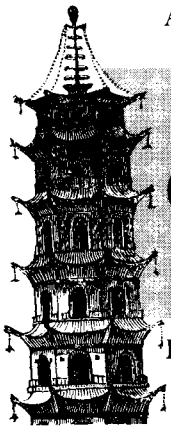
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

$10



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AREA STUDIES British Parliamentary Papers



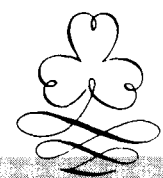
china and japan

Primary nineteenth-century Sources for Sino-Japanese History and the Development of Western Imperialism in the Orient

The documents in this set provide the researcher with source material on Britain's entry to the Far East as a political and commercial power and on the role played by Britain, the United States and the European powers, in promoting the political, social, commercial and religious philosophies of the western world throughout China and Japan. They are thus a fascinating repository of both the internal history of the Orient as well as the external relations which so violently changed that history. A very active British diplomatic service reported on such matters as local customs, attacks on foreigners, internal rebellions, the opium question, the problems of missionaries, coolie emigration, and--beginning in 1854--the trade and commerce of the various consular districts in both countries, while more important and lengthy papers deal with the major diplomatic and military confrontations which characterized Britain's relations with the Far East in the nineteenth century, in effect the antecedents of a confrontation which still continues today.

52 VOLUMES

China 1: Civil Disorder, 2: Consular Establishments, 3-4: Coolie Emigration, 5: Diplomatic Affairs, 6-21: Embassy and Consular Reports, 22: Exploration, 23: Foreign Concessions, 1898-99, 24-26: Hong Kong, 27-28: Military Affairs, 29: Missionaries, 30-31: Opium War and Opium Trade, 32: Taiping Rebellion, 33-35: Treaty of Tientsin, 36-40: Trade, 41: Western China, 42: Miscellaneous, **Japan** 1: General, 1856-64, 2: General, 1864-70, 3: General, 1871-99, 4-10: Embassy and Consular Reports



$2,100	Prepaid orders received before May 1, 1971
$2,500	Orders received before May 1, 1971
$2,900	Orders received after May 1, 1971

Write today for detailed catalog.

IRISH UNIVERSITY PRESS INC.
2 Holland Ave. White Plains N.Y. 10603

IRISH UNIVERSITY PRESS (Int'l) LTD.
60 Russell Sq. London WC 1B 4HP

IRISH UNIVERSITY PRESS (Canada) LTD.
10 King St. East Toronto, Ontario

IRISH UNIVERSITY PRESS
81 Merrion Sq. Dublin 2

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED